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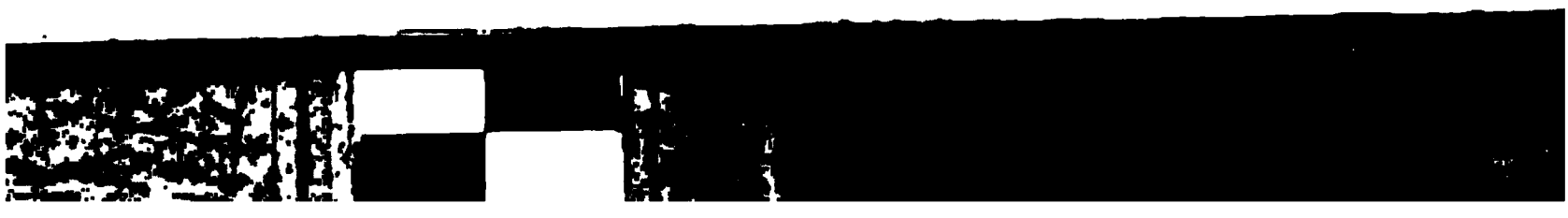

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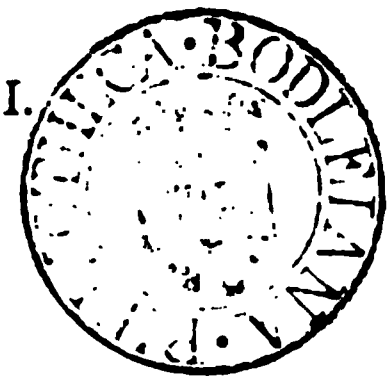

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY, 1872.

No. CCLXXVII.

ART. I.—*The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne; including many of his Writings hitherto unpublished. With Prefaces, Annotations, his Life and Letters, and an Account of his Philosophy.* By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. In 4 vols. Oxford: 1871.

BISHOP BERKELEY'S literary and philosophical labours are often considered too much apart from the personal, local, and temporary influences that helped so powerfully to direct and mould all the activities of his life. Hardly any writer reflects more perfectly the very form and pressure of his own time, and few have been so habitually criticised from a purely abstract point of view. He has been usually regarded as a metaphysician or a moralist intent on the elaboration of philosophical theories, rather than as an Irish Churchman and keen controversialist, whose sympathies and aims were completely identified with the theological polemics of his own day. It is impossible, however, to form a just or adequate judgment of Berkeley's philosophy, without considering the ruling impulses of his mind, and the historical conditions under which they were developed. We shall endeavour to take some account of both in the short notice of his life and labours, which is all that can be attempted in the space at our command. Professor Fraser's excellent edition supplies more ample and trustworthy materials than were previously available for such a review. The editor has not only cleared up many doubtful points in Berkeley's life, but has had the good fortune to

recover a number of hitherto unpublished manuscripts which are of considerable biographical service. This is especially true of the Diary of Foreign Travel and the Commonplace Book which the editor has discovered amongst the Berkeley manuscripts. While all the papers have some interest, this latter volume has a peculiar value, as it contains Berkeley's rough notes of the facts and arguments to be used in the 'New Theory 'of Vision,' and in the elaboration of his ideal system. All the main arguments of these works are to be found in the hasty jottings of his early college days, and they often appear with special vividness and force from being as it were direct transcripts of the thoughts as they first struck his own mind. The Commonplace Book is thus of the highest service in enabling us to trace the growth and progress of his system as it was gradually evolved out of one or two central principles.

Little is definitely known about Berkeley's earlier years beyond the fact that he was born in March 1685, in one of the most beautiful districts of the south of Ireland, near Dysart Castle, about twelve miles from the city of Kilkenny. The old castle, with the connected modern building in which Berkeley's childhood was passed, is finely situated in a wooded valley watered by the sparkling Nore. The picturesque sweep and sylvan quietude of this green valley, broken only by the dash and ripple of the winding river, was the very spot to quicken and develope the keen sensibility to natural beauty which Berkeley possessed, as well as to gratify the love of its soothing meditative influences which remained with him to the end of life. Here the ardent boy indulged his juvenile day-dreams, fed to the full his romantic passion for solitary communion with nature and his own thoughts, and formed from the materials of childish reading, observation, and reflection, his earliest ideal world. He was fortunate in being early sent to one of the best schools in Ireland—the Grammar School or College of Kilkenny, long celebrated for its excellent masters and the many eminent pupils it sent into the world. The old school-house of this 'Eton of Ireland,' a curious half-monastic building, three stories high, with massive iron-studded oak doors and quaint chimneys, gables, and gurgoyles, had a large rambling garden and meadow at the back, leading down to the Nore, and commanded by the ancient castle of the Ormonds on the opposite bank. From these College grounds there is a fine view of the adjacent city rising in castellated power and cathedral dignity above the river and the bridge, and awakening in the travelled spectator's mind blended recollections of Warwick, Oxford, and Windsor. The scene and circumstances

of his early training were thus of a kind to impress deeply on Berkeley's mind the charm of collegiate activity and repose, the academic partialities, the strong institutional sympathies and associations, which his whole after life proved it was peculiarly fitted to receive and retain. Dr. Hinton, the head-master of Kilkenny School, was an excellent tutor, and young Berkeley, during the four years of his residence there, must have made good progress, and reached the foremost place in the school-ranks before he left. He was evidently a precocious pupil, who came up thoroughly well prepared; as the college register shows that, although only eleven years of age, he entered at once the second class, instead of taking his place on the lower forms of the school, as most boys, even much older, were accustomed to do. His companion and friend Prior, though more than three years his senior, was placed in one of the lower classes on entering the school.

What young Berkeley's habits and pursuits at the old Kilkenny School were, we have no means of knowing in any detail. But two or three autobiographical fragments in the Commonplace Book throw some light on his characteristic turn of thought and tendency of mind, even at this early period. Slight as they are, these hints furnished by himself are peculiarly significant and instructive. The first of the personal entries occurs immediately after a reference to the reasonings of Locke and Malebranche about the primary and secondary properties of body. Having briefly noticed these, and dwelt at greater length on some disputed questions in recent mathematical works, he adds: 'Mem. That I was 'distrustful at eight years old, and consequently by nature 'disposed for these new doctrines.' This must be understood to mean that even in his earlier years he was of an inquiring turn of mind, not given to take things on trust, but disposed to investigate for himself, and have notions and ideas of his own. Even at school he had his juvenile schemes, his youthful Utopias and ideals, often, no doubt, of a romantic and extreme kind; and the second personal reference, found amongst his hasty jottings, tends to show that even then, instead of being content to keep these ideals to himself, he was compelled by an irresistible prompting of nature to communicate them to others, and seek to gain them over to his views. In this autobiographical note he says: 'He that would bring another 'over to his opinion must seem to harmonise with him at 'first, and humour him in his own way of talking. From my 'childhood, I had an unaccountable turn of thought that way.' This is an exquisite touch of rare self-knowledge. It describes

with perfect accuracy Berkeley's eager desire for influence over others, and his intuitive perception of the arts by which it is secured. The reference indicates, moreover, a shrewdness of social insight and aptitude for persuasive speech which is thoroughly Irish. In this delightfully Celtic account of the true way of winning another to your opinion, we see depicted the future author of 'The Principles of Human Knowledge,' and of the 'Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.' In all literature, it would be difficult to find a more extreme illustration of the art of humouring an opponent in his own way of talking than is supplied by these works. We need only refer to Berkeley's reiterated and almost desperate attempts to show that his central principle as to the non-existence of external objects is in perfect harmony with vulgar opinion and belief. Well might his critics say that in these attempts he somewhat severely strained both his own positions and the vulgar belief in order to give them the faintest colouring of agreement.

But Berkeley's dexterity in the use of this rhetorical artifice was evidently the result of long and early practice. From his childhood he had evinced an unaccountable turn that way. He had no doubt tried his powers of persuasive speech in defending many a juvenile paradox, first among the family circle at Dysart Castle, and then with his companions at the old Kilkenny College. And we may be sure that, however startling or extreme the notion that absorbed his mind might be, the boy's argumentative keenness and rhetorical skill would give it plausibility enough to impress his youthful companions. Nay, the novelty of the opinion, and the enthusiastic confidence displayed in its defence, are the very qualities best fitted to strike the imagination and win the support of eager and generous youthful minds. The combination of intellectual freshness and moral intrepidity, the union of uncommon thoughts with resolute yet conciliatory zeal in their exposition and defence, is indeed very much the secret of Berkeley's strong personal influence in after life. But it is clear this influence made itself felt even at school. In those early days, his ardent nature, logical dexterity, and persuasive tongue had secured him a following, and one of his boyish followers remained a devoted adherent to the end of life. This was Thomas Prior, the 'dear Tom' of Berkeley's extensive correspondence from London and the Continent. The life-long friendship with Prior evidently began at school, and we may safely conclude from their subsequent relations that, although Prior was three years older, he soon fell completely under Berkeley's influence, and came to regard him as a kind

of superior being. Prior was himself a man of good family and independent fortune, of considerable intelligence, culture, and public spirit, who, after settling in Dublin, took for many years an active part in the political and scientific movements of the time. But he was wholly unable to resist the fascination of Berkeley's mind and manner, and the correspondence shows the complete command which the latter had acquired over him. Berkeley often indeed writes to him in a tone of authority, as though he were addressing a younger relative, an agent or dependent even, rather than an equal and a friend. And Prior cordially accepts the relation, and is glad to become Berkeley's humble servant, and promptly do his bidding, in any matter, great or small. Prior's steadfast devotion is one of the earliest and most striking examples of the extraordinary personal influence Berkeley exercised over almost all who were brought into immediate association with him.

At the age of fifteen, Berkeley left the old Kilkenny School and the pleasant banks of the Nore for Trinity College, Dublin, where he was matriculated in March 1700. He remained at Trinity College thirteen years, first as scholar and undergraduate, then as Fellow and tutor, absorbed in his own pursuits, and enjoying the learned leisure and academical associations in which his ardent and studious nature found so exquisite a charm. The years thus spent cover the whole period of his strictly philosophical life and labours. The strong metaphysical impulse he received in the early years of his college course, after kindling all the energies of his mind to a pitch of concentrated and sustained enthusiasm, seems to have worked itself out by the time he left for London in 1713. During the closing years of this period were published the three works by which alone Berkeley ranks as a psychologist and metaphysician. In later years, indeed, he produced a number of treatises on ethical, mathematical, and political subjects, but, excepting the last, almost the only references to philosophy proper they contain are repetitions of what had been better said in his early works. The most important of these—'The 'Principles of Human Knowledge'—was, indeed, published as a first part, and the author's notes and writings contain allusions to a second and third part, to be afterwards issued in order to complete the original plan of the work. But these parts never appeared, and there is nothing to show that Berkeley ever attempted to complete the original scheme. No fragment in the way of preparation for the other parts is found amongst the Berkeley papers. The truth appears to be that, subsequently to the publication of the dialogues between Hylas

and Philonous, the philosophical fervour of his early youth passed away never to return, except in a feebler form, as a kind of after-glow, towards the close of life. That he should have produced his philosophical works while still almost a student, is certainly a marvellous proof of Berkeley's precocity as a thinker. The first, and, in some respects, the best—'The 'New Theory of Vision'—appeared when he was only twenty-four, the second a year later, and the last after an interval of three years. All were published before he was twenty-nine, and his philosophical career may be said to have virtually closed before he reached the age of thirty. This sufficiently shows that philosophy, the pursuit of rational truth, was an accident and episode rather than the motive and object of his life.

We know very little of Berkeley's habits while a student at Trinity College, but one or two of the more authentic traditions of his behaviour illustrate his absorption in his own conceptions, and his somewhat impulsive tendency to realise any ideal that possessed his mind or powerfully affected his imagination. In his walks he seems to have had an air of unconscious abstraction or rapt self-communion, so marked as to excite notice and give him a reputation for eccentricity. 'Ordinary people,' it is said, 'did not understand him, and 'laughed at him. Soon after his entrance, he began to be 'looked at as either the greatest genius or the greatest dunce 'in college. Those who were slightly acquainted with him 'took him for a fool; but those who shared his intimate friend-'ship thought him a prodigy of learning and goodness of heart.' The vulgar judgment thus pronounced on the behaviour of the young philosopher was a kind of rude anticipation of the varying historical judgment pronounced on his works. Those who are slightly acquainted with them often look on their author as little better than a fool or a fanatic, while those who, yielding to the charm of his style, have become denizens of Berkeley's philosophical household, regard him as amongst the greatest of philosophers and wisest of men. Another tradition connecting him with Goldsmith's uncle Conterini, brings into prominent relief the realistic tendency of his mind, his disposition, without much forethought or calculation of results, to carry into execution any scheme or fancy that for the moment excited him. According to the story, curiosity had on one occasion led him to go and witness an execution. 'He 'returned pensive and melancholy, but inquisitive about the 'sensations experienced by the criminal in the crisis of his 'fate. He informed Conterini of his eccentric curiosity. It 'was agreed between them that he should himself try the

'experiment, and be relieved by his friend on a signal arranged, 'after which Conterini, in his turn, was to repeat the experi-'ment. Berkeley was accordingly tied up to the ceiling, and 'the chair removed from under his feet. Losing consciousness, 'his companion waited in vain for the signal. The enthusiastic 'inquirer might have been hung in good earnest—and as soon 'as he was relieved, he fell motionless upon the floor. On 'recovering himself, his first words were, "Bless my heart, '"Conterini, you have rumpled my band!"' The account is probably authentic, as it is in perfect harmony with Berkeley's impetuosity in following any idea that possessed him. Nor is there anything extravagant or surprising in his comparative insensibility to the danger he had so narrowly escaped. For, although never particularly self-denying, he was often, in his more absorbed or enthusiastic moods, eminently self-forgetful.

Though we have few personal details of Berkeley's life at Trinity College, we are able, by means of the Commonplace Book, to trace in outline his course of study, and follow the movements of his thought, especially during the earlier years of his residence. The subjects that chiefly attracted his attention, partly from natural inclination, and still more perhaps from the academic influences around him, were mathematics and philosophy, physics and metaphysics. There is indeed a tradition or rather conjecture that at this period 'he fed 'his imagination with the airy visions of romances, and that 'these helped to dissolve his sense of the difference between 'illusion and reality.' This is evidently a biographical myth arising from a total misconception of the nature of Berkeley's idealism. Weak minds absorbed in the emotional excitement of romance-reading become indifferent to the activities of life, and are said therefore to live in a world of imagination, where the characters and events are alike unreal. The result is a kind of paralysis of intellectual and volitional effort. But, so far from having the least sympathy with such a state of mind, Berkeley was, in this sense, a terrible realist. His idealism is, in fact, the result of intense and over-eager mental action. Mind is, with him, the only real force in nature, all we perceive and experience being in the last resort the result of a living and ceaseless activity of intellect and will. His mind was at once too serious and too active to be interested in any romances then available. He would have found them intolerably wearisome and dull. Anyone with a true insight into Berkeley's character would thus discredit the myth, apart from Mrs. Berkeley's express testimony that her husband 'at all times 'strongly disliked such works, regarding them as no better

anyone besides towards effecting the salutary change. He was a student of Trinity College, and published soon after leaving it—as early as 1680—a translation of Descartes' Meditations with the objections of Hobbes and Descartes' replies. In 1683, assisted by Sir W. Petty, he established a philosophical society in Dublin for the purpose of discussing moral questions and advancing experimental inquiry. A few years later, he published the first work on optics which had appeared in English, and in a dedication to the Royal Society, of which he had been elected a member, he notices amongst the improvements of philosophy produced by the inductive method, the advances in logic recently made by the celebrated John Locke. Besides being an excellent mathematician and astronomer, Molyneux took a keen interest in mental science, and, living in Dublin in constant intercourse with its most eminent men, including his old associates at Trinity College, he gave a powerful impulse to the spirit of inquiry in both directions. Although this eminent man died two years before Berkeley entered college, his eldest son, Samuel Molyneux, left under the guardianship of his uncle, soon met Berkeley within the college walls, and became one of his constant companions and intimate friends. It is to him Berkeley dedicates the firstfruits of his mathematical studies in a curiously eulogistic address expressing strong personal regard towards his friend, and the confident assurance of his future distinction in literature and science. He celebrates in equally emphatic language the mathematical and philosophical eminence, both of his father, 'cut off' by a fate, deplorable alike for his country 'and the interests of learning,' and of his uncle, Dr. Thomas Molyneux, who had undertaken the duty of superintending his nephew's education. Dr. Molyneux, who was professor of medicine in the University of Dublin, survived his brother for more than thirty years, taking during the whole of the period a prominent part in the scientific and philosophic activities of the college and city. Like his brother, he was a man of eminent scientific and literary attainments, a member of the Royal Society, and a frequent contributor to its Transactions. Like him, he was also a personal friend and correspondent of Locke; and, amongst other papers from his pen, there appeared in the year Berkeley graduated a series of letters on philosophical subjects, originally addressed by him to that eminent English thinker.

Berkeley must have been a frequent visitor at Dr. Molyneux's house during his residence at Trinity College, and here he would be sure, not only to hear of anything fresh

or interesting in the worlds of science, philosophy, and literature, but to have the more important results of speculation and experimental research discussed with ample knowledge, cultured intelligence, and critical skill. In later years, Berkeley's connexion with the Molyneux family led indirectly to his advancement at Court and preferment in the Church. Soon after leaving Trinity College, young Molyneux had been appointed secretary to Prince George of Hanover, afterwards George II., and, at the accession of George I., he accompanied the Prince—then Prince of Wales—to England, and remained for a time with him at the Court of St. James's, acting in the same capacity. In consequence of this connexion with the Court, young Molyneux appears to have been for some years better known in London society than his father. In the preface to a French translation of Locke's Essay, published in 1719, the translator, referring to the elder Molyneux, speaks of him as 'le père de l'illustre Mr. Molyneux, Secre-'taire de S.A.R. le Prince de Galles.' During Berkeley's first visit to London, his old college friend presented him to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, who was so charmed with his manners and conversation as to require his presence at the philosophic and literary receptions she was in the habit of giving once every week. Here he met, amongst other eminent men, Clarke, Hoadly, and Sherlock; and, to the delight of the Princess, engaged with them in animated discussion on philosophical questions, including the leading points of his own ideal system. After the failure of the Bermuda project, when Berkeley returned to London from Rhode Island, the Princess—now Queen Caroline—remembered her old acquaintance, and interested herself so effectually on his behalf as to secure for him the Bishopric of Cloyne.

But his earlier connexion with the Molyneux family during his residence at Trinity College is the more important event in Berkeley's mental history, as helping to kindle his interest in the new philosophy, and fix his attention on the metaphysical speculations out of which his own system arose. A number of minor circumstances tend to show the strong interest which the writings of Descartes and Locke excited at Trinity College during this period, and how keenly Berkeley himself felt the stimulating impulse. The year after he matriculated, a Latin translation of Locke's Essay was published by a member of the college. Burridge, the translator, had undertaken the work originally at the suggestion of the elder Molyneux, in order, amongst other purposes, to promote the rapid interchange of philosophic conceptions between British and Con-

tinental thinkers. The year before, a complete translation of Malebranche's great work, 'De la Recherche de la Vérité,' with his replies to the objections of his critics, and some smaller tracts, had appeared at Oxford, and been forwarded to Dublin. Three or four years later, Berkeley himself seems to have taken a leading part in the formation of a collegiate society for the discussion of questions connected with the new philosophy. Several of the questions thus debated are found in the Berkeley Papers, and they are nearly all taken from the writings of Descartes, Malebranche, and Locke; and almost every page of the Commonplace Book shows how completely the writer's mind was absorbed by the speculative impulse communicated from their works, and how keenly he was working out for himself the fresh problems the central principles of their philosophy had suggested.

There was, however, at this time, another influence powerfully at work in Dublin society, especially amongst its ecclesiastical and academical sections, which requires some notice, from the extent to which it obviously affected Berkeley's mind, and helped to mould his future thought. The influence was that resulting from a keen religious excitement, primarily connected with the Church of which Berkeley was a member, and whose orders he soon afterwards received. The Irish Church has always been noted for the strength of its convictions, and the energy of its occasional denunciations of those who are outside its pale. This narrow, though vigorous and intrepid sectarian life was indeed a natural result of its position. Having to carry on a perpetual war with the enemy at the gate, with the dominant Romanism around it, the Church was always in fighting trim, ready to do battle against all comers at the shortest notice and in the most energetic style. Any hostile challenge would therefore be at once taken up, and at the first note of opposition or attack the flag of defiance would be unfurled, the drum ecclesiastic sounded, and the invader met with the active forces and matured strategy of theological warfare. It was thus the true Church militant, alive to any opposition however feeble, and prompt to repel any aggression however slight.

One of these characteristic outbursts of somewhat excessive zeal had occurred just three years before Berkeley entered Trinity College. Toland, the author of 'Christianity not 'Mysterious,' the year after the book was published, and when the excitement it produced was at its height, ventured to visit Dublin with the intention of remaining there for some time. The ground was indeed to some extent pre-

pared, as on the appearance of the work in the previous year, the London booksellers had sent a number of copies to the Irish capital, where it had excited as much commotion as in England. Toland was an Irishman by birth, and shared to the full in the love of social notoriety and delight at the prospect of a faction fight which belong to his race. Though a good scholar and an honest man enough, he was not only ambitious of social distinction, but vain of his learning and abilities, and given to boastful talking of his distinguished reception at Oxford and London, and his intimate connexion with great men in both places. He seems to have gone to Dublin, partly to enjoy the learned recognition which he imagined the fame of his work would procure for him, and partly to carry the war which he claimed to wage against priestly intolerance and dogmatic assumption into the enemy's camp. He met, however, a much warmer reception than he anticipated. It was not for a moment to be supposed that the Irish Church would remain inactive with such an enemy at her very gates. She took the field at once, and proved fully equal to the emergency. Toland's own conduct was anything but prudent or conciliatory. He seems to have swaggered about the city giving vent, in season and out of season, to his aggressive and boastful loquacity. Wherever he went, he indulged in violent attacks on the clergy, and ostentatiously proclaimed himself a freethinker in religion. His presence and behaviour thus naturally excited amongst the clergy and their friends a feeling of intense irritation and bitter hostility. Molyneux, writing to Locke a short time after his arrival, thus describes the welcome he received: 'There is a violent sort of spirit that 'reigns here, which begins already to show itself against him, 'and I believe will increase daily, for I find the clergy alarmed 'to a mighty degree against him; and last Sunday he had his 'welcome to the city by hearing himself harangued against 'out of the pulpit by a prelate of this country.' Not only, however, did the pulpits of the city thunder against Toland. The Irish Parliament took the matter up, and voted that his book should be burned by the common hangman, ordering at the same time that the author should be taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms and prosecuted by the Attorney-General. Even before this extreme step was taken, the outcry against him had become so universal that 'it was even dangerous for 'a man to have been known once to converse with him.' Toland, unable to face the storm, fled precipitately from the kingdom, discharging a Parthian pamphlet at the Irish Parliament in his flight.

The furor against Toland extended from the clergy, the friends of the Church, and the Parliament, to Trinity College, and stimulated the senior Fellow, Mr. Peter Browne —afterwards Bishop of Cork—to become the literary champion of outraged orthodoxy. While the excitement was at its height, Browne published his reply to Toland, which, though in some respects an able work, bears unmistakeable marks of the violent and bitter spirit the conflict had produced. In abusive language and ruthless intolerance of tone and sentiment, it far exceeds indeed the usual license of sectarian controversy. Molyneux, in sending a copy of the book to Locke, says that, though he is personally acquainted with the author, he cannot forgive his foul language and opprobrious epithets, or his 'continually calling in the civil magistrate and delivering 'Mr. Toland up to secular punishment. This is indeed,' he adds, 'a killing argument.' But truculence of this sort was not altogether confined to the Irish Church. A kind of approving echo comes from England in the shape of a congratulation addressed by the celebrated Dr. South to the Archbishop of Dublin that, instead of sheltering Toland, 'the Irish Parlia-'ment, to their immortal honour, presently sent him packing, 'and without the help of a faggot, soon made the kingdom too 'hot for him.' The Archbishop was himself, however, so pleased with the reply, that Browne was, through his influence, raised to the Provostship of Trinity College a few months before Berkeley matriculated The promotion was avowedly a reward for the services he had rendered the clerical party in the struggle. The excitement was kept up by fresh pamphlets from Toland; and Berkeley, soon after entering college, would be sure to hear all about the arch-heretic, and the distinguished part which the learned Provost had taken in replying to his attacks. A year or two later, in 1704, Toland published a letter maintaining the very form of materialistic doctrine against which Berkeley's metaphysical reasonings were afterwards directed—that matter is eternal, and motion its essential property; and later still, he developed the doctrine into a scheme of avowed and tolerably coherent pantheism.

The local movement against Toland was thus exactly fitted to strike the deepest chords in Berkeley's nature, and rouse the best energies of his acute and argumentative intellect. Toland was the representative of a wider attack then made on the Church by assailants variously known as sceptics, materialists, infidels, and freethinkers. While much of the substance of this attack was calculated to shock Berkeley's intense theistic feeling, the form of it outraged his most cherished institutional

and professional sympathies. Always acutely sensitive on the subject of the clergy, he must have heartily approved of the resolute stand made by the Irish Church against their assailant. As a natural result, he decided to take part in the deepening conflict, though of course this would be done in his own way, and from his own special point of view. From his refinement and elevation of nature, he could not indeed have much sympathy with the more vulgar denunciations and appeals of sectarian bigotry, or adopt the coarser forms of party warfare. Still, he was a thorough Irishman in his love of conflict, and a thorough Churchman in his resolute defence of the ecclesiastical organisation with which he was identified. And when acutely touched on these points, he could at times be incisive and bitter enough. He thus reflects under more ideal conditions and in a somewhat removed sphere the essential features of Irish Protestantism, its unwavering self-confidence, its somewhat bristling, but at the same time genial individuality, its narrow and unfruitful but eager, vigorous, and eloquent polemical life, its extraordinary promptitude and dexterity in employing the lighter arts and readier weapons of theological warfare. All Berkeley's greater works, 'The Principles of Human Knowledge,' 'The Minute 'Philosopher,' and 'The Analyst,' are polemical, and they are all the polemics of a Churchman against those whom he regards, often without sufficient knowledge or inquiry, as enemies of the Church, and therefore, in his view, of religion also. The first is directed against the undevout, or to adopt the trenchant language Berkeley is fond of using, the infidel metaphysician; the second against the undevout or infidel moralist; and the third against the undevout or infidel mathematician. They are all, strictly speaking, apologetics, and they all have marked features in common. Each springs from some strong personal or local impression which acting sympathetically on all the powers of his mind, especially on the imagination and moral sensibilities, calls his intellect into active exercise and supports its efforts till the end suggested by the original feeling is realised. Berkeley required indeed the spur of strong feeling and the stimulus of a practical object to bring his powers fully into play. The local excitement about Toland and his associates supplied both. It gave definiteness of aim, a practical moral purpose to his new studies. The materialistic philosopher, or infidel metaphysician, became the grand object of attack, and he is full of excitement as to the best means of assailing his position. Henceforth the new studies instead of being dry and jejune are full

of life, animation, and interest. He is busy forging weapons and selecting vantage grounds for the grand assault. In the Commonplace Book we see him ranging over the whole scientific and metaphysical field with the keen eye of a captain experienced in the art of moral warfare. We see him reconnoitring the enemy's position, discovering the weak places in his defences, and the points from which they may be most successfully attacked, constructing masked batteries, and exulting at the prospect of uncovering their fire at the critical moment to the consternation and discomfiture of the foe.

Curiously enough, Berkeley found in Cartesianism both the weapons and objects of attack. It supplied in a concentrated form what was to him at once the bane and antidote of speculation. On their mental side the leading Cartesian principles gratified the strongest sympathies of his nature, being eminently spiritual and theistic in their basis as well as in their wider scope and aim. But on their physical side these principles roused his keenest apprehensions and antipathies, as they appeared to him, in tendency at all events, materialistic. Any mechanical theory of the universe was in his view to be rejected as supplying the sceptic and materialist with the theoretical basis of his reasoning. And Descartes' mechanical theory, notwithstanding its supplementary theism, came under this general condemnation. It assumed a physical universe, a world of matter and motion, of bodies and qualities, of natural powers and products, governed in an orderly manner by laws of its own without the direct and incessant intervention of intelligence and will. Descartes' mechanical theory was therefore to be rejected, and, on the same grounds, that of Newton also. In this particular, Berkeley was perfectly impartial, being equally opposed to vortices and gravitation, to any and every theory indeed of matter and motion apart from the direct causal activity of mind. Amongst the earliest entries in the Commonplace Book, we accordingly find:—'I agree in nothing with the Cartesians as to the 'existence of bodies and qualities;' and again, on the first page, 'Newton begs his principles, I demonstrate mine.' The book abounds with entries of a similar kind all pointing in the same direction. The separation of the physical universe from any immediate dependence on mind was, indeed, in Berkeley's view, the root of all speculative evil. In the un-ideal world resulting from this separation, in the spaces beyond the immediate activity of intelligence and volition, the sceptic escaped as it were from the irresistible presence and power of the Deity, and was able to elaborate at will his atheistic theories

of matter and force equally eternal, and revolving together through endless Epicurean cycles of sensible birth and death, physical renovation and decay. Berkeley's great aim was to extirpate this atheistical conception by destroying the philosophical ground on which it rested,—the notions of an independent material substance, and of unmoral or purely physical force. In the Commonplace Book, we see him conning with restless scrutiny the physics and metaphysics of the time, exploring the standard authors of the new philosophy in search of principles that may be made available for his purpose. Whatever promised to be of service in his crusade against matter, or seemed likely to strengthen his position as to the volitional basis of all real power or effective causation in the universe, was at once adopted, and whatever appeared to conflict with these aims, as promptly rejected. This seems to have been the solitary test applied by the eager theist to the principles and details of the new philosophy.

At length the search is rewarded, and he becomes confident of success. He has found, as he thinks, the speculative fulcrum and lever required to dislodge matter from its philosophical position, and topple the sceptical asylum it afforded into the abyss. His new principle will effectually destroy the hateful limbo of heresy and error, and force its unhappy denizens—the whole tribe of infidels, materialists, and atheists—back into the moral and spiritual universe from which they had temporarily escaped. In the Commonplace Book, we see him exulting in the great discovery and filled with intense enthusiasm at the prospect of the mighty revolution it will effect. His pulse evidently beats with a fuller throb as he thinks of the mine he is about to explode beneath the chosen fortress of his foes. As he dwells on the prospect his exultation becomes expansive and almost self-forgetful. He contemplates the glory that will redound to others from their indirect connexion with discoveries so great and beneficent. Thus amongst his jottings is one referring to the Earl of Pembroke, to whom 'The 'Principles of Human Knowledge' was dedicated. 'Glorious 'for P. to be the protector of useful though newly discovered 'truths.' His patriotic feelings even were aroused, and he rejoices in the thought that it is an Irishman who will expose the absurdities and errors of contemporary mathematical and metaphysical reasonings. Referring to what the mathematicians say about insensible extensions, insensible lines and points, he says, 'We Irishmen cannot attain to these truths: 'we Irishmen can conceive no such lines.' And in special reference to the forthcoming treatise on the Principles of

Knowledge, he says explicitly: 'I publish not this so much for 'anything else as to know whether other men have the same 'ideas as we Irishmen. This is my end, and not to be in-'formed as to my own particular.' There is no doubt a touch of humorous irony here. He was perfectly confident as to the truth and value of his discoveries, but he is curious to see how the philosophical world would receive the correction of its numerous and dominant errors by means of Irish ideas.

After all, however, in his crusade against matter, Berkeley derived far more help than hindrance from Cartesianism. So far as his reasonings tell against Descartes' physics, they are only a fresh illustration of the engineer being hoist by his own petard. For he owed to Descartes not only the general impulse to metaphysical study, and many important psychological details, but the very groundwork of his system. His new principle is indeed only a dogmatic development of Descartes' fundamental axiom as to thought and existence. Descartes insisted, as no one had ever done before, that thinking is existing, that thinking cannot even be conceived apart from being, and that in this sense all thought is existence—the only existence of which we have any immediate knowledge; the type and criterion, therefore, of all certainty and truth. This is the well-known starting-point of his philosophy: I think, therefore I am; I perceive, remember and imagine, compare, combine and decide; I have sensations and emotions, appetites and passions, desires and volitions: therefore I exist. In other words, thought in all its various manifestations is a reality, is actual being, every state of which I am conscious exists, and in this sense thought is existence. Berkeley seizes intuitively on this central principle, and with characteristic eagerness carries it a step farther. Not content with saying that thought of every kind is existence, he went on to affirm that existence of every kind is thought. If all thought is existence, all existence, said this impetuous logician, must be thought. Nothing could more vividly illustrate Berkeley's whole mind and manner as a thinker and reasoner than this single step in advance. As a rule, he borrowed his fundamental principles from existing philosophies. But not possessing the breadth and balance of mind of the great thinkers from whom he took them, he usually pushed them to extremes. Descartes is satisfied with pronouncing on what lay clearly within the field of his knowledge, that mind as manifested in its various operations is a reality, that thought is, in this sense, existence. But he did not dogmatise about the unknown, did not deny the existence of anything besides

thought. Berkeley, however, has no such hesitation. Heedless of the missing link in the reasoning, he rushes on to the desired conclusion. And the great argument against the existence of any external or material reality, reduced to its simplest form comes to be, Thought is existence, Matter is not thought, therefore Matter has no existence; or to give the same form of reasoning in a more concrete and obvious example, Horses are animals, Sheep are not horses, therefore Sheep are not animals. To this familiar fallacy does Berkeley's reasoning as to the non-existence of an external world come at last. According to his custom, he carried the principle he borrowed one step farther, and this step is, as usual, an illicit one.

Again Berkeley was indebted to Descartes for the highest canon or criterion, as well as for the fundamental principle of his reasoning. This is the celebrated test with regard to the clearness and distinctness of ideas embodied in the well-known Cartesian rule that whatever we clearly and distinctly perceive is true. Berkeley continually employs this test in its Cartesian breadth and universality. It is the ground of his continual appeals to the reader to look into his own mind, and ascertain whether he clearly and distinctly perceives the ideas on which the arguments submitted to him rest, or which the positions assailed involve. This principle, moreover, supplies the basis of his interested quarrel with the mathematicians, the whole force of his retort upon them lying in the alleged inability of the mind to form a clear and distinct idea, which in his language means a mental image or picture, of the fluent and infinitesimal quantities which they assume in their reasonings, and virtually affirm to be real.

Then again, the Cartesian maxim, that we know directly only our own thoughts, the knowledge of anything beyond them being of a secondary, obscure, and doubtful character, is the very corner-stone of Berkeley's idealism. Many passages in Descartes' writings, indeed, state Berkeley's whole theory as a probable if not a necessary hypothesis. The following extract from the Third Meditation will show how completely Berkeley's main line of argument is indicated and even insisted on by Descartes:—

'I formerly received and admitted many things as wholly certain and manifest, which yet I afterwards found to be doubtful. What, then, were those? They were the earth, the sky, the stars, and all the other objects which I was in the habit of perceiving by the senses. But what was it that I clearly perceived in them? Nothing more than that the ideas and the thoughts of those objects were presented to my mind.

And even now I do not deny that these ideas are found in my mind. But there was yet another thing which I affirmed, and which, from having been accustomed to believe it, I thought I clearly perceived, although in truth I did not perceive it at all; I mean the existence of objects external to me, from which those ideas proceeded, and to which they had a perfect resemblance; and it was here I was mistaken, or, if I judged correctly, this assuredly was not traced to any knowledge I possessed of these things.'

Here it will be seen that, according to Descartes, we can have no knowledge of external objects, and the only way in which he subsequently attempts to vindicate our belief in their reality is by postulating the existence and veracity of a Divine Being. Not only, however, is the negative part of Berkeley's theory as to the non-existence of an external world found clearly indicated by Descartes; the positive part of his theory as to the volitional nature of all real power and the incessant action of the Divine Will as the only ground of sensible appearances, is also clearly traceable to Descartes' speculations on the existence of material things. The Sixth Meditation contains almost every step of Berkeley's argument on the subject. Descartes there maintains that in perception the mind is passive, ideas of sensible things being impressed upon it from without; that these ideas involve some active power as the ground or cause of their production; and that this active power must either reside in a material substance, or be the direct manifestation of the Divine Mind. With his usual caution, Descartes makes, it is true, a third supposition, which Berkeley, with his usual facility of ignoring what does not serve his purpose, as naturally excludes,—that sensible appearances may be due to the action of a superior spirit, of a mind, that is, higher than the human, but lower than the Divine Mind. Descartes decides in favour of the first or physical supposition, solely on the ground of our natural belief in the existence of external objects being, as the result of a Divine ordinance, trustworthy. Berkeley laboured strenuously to show that our natural beliefs do not of necessity involve the notion of an external material world; and supposing him to have been successful in this attempt, his whole argument easily falls into the framework of Descartes' reasoning on the subject. How curiously this is the case will be further seen in the description Descartes gives of nature in the same meditation:—'For by nature, considered in general, 'I now understand nothing more than God himself, or the 'order and disposition established by God in created things; 'and by nature in particular I understand the assemblage of all 'that God has given me.' The thoroughgoing idealism thus

latent in Descartes' principles was fully developed by Malebranche, and from him Berkeley derived many hints and suggestions as well as some of the more striking arguments and illustrations employed in the elaboration of his system.

But apart from special obligations, the broader and general features of Cartesianism are so completely in harmony with Berkeley's ruling tendencies that he would be sure to feel their influence. In the main, as already hinted, Cartesianism is intensely spiritual and theistic, the idea of a God being with Descartes himself the ultimate ground of all certainty both of fact and reasoning. Nor is the strongly marked ethical and practical character of Cartesian thought less thoroughly congenial to Berkeley's dominant impulses and aims. The great writers of the school have a deep and pervading sense of the intimate connexion between speculation and practice; of the salutary influence knowledge has, or ought to have, on conduct; of the direct tendency of all true philosophic training to promote the higher purposes and aims of life. And by true philosophic training they everywhere understand the formation of habits of just, serious, and responsible thought. This is a prominent feature in the writings of Descartes himself, and it comes out even more strongly in those of Malebranche and the Port Royalists, especially Arnauld and Nicole. Almost any part of Malebranche's writings would illustrate this general characteristic, but it finds concentrated expression in the opening passage of Arnauld's introductory discourse prefixed to the Port Royal Logic:—

'The main object of our attention,' he says, 'should be to form our judgment, and render it as exact as possible; and to this end the greater part of our studies ought to tend. We employ reason as an instrument for acquiring the sciences; whereas on the contrary we ought to avail ourselves of the sciences as an instrument for perfecting our reason, justness of mind being infinitely more important than all the speculative knowledges which we can obtain by means of sciences the most solid and well-established. This ought to lead wise men to engage in these only so far as they may contribute to that end, and to make them the exercise only, and not the occupation, of their mental powers. If we have not this end in view, the study of the speculative sciences—such as geometry, astronomy and physics—will be little else than a vain amusement, and scarcely better than the ignorance of these things, which has at least this advantage,—that it is less laborious, and affords no room for that empty vanity which is often found connected with these barren and unprofitable knowledges. These sciences not only have nooks and hidden places of very little use; they are even totally useless considered in themselves, and for themselves alone. Men are not born to employ their time in measuring lines, in examining the relations of angles, and considering the different movements of

matter; their minds are too great, their life too short, their time too precious to be engrossed with such petty objects: but they ought to be just, equitable, prudent, in all their converse, in all their actions, and in all the business they transact; and to these things they ought specially to discipline and train themselves.'

Berkeley would fully sympathise with this view as to the relation of knowledge to life, although his own practical impulses were somewhat less broad, deep, and vital, and more keenly and directly institutional and dogmatic than those of the leading Cartesians. If the physics of the school repelled him, its moral elements and aspects would thus have an irresistible attraction for his mind, as well as a powerful influence on the development of his thought.

In the same way Locke affected Berkeley in the double direction of antagonism and development, supplying at once the positions to be attacked and the means of assailing them. Thus Berkeley accepted Locke's general doctrine of ideas as the only objects of consciousness, but having a keen eye for the deficiencies and imperfections of his developed theory of knowledge, he brought clearly into view some of its latent inconsistencies. In adopting Locke's doctrine of ideas, Berkeley, however, pushed it to an extreme in the direction of sensualism. He maintained that ideas of sense actually experienced or revived in memory and imagination—in a word, intuitions, actual or ideal, are the only objects of knowledge. But Locke included under the term idea, notions and conceptions which are the result of the mind's discursive activity; and he was perfectly entitled, therefore, to designate this class of ideas by an epithet indicating the process of their formation. With all his looseness of language, he thus uses the phrase abstract idea in a thoroughly definite, intelligible, and valid sense. Berkeley, however, while employing Locke's phrase, empties it of Locke's meaning. And, having thus beforehand deprived the word idea of the only sense in which the epithet, abstract or general, could be associated with it, he proceeds to attack fiercely the figment of his own imagination which is left. The phrase arbitrarily restricted by Berkeley to his own sense, no longer designates Locke's doctrine at all, and, in assailing what he calls an abstract idea, Berkeley simply deals with an irrational and contradictory notion, or rather combination of terms, for which he is himself responsible. At the same time he seems to do this in perfect good faith—haste and eagerness leading him to force into a doctrine he nominally adopts his own narrow and exclusive meaning. In the same way, he says, in reference to Descartes:—'It is absurd to argue the exist-

'ence of God from his idea. We have no idea of God. 'Tis 'impossible.' Here, as usual, he uses the term idea in his own limited meaning as restricted to sensible perception, while Descartes of course uses it in a widely different sense. Berkeley's whole polemic against abstract ideas is thus one of the most curious blunders, one of the most serious, elaborate, and fervid illustrations of the *ignoratio elenchi* to be found in the history of philosophy.

Berkeley deals somewhat more successfully with Locke's double-edged doctrine of the primary and secondary qualities of body. While dexterously turning one half of this doctrine to his own purposes, he rejects the other or objective half as groundless and irrelevant. On Locke's principles, indeed, it was easy enough for Berkeley to get rid of the obnoxious material world. For although Locke justly discriminated the knowledge afforded by the primary qualities as objective and real, his general doctrine of ideas obliged him to maintain that it was not immediate or direct. According to him we do not perceive the primary qualities, but simply ideas which are resemblances of them; in other words, we know them, not in themselves, but only in a mental image or modification which represents them. This limitation of the primary as well as of the secondary qualities of body to a merely subjective knowledge or recognition, destroys the meaning and value of the whole distinction. The only valid ground for believing in the existence of an external world is that we are directly conscious of it as extended and resisting. If we know only ideas, if all the objects of knowledge are merely mental modifications, the notion of an external world is a gratuitous assumption, an hypothesis equally unnecessary and incapable of proof. Berkeley urges this latent inconsistency with unanswerable force. Locke's doctrines fully developed were thus shown to be in hopeless conflict not only with themselves but with the facts of experience. The vital discrepancy pointed to a radical defect in Locke's theory of knowledge, and this is the service which Berkeley's criticism of the primary qualities unwittingly rendered to philosophy. Having thus, as he imagined, got rid of matter, Berkeley found in Locke's theory of the secondary qualities the very arguments he required for establishing the activity of spirit in its place. The secondary qualities, such as colours, tastes, smells, heat and cold, are sensations in ourselves, and not, strictly speaking, therefore, qualities in objects at all. All they suggest or directly reveal to the mind is something external, some cause or power different from ourselves. As they occur indepen-

evidently elated at the success of his earlier works. 'The Dia-'logues between Hylas and Philonous in opposition to Sceptics 'and Atheists,' which appeared after a short interval, breathe the confidence and exhilaration of anticipated if not of achieved victory. They may be described as a kind of festive parade after the main engagement, designed chiefly to strengthen the outposts, to impress and conciliate neutrals, and cut off any stragglers in the rear of the retiring foe. In other words, the Dialogues simply repeated in a more graceful, popular, and animated form the leading arguments and illustrations of the Principles.

The great bolt having at length been shot, Berkeley was anxious to watch for himself its effects in the centre of opinion at which it had been aimed. The publication of the New Theory and the Principles had made his name well known to the scholars and thinkers of the metropolis. He had himself sent copies of the latter work to some of the more eminent dignitaries of the English Church, as well as to several philosophers and men of science in the English capital, and some correspondence had probably ensued. But with the eagerness of a discoverer, he was anxious to ascertain for himself the results which his startling system had produced in the great world of literary interest and philosophical activity. In the days of Queen Anne, London was *the* world of letters in a more exclusive sense than perhaps at any time before or since. Every aspirant to literary distinction naturally looked to the metropolis, and longed to mingle in the brilliant circle of wits and humourists, poets and philosophers, that made it so attractive. From his ardent nature and excited hopes, this feeling would be specially strong in Berkeley, and early in the spring of 1713 he accordingly determined to visit London. Other motives probably had a share in this determination. The incessant strain of severe study and thought during the last five years had produced a reaction of languor and exhaustion, and he required the relief afforded by society and travel. Health, indeed, is expressly stated as one of the reasons that influenced him in going to London. Then we may be quite sure that he had an eye to business as well as pleasure, that he wished to put fairly forward his claims to advancement in the Church. It is indeed one of the traditions about Berkeley that he was dead to ambition, and in a certain limited sense this is no doubt true. He was quite free from the vulgar and grasping ambition to secure mere wealth or titles or worldly distinctions. But he had an intense desire for recognition and influence, for position in the Church and

power to carry out his own schemes. Nor was he by any means indifferent to literary and philosophic fame. And he neglected no means which an honourable and highminded man could employ to secure these ends. Mrs. Berkeley, indeed, taking on the whole a just, but still an exalted view of her husband's motives and conduct, says, 'that it was from a hope of advancing 'the interest of his college that Dr. Berkeley submitted to the 'drudgery of bearing a part in the fruitless weekly debates 'with Clarke and Hoadly in the presence of the Princess 'Charlotte [Caroline].' But it must be remembered that Berkeley was an eager disputant, anxious to defend his system, and that he had shown a strong desire to frequent these circles and take part in such debates ten years before the Bermuda project was thought of. Then his first work—the New Theory—is dedicated to Sir John Percivale in terms of elaborate and high-flown panegyric, in the course of which he says, that to be publicly known as the acquaintance of such a man will advance his interests and reputation. Subsequently, with a direct view to advancement in the Church, he became private chaplain to two noblemen holding high office in the State. He was even willing to submit to some degree of personal humiliation in order to secure this object. While chaplain to the Duke of Grafton, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, we find him complaining, half seriously, half playfully, that 'he 'has to sup and often dine with the steward, and that the 'Duke keeps him at a great distance;' but, he adds, 'a good 'deanery will easily make amends for lessening my quality.'

From these various motives of business and pleasure, he was bent on going to London, and making the most of his opportunities during his stay. Here his usual good fortune attended him, the magic of his presence being immediately felt, and securing for him 'honour, love, obedience, and troops of friends.' Men of different political parties, and of the most opposite aims and dispositions, seem to have been equally attracted towards him, and to have almost vied with each other in seeking his society, celebrating his merits, and rendering him important personal services. Swift and Steele, Addison and Pope, Sherlock and Atterbury, all interested themselves on his behalf, and sought to further his social, professional, and philosophical aims. He was introduced at court, frequented the Princess of Wales' evening parties, and received marked attention from eminent noblemen and leading members of the Government. The earlier period of his visit was thus a kind of triumphal progress through the best sections of London society. The great success was due, in part, no doubt to the

freshness, ardour, and geniality of his Irish nature, his real goodness of heart, and rare powers of conversation. But it was due still more perhaps to the fact that his living interest in men and things, as well as in the world of thought, was fed by secret springs of feeling that usually run dry in the heated and superficial atmosphere of society. Without a particle of mere sentiment or affectation, he had a genuine enthusiasm for ideas, almost a poet's love for ideals, and this gave a real, though at the same time romantic, glow to all the activities of his mind. The purity and fervour of poetic feeling, reflected in answering charms of manner and conversation, must have filled the veteran intriguers and worldlings of the court and city clubs with mingled feelings of admiration and envy. And Berkeley's manly presence, frankness, varied culture, and vigour of mind, would effectually prevent their admiration from degenerating into pity or contempt for him as a dreamer or enthusiast. They would feel at once how thoroughly genuine he was, even in his most exalted moods, and, to those who could appreciate them, these moods must have been thoroughly refreshing and delightful. The kindled thoughts, radiant fancies, and transparent purity of mind and motive, reflected in the grace and animated flow of his speech at such seasons, must have been as warmth and sunlight to a nature so turbulent and ambitious, so proud and gloomy, so envious and cynical, as that of Swift. But all who were brought into contact with him seem to have felt the spell of Berkeley's personal influence, and to have yielded themselves, at least in a measure, to the fascination. In particular, he had just the combination of personal and moral qualities to impress the more refined, intellectual, and ardent types of female character; and to the admiration he excited in the minds of accomplished women such as Vanessa and the Princess Caroline, he owed much of his advancement in life.

The greater part of the next seven years Berkeley spent on the Continent, first as chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, who went in November 1713 as Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Sicily, and then for a much longer period as companion to Mr. Ashe, son of his old tutor, now Bishop of Clogher, by whom he had been ordained a few years before. Professor Fraser gives an interesting account of the second tour, and he has been fortunate enough to recover a diary which the observant traveller kept during part of the time. This enables us to follow Berkeley from place to place, and see the keen interest he takes in art and literature, in the manners, the social and industrial condition, of the populations,

as well as in the scenery of the different countries through which he passed. The prolonged round of varied European travel may be said to have completed Berkeley's adult liberal education. It quickened and trained his powers of observation, enlarged his knowledge of the world, and gave still more grace and polish to his already attractive manners and conversation.

On returning to England in 1721, his mind was shocked and saddened at the social desolation and misery produced by the terrible collapse of the South Sea Scheme. The train of bitter and despairing reflections this calamity awakened, found concentrated expression in one of the most curious and characteristic productions of his pen—'An Essay towards pre-'venting the Ruin of Great Britain.' This essay vividly illustrates a striking feature of Berkeley's mind—the deep, painful, and persistent impression which any shock to his keen moral and institutional sensibilities produced. In this, as in other cases, his excited feeling immensely exaggerated the calamity, and led him to take the most extreme and erroneous views of its moral causes and material results. In the first sentence of the essay, he announces that the country is evidently undone, and after giving various exaggerated illustrations of its ruinous state, he gloomily concludes that restoration or recovery is all but hopeless:—

'It must be owned,' he says, 'that little can be hoped if we consider the corrupt degenerate age we live in. One may venture to affirm that the present time hath brought forth new and portentous villanies, not to be paralleled in our own or any other history. We have been long preparing for some great catastrophe. Vice and villany have by degrees grown reputable amongst us, our infidels have passed for fine gentlemen, and our venal traitors for men of sense who knew the world. We have made a jest of public spirit, and cancelled all respect for whatever our laws and religion repute sacred. Instead of blushing for our crimes, we are ashamed only of piety and virtue. In short, other nations have been wicked, but we are the first who have been wicked upon principle.'

As usual, he attributes the impending national ruin to what was with him the root of all evil, infidelity and freethinking, and suggests that freethinkers should be severely chastised by the law, and that blasphemy, by which he means very much what would now be called neology, should be punished with the same rigour as treason against the King. Having made such a thoroughly false estimate of the cause, nature, and extent of the calamity, he was hardly likely to suggest any appropriate remedy. Like most men of philanthropic minds who feel keenly the misfortunes of others without knowing

much about their actual state and prospects, Berkeley's suggested remedies are out of all relation to the actual need. As the worst features of the national malady, in his exaggerated view of it, were imaginary, so the specifics he proposed are almost wholly ideal. The essay shows, however, the profound impression the great failure made on his mind, and, as we shall see, the impression was not easily effaced. It led indirectly to a project more novel and romantic than the suggestion of the essay in favour of a National Historical Academy of ingenious men, whose office it should be to revive patriotic sentiment amongst the living by periodical orations and panegyrics on the illustrious dead, in imitation of other countries, and especially of the Athenian senate, who appointed orators to commemorate, at stated national solemnities, those who died in defence of their country.

This new project, known as the Bermuda Scheme, is the next important event in Berkeley's life. In the spring of 1724, he was appointed by the Duke of Grafton to the Deanery of Derry, worth about 1,100*l.* a-year; and a few months later, he drew up and issued his celebrated 'Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and for converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to be erected on the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda.' Swift, in an admirable letter commending Berkeley's scheme to Lord Carteret's notice, says, that the proposal had occupied the mind of his friend and fellow-dean for three years. This would take the project back to the time of the South Sea catastrophe, and Professor Fraser naturally imagines there may have been some connexion between them. The facts and probabilities of the case are strongly in favour of this view. Berkeley's wider experience of the world, and more active intercourse with men during his London residence and foreign travels, seem to have turned his mind strongly away from mere speculation towards the practical aspects and duties of his profession. During his prolonged wanderings in Catholic countries, he had not lost the feelings of an Irish Churchman, and many circumstances tended to awaken within him vague plans for the advancement of Protestantism on a grand scale. At Rome he was evidently impressed with the perfect organisation and material splendour of the Catholic Church, her graduated orders, magnificent buildings, rich ceremonial, and absolute rule. His strongest academical and ecclesiastical sympathies would be touched by St. Peter's and the Vatican, and, as we shall presently see, he did not forget the impression. It seems clear, indeed, that

these things quickened his visionary faculty, set him dreaming of a kind of Nova Roma for the Western world, to be planted in virgin soil, with church and library, academic foundation, and sacred college of its own, dedicated, not to St. Peter the patron of the privileged, but to St. Paul the apostle of the heathen. The new seat of ecclesiastical empire was, moreover, to have circuses and colonnades, public buildings, and a new Appian Way to be adorned with monuments and obelisks, and called 'The Walk of Death.'

Then, again, in his travels, he had met with his ideal of natural scenery in the shape of an enchanting island whose varied beauty combined with the simple life of the inhabitants recalled, and to his roseate fancy almost realised, the Golden Age. He gives a glowing description of this perfect island, that of Inarime, in a long letter to Pope. It is, he tells the poet, an epitome of the whole earth, containing all the elements of lovely, romantic, and sublime scenery; the air in the hottest season constantly refreshed by cool breezes from the sea, the hills covered to the tops with vines, the fields divided by hedgerows of myrtle, fountains and rivulets on every side, and noble landscapes that 'would demand an imagination as 'warm and numbers as flowing as your own to describe.' 'The inhabitants of this delicious isle,' he adds, 'as they are 'without riches and honours, so they are without the vices and 'follies that attend them; and were they but as much strangers 'to revenge, as they are to avarice and ambition, they might 'in fact answer the poetical notions of the Golden Age.'

These are evidently the ecclesiastical and romantic elements which helped to shape his day-dreams of future life and work, and out of which the Bermuda project eventually arose. They embrace in their combination and consecration Berkeley's ideal of a perfect life,—the union of beautiful scenery and simple manners with organised ecclesiastical and academic labour, dedicated to the interests of piety and virtue. During his travels, this exquisite combination may have been merely a delightful vision exchanged, as he approached his native shore, for the soberer prospect of extended professional labour and influence at home. But if so, the widespread social ruin, the terrible domestic panic, that greeted him on his return, would be of all possible events the one most likely to recall the vision and stimulate him to turn it into a reality. In the prospect of coming home to undertake for the first time the active duties of clerical life, he had, no doubt, pictured himself as carrying into effect a vast scheme of local reformation, as the centre of an influential agency for promoting

morality and religion. Such a prospect would be rudely disturbed by the state of affairs on his arrival in England. As we have seen, in the violent reaction of excited feeling, he virtually despaired of the country. Panting to do a great work in the Church, he still felt himself unequal to cope with the chronic, aggravated, and increasing corruption of morals and manners at home. Under these circumstances, he would thankfully recall the vision, and turn with animation and hope to the New World. During the next three years, he was busily, though according to his wont for a time, secretly engaged in elaborating the details of his plan. In the first place, he would sweep the American coast and the Atlantic main for an appropriate site, and this he at length found in the Summer Islands. They realised in rare perfection the very combination of advantages that constituted his ideal of an academic and missionary residence. He then proceeded to perfect the moral and material parts of his scheme. The organisation of the collegiate body followed very much the pattern of Trinity College, the head, however, being designated Principal instead of Provost. With regard to the public buildings of the projected university and city of Bermuda, Berkeley determined to be his own architect, and in the plans he designed we may clearly trace the result of his Roman experiences and impressions. The actual plans have been lost, but Mrs. Berkeley gives a sketch in outline of the town and college according to her husband's design.

'Dean Berkeley,' she tells us, 'was an excellent architect, and he had completed elegant plans of his projected town, as well as of his seminary. The last edifice was to have occupied the centre of a large circus; and this circus was to have consisted of the houses of the Fellows, to each of which, in front, a spacious garden was allotted. Beyond this academical circus was another composed of houses for gentlemen, many of which houses had been actually bespoken, and the Dean had been requested to superintend the building of them. Beyond this circus was one more, which was calculated for the reception of shops and artificers. Dr. Berkeley disliked burying in churches, for which reason a cypress walk, called "The Walk of Death," was to be solemnly appropriated to the sole purpose of interment. There monumental urns or obelisks might be erected.'

Having matured his plan, he started for London in the autumn of 1724 with the 'Proposal' in his pocket. The 'Proposal,' urging the various motives in favour of the scheme, is well drawn up and forcibly written. As an Irish Protestant, Berkeley does not forget to appeal to the powerful argument of Protestant ascendency. He thinks that by the prompt and effectual execution of his plan, Romanism, having as yet but

a feeble hold upon it, may be soon driven from the New World. A number of other advantages, political and commercial, to be derived from the scheme are ingeniously and eloquently expounded. In London he pushed his plan with extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm, and, strange to say, with extraordinary success. He at once called into requisition the good offices of his friends, and employed to the utmost his personal influence, diplomatic skill, and rare powers of persuasion, until at length, having gained the ear of the King, and a favourable vote in the House of Commons, the scheme, to the surprise of everybody, was fairly afloat, and its author, with his newly-married wife and a few chosen companions, started on the strange academico-philosophical mission.

We have no space to follow in detail the history and fortunes of the Bermuda Scheme. Nor is this necessary, the enterprise being amongst the most romantic, and therefore the best known incidents of Berkeley's life. It is probably fortunate for his fame that the project failed, as it did, before he reached the Bermudas. Though minutely planned with all Berkeley's care about theoretical details, it was never fitted to succeed. Nor was Berkeley himself gifted with the executive genius, the indomitable endurance and persistency, the power of grappling with practical difficulties and overcoming them which are absolutely essential to the success of such an enterprise. Had he actually reached the Bermudas, and attempted to carry his elaborate scheme of the city and college into execution, the collapse would have been still more disastrous, and he would certainly have incurred a far heavier amount of responsibility. Nor is there any evidence to show that Berkeley himself was at all dissatisfied at the result. On the contrary, it seems clear from his letters, that after his four years' experience of Rhode Island, he was sincerely glad to return home again. Nor did he suffer any material loss during his temporary exile, having enjoyed the income from his rich deanery during the whole period. On leaving Rhode Island, indeed, he was not only in easy circumstances, but wealthy enough to make magnificent presents of land and books to Yale and Harvard Colleges.

The truth seems to be that the Bermuda project did not, after all, fail to realise some at least of the purposes for which it was projected. From the first Berkeley had two main objects in view—the establishment of a missionary college for the Americans, and an ample provision in the way of academical leisure and study for himself. All along a scheme of reading and literary labour of his own occupied his mind, and

had, perhaps almost unconsciously to himself, a prominent place in his conception of the great design. And this part of the original plan was fully realised. In the retirement of Rhode Island, he wrote under favourable circumstances of domestic ease, freedom, and enjoyment by far the largest as well as the most popular and readable of his works, 'Alciphron; 'or, the Minute Philosopher.' The seven dialogues of which the work consists may probably include some of the thoughts and arguments he had intended to employ in the second part of the Principles. But, however this may be, they would probably never have seen the light but for the painful shock which Berkeley experienced during his first visit to London, through his personal contact with freethinkers and freethinking sentiments. The form and substance of the Minute Philosopher are determined by his deep and almost passionate antipathy to the whole freethinking school. This antipathy seems to have been directed with concentrated bitterness against Collins, who had published, just before Berkeley's visit to London, a discourse in defence of freethinking. Collins' work would probably be regarded now as a mild plea on behalf of independent criticism, of the right to examine evidence and judge impartially of its relevancy and value in every department of inquiry and speculation. But, as it indirectly criticised existing institutions, it was in Berkeley's view a criminal assault on the foundations of society; and he accordingly attacked the author with singular violence and injustice in some papers he contributed to the 'Guardian.' The keynote of the 'Minute Philo-'sopher' is, indeed, struck in these short papers against Collins and the freethinkers. They betray, however, at the outset a strong professional animus, and are in spirit and language altogether unworthy of the author. Early in the first paper he says it is a special characteristic of a dissolute and ungoverned mind to speak disrespectfully of the clergy; and at the close he asserts, with emphatic truculence, that 'if ever 'man deserved to be denied the common benefits of air and 'water, it is the author of "A Discourse of Freethinking."' He not only rails at Collins, who was a man of high character and pure life, but reproaches him for his virtues, suggesting that it would be far better if he were a man of dissolute manners and profligate habits. The ground of this intense and unreasonable feeling against Collins appears to have been a story he had somewhere heard to the effect that the apologist of freethinking had discovered a demonstration against the being of a God. There is no trustworthy evidence in support of this story, and it is probably untrue. But it is a singular

illustration of the strong but purely personal impressions on which Berkeley often acted, that he should not only have given this story in the 'Guardian' as a kind of excuse for the severity of his attack on Collins, but have deliberately repeated it twenty years afterwards in the preface to the 'Minute Phi-'losopher,' as an implied justification of its bitterest passages. Had Berkeley seriously realised the responsibility attaching to opinion, he never could have ventured to attack and condemn, without justice or charity, a man as honourable and high-minded as himself, on the strength of mere club rumour or coffee-house gossip. It may be said, however, in extenuation of his conduct in this respect, that he but followed the custom of his time, and that he sincerely believed the school he attacked was fraught with national danger as threatening the foundations of morality and religion. Still, it might have been hoped that even under excitement he would not have descended to the level of the vulgar and violent controversialists of the day.

Berkeley's disquietude, and even alarm at the progress of freethinking, was undoubtedly the strongest impression made upon his mind during his first visit to London; and he had probably brooded at intervals over the subject in his wanderings on the Continent. On returning home, the South Sea failure would naturally seem like the realisation of his worst fears. He would see in the catastrophe simply the triumph of practical materialism and infidelity, the widespread ruin produced by the atheistic greed of private gain. This would revive with fresh poignancy his former thoughts on the subject, and, as the result, he evidently resolved to devote his first leisure to an elaborate exposure and denunciation of the whole school. The four years' quiet waiting in his comfortable home at Rhode Island afforded the required leisure under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the development of his best powers. The fresh country life, perfect domestic happiness, rural beauty, and invigorating sea-breezes of his temporary home, give a spring and animation to the thoughts, and a beauty to the writing that is traceable in almost every part of 'Alciphron,' and especially in the earlier dialogues. The style seems to combine the freshness of open-air life with the exquisite flavour of varied reading, and the endless charm of active fancy and graceful illustration. In some of the dialogues, too, the thought is of living interest, and the moral reasoning of permanent value. But, as a whole, the work is extremely unsatisfactory, and in many ways altogether ineffective. In the first place, Berkeley never took the trouble to understand the

school of critical and speculative inquiry that had provoked his antagonism; and in the nature of the case he would hardly have succeeded had he seriously made the attempt. On such questions his feelings were too deeply excited to admit of his examining an opponent's position with anything like candour or fairness, to say nothing of critical impartiality. Satisfied with a strong general impression as to the drift and tendency of the doctrines he disliked, he proceeded to manipulate them in his own way, to develope their details and results very much out of his own moral consciousness, and to arrange their imaginary authors according to the exigencies of his special polemic. There is thus no approach to historical accuracy; hardly, indeed, any reflective discrimination in his representations of the school. He does not distinguish the critical from the speculative elements, and he freely charges with irreligion, and even atheism, writers who were as sincere and earnest theists as himself. Then, again, his method of treatment is essentially negative and unfruitful. He adopts his usual plan of seeming to agree with his opponents at the outset, and then on the basis of this agreement developing after his own fashion the irrational or immoral results of the principles in the way of retort and reprisals. The bulk of his reasoning consists of arguments *ad hominem* or *ad verecundiam*; and, on such deep and vital subjects as morality and religion, these arguments are least likely to influence sincere and truth-seeking minds. Then, too, the spirit animating the more aggressive parts of his argument is in keeping with its barren and negative character. Unhappily it is often narrow, bitter, and essentially unjust. In general, it is true, his refined taste and strong sense of literary form restrain the manifestations of this feeling, or mould it into shapes of grace and beauty that soften its harshness, and not unfrequently disguise its real character. But when his argument touches on the Church or the Clergy, on Shaftesbury or Collins, he loses all command over himself, and, as Sir James Mackintosh most truly says, 'sinks to the 'level of a railing polemic.' The truth is, that in Berkeley's mind, religion and morality are completely identified with the Church and the Clergy, and any adverse criticism of the latter he accordingly regarded as a direct and dangerous assault on virtue and truth. Then it must be remembered that many of his special arguments, and those, too, the most powerfully developed, rest on his own paradoxical notions, his crude and contradictory system of psychology and metaphysics. The result is, that the 'Minute Philosopher,' though a beautiful piece of writing, had scarcely any serious influence on the

controversy in its author's own day, and has been virtually neglected ever since.

The Bermuda Scheme having finally broken down from lack of the promised government help, Berkeley left Rhode Island at the end of 1731, and arrived in London with his wife and family in January 1732. In the following March 'Alciphron' was published; and, though it apparently failed to impress any of the great thinkers of the day, it had for a time considerable popularity. The next two years he spent in London in occasional intercourse with those of his old friends who still remained, including Pope, Sherlock, Lord Burlington, and Queen Caroline. The Queen specially interested herself on his behalf, 'commanding his attendance at Court in order 'to discourse with him on what he had observed most worthy 'of notice in America.' Through her influence he was appointed, in March 1734, to the Bishopric of Cloyne, and soon afterwards left London to spend the remainder of his life in that secluded spot. During his two years' stay in London, Berkeley produced the 'Analyst,' almost the last act in his great polemic against the freethinkers. This time the infidel mathematician is the object of attack; and, as in the case of his other controversial writings, the attack is largely due to a strong personal impression made on his excitable mind by what he saw and heard in London. In the first paragraph of the treatise the author says he is credibly informed that confidence in the judgment and ability of mathematicians who reject Christianity is a short way of making infidels. And he subsequently explains this account of its origin in the more explicit statement that 'the celebrated Mr. Addison assured me 'the infidelity of a noted mathematician still living was one 'principal reason assigned by a witty man of those times for 'his being an infidel.' The polemic is avowedly from first to last an *argumentum ad hominem*, the main point enforced by way of retort against the mathematicians being the speculative difficulties involved in the current doctrine of fluxions. Berkeley endeavours to show that the infinitesimal quantities the doctrine assumes involve mysteries quite as great as those of the Christian faith. In pressing this argument against the mathematicians, he runs as usual to extremes, as Professor Fraser fully acknowledges.

'Not contented with pressing the incomprehensibility, on a sensationalistic basis, of the principles of mathematics, and especially of fluxions, he alleges fallacies in the new science of Newton. He speaks as if fluxions involved certain contradictions as well as relative incomprehensibility: and mathematicians complain that he is blind to the New-

tonian conception of continuity, confounding it with the monadism of Leibnitz.'

Though past middle life, he still displays in his favourite field of controversy the ardent dogmatism of an earlier day, and without pausing to consider the missing links in the reasoning, rushes as of old to the desired conclusion. One of the ablest of his recent critics represents Berkeley as taking other ground in the 'Analyst,' as arguing against the mathematicians that 'the idea of force is as little capable of being made clear to the 'understanding as that of grace.' But this is an obvious mistake arising from the confusion of 'Alciphron' with the 'Ana-'lyst.' The analogy, though pertinent enough in reference to physics, is too general for the special and detailed retort of the 'Analyst,' and Berkeley accordingly makes no use of it there. But in the last dialogue of 'Alciphron,' the difficulty or rather impossibility of forming an adequate idea of force—in other words, of realising force through sensible impressions merely—is urged with considerable power in the defence of Christian mysteries. The 'Analyst' called into the field more than one champion on behalf of the assailed mathematicians, and by way of rejoinder Berkeley published a vigorous pamphlet, entitled 'A Defence of Freethinking in Mathematics.' This with 'A 'Defence of the New Theory of Vision,' which appeared about a year before, are Berkeley's last acts in the great polemic against the freethinkers, which had occupied his available leisure for more than a quarter of a century. The comparative neglect into which his share of the controversy has fallen is an instructive commentary on the temporary and limited value of the merely defensive and negative arguments he so largely employed. Very few of his reasonings have any living force, or are of any real value in the changed aspects of the great conflict between scientific scepticism and rational faith in our own day.

Soon after publishing the 'Analyst,' Berkeley retired with his family to Cloyne, and spent the remainder of his days in the quiet discharge of professional duties, and the perfect enjoyment of home life. The picture of the good Bishop in the midst of his family during these years is a beautiful one from the perfect union, refined intelligence, and cultivated taste of its members, and the grateful interchange of affectionate offices, rational employments, and superior pleasures in which they all shared. Berkeley's mind was still active in his retirement, and he employed his leisure in publishing from time to time the pregnant social, industrial, and political questions of the 'Querist,' and towards the close of his career, in elaborating

the long train of somewhat mystical meditations suggested by the strong impression the virtues of tar-water had made on his enthusiastic nature. Within six months of his death, he realised what had long been a cherished dream, that of spending his last days amidst the academic associations and in the learned retirement he loved so well. In July 1772 he removed with his family to Oxford, and died there almost suddenly on the second Sunday evening of January in the following year.

We have dealt with Berkeley's career mainly in its literary and philosophical aspects as those of most permanent interest; and in order to complete the review, we must attempt to sum up briefly the leading features of his philosophical character and work. From the analysis of his chief productions already given, it will be seen that Berkeley's mind was acute, flexible, and vehement, rather than penetrating, massive, and profound. Always subtle, eager, and dextrous, he was never a very rational, far-sighted, or consistent thinker. The whole movement of his mind was critical rather than constructive, narrowly aggressive and polemical, rather than vitally organic, expansive, or illuminating. How little real growth or progress there is in his mental history, is apparent from the fact that his best works were produced before he was twenty-seven. They are indeed marked by the vices of youthful thought, being crude, one-sided, and extreme, and rushing to a foregone conclusion with almost suicidal haste and eagerness. But with all their faults they are his best work. In his later writings, excepting perhaps the very last, the same vices of thought reappear with less of youthful feeling and inexperience to atone for them. All along, he merely seizes in every department of inquiry the facts and principles that suited the controversial exigencies of the moment. He had so little real insight into the deeper meaning and relations of philosophical principles, that he often unconsciously sacrificed the substance of the very truth he was defending for the sake of a shadowy or seeming controversial advantage. With an extraordinary power of manipulating recognised or established principles for his special purposes, he apparently had no interest in going deeper, and never attempted to investigate the principles themselves. He never seriously examined what may be called the fundamental articles of his faith, or inquired into the grounds of his most important beliefs in politics, philosophy, or religion. The working of his mind was thus absolutely restricted to the circle of secondary or derivative conceptions, all beyond being evidently regarded as the sacred enclosure of dogmatical assumptions and traditional beliefs not to be invaded by secular criticism. As he never inquired into

these himself, so neither would he tolerate any inquiry into them on the part of others. The great body of his beliefs on the most important subjects were the result of feeling and association, rather than of knowledge and insight. He accepted his strongest convictions in a concrete mass as embodied in existing institutions, and he so completely identified the institutions with the unsifted bulk of established opinion and belief that he almost unconsciously regarded any adverse criticism of either as an attack on the foundations of government, morality, and religion. With regard to revealed truth he explicitly says that 'in this a humble implicit faith becomes us, 'such as a popish peasant gives to propositions he hears at mass 'in Latin.' As a Fellow at Trinity College he preached and printed three discourses on passive obedience, in which he expounds his theory, or rather rule of action, on the subject. In opposition to Locke's noble, just, and liberal conception of government, he urges the most slavish submission to authority, whatever the authority may be. In the preface he expressly stigmatises the notion that government should be measured and limited by the public good as pernicious to mankind and repugnant to right reason. And he faithfully followed his own doctrine in this particular. He lived at a time when the greatest political crime recorded in our history was deliberately perpetrated, the enactment of the Penal Code against his Catholic fellow-countrymen,—the Code justly described by Macaulay as having polluted the Irish statute-book by intolerance as dark as that of the Dark Ages. But he never uttered a word against its unexampled and vindictive cruelty. He was a member of the Irish Parliament for seventeen years, when the same atrocious policy, of which we are still reaping the bitter fruits, was in the ascendant. But he never seems to have urged the relaxation of penal laws that were a reproach to human nature, and a legalised assault on the welfare and even existence of the Irish race. The only occasion on which he is said to have appeared in Parliament was to urge that a Freethinking Society lately established in Dublin should be suppressed with the utmost rigour of the law. Even slavery being established seems to have been regarded by him as a Divine institution, and while urging that the slaves should be taught Christianity he does so very much on the utilitarian ground that they would be more valuable to their masters. The same principle of extreme and unreasoning deference to what is established runs through the whole of his career.

In metaphysical speculation, it is true, he is somewhat more independent and free, philosophy being less identified with

any existing institution. But even here he is far more of a modern schoolman than a rational thinker or philosopher in the true sense of the term. Just as the schoolmen, working within a fixed circle of dogmatic assumptions, showed the utmost intellectual acuteness and logical dexterity in adapting Aristotle's philosophy to the defence of the faith and the interests of the Church, so Berkeley—times having changed—showed the same kind of dialectical skill in employing the principles of the new philosophy for a similar purpose. As usual, he borrowed his principles, but in his eagerness to use them for his own immediate objects he never attempted to co-ordinate them, and hence the radical contradictions and developed confusion and inconsistency of his thought. His ideal system rests on principles that are diametrically opposed. It is an incongruous mixture of sensational psychology and intuitional metaphysics. He starts with sensationalism of the extremest type, formally narrowing Locke's sources of knowledge to the single inlet of sensation. On this theory, the higher and rational elements of our knowledge are necessarily excluded. Berkeley, accordingly, denied the sensible intuitions of time and space, the rational intuitions of substance and cause, and left no ground for the moral intuitions of freedom and personality. The senses being the supreme and only source of knowledge, the higher activities of the intellect are not recognised by him at all. In the Commonplace Book he evidently perceives, in fitful gleams, this and other consequences of his psychological system. 'Pure intellect,' for example, he says, 'I understand not at all.' His theory of knowledge leaves no scope for the activities of reason, and Berkeley accordingly denies its distinctive products. The impressions of the senses being not merely the only truths accessible to man, but in the last resort capricious and uncertain, 'What becomes,' he pertinently asks, 'of the *æternæ veritates?*' And his emphatic reply is, 'They vanish.' So again with regard to moral conceptions. We cannot reason conclusively, he says, about virtues or vices, or moral actions, having no ideas, or, in other words, no knowledge of them. 'When I say fortitude is a virtue, 'I shall find a mental proposition hard or not at all to come 'at.' In the same way with regard to the criterion of truth, he says, 'We must with the mob place certainty in the senses.' As mind is simply sense, superior minds are simply superior senses; 'the most comprehensive and sublime intellects see more '*minima visiabilia* at once, that is, their visual systems are the 'largest.' Again, instead of rationality being the characteristic of man, his superiority over the brute lies in the power

of making in imagination incongruous combinations of sense-impressions, such as 'a blue horse or a chimera.'

It is worth noting, moreover, that in these hasty glimpses or rapid surveys of sensualistic results, Berkeley expressly anticipates the extremest conclusions of Hume. The following sentences are taken from a series of jottings in which he formally resolves all the elements of our mental life and moral being into impressions of sense:—'*Mind is a con-*'*geries of perceptions.* Take away perceptions and you take 'away the mind. Put the perceptions and you put the mind. '. . . The understanding seemeth not to differ from its per-'ceptions and ideas. . . . The understanding taken for a 'faculty is not really distinct from the will.' Here the sentence in italics at once recalls the celebrated phrase as to the mind being merely a bundle of impressions in which Hume gives the upshot of his nihilistic argument. But that the Commonplace Book is now published for the first time, it would be natural to conclude that Hume must have borrowed the description from Berkeley, merely varying the terms. The definition of mind in either case, however, springs from the radically false conception of its nature which the sensualistic hypothesis involves. Berkeley's strong theological instincts and polemical aims withheld him from developing, or even steadily contemplating, the more sceptical aspects of this hypothesis. At no time, indeed, did he fully apprehend the real scope and ultimate bearings of the psychological principles he adopted. But in the early period of his speculative activity, he was quick-witted enough to perceive some at least of the negative conclusions to which they led. Nor does he shrink from theoretically applying the same principles to the highest questions of ethics. If impressions of sense are the only reality and truth competent to man, the gratification of the senses must be his highest good, and Berkeley expressly recognises this. 'Sensual pleasure,' he says, 'is the *summum bonum*; 'this is the great principle of morality.'

His psychology is, in fact, that of the gilded sty, and it is a curious nemesis of rash and one-sided speculation that Berkeley, of all men in the world, should have seized upon it with such avidity. The truth is, he grasped at extreme sensationalism as a convenient instrument for getting rid of matter, not perceiving that it got rid of spirit as well. In his blind zeal to destroy material realities, he cut away the only ground on which moral realities can rest. Panting to destroy nature in the objective sense, he unwittingly annihilated the rational evidence for the existence of God, and

that, too, in the interest of a system which is nothing if not theistic. The explanation is that he had no real insight into the deeper meaning and drift of the principles he accepted, and did not perceive that they were in tendency necessarily sceptical and even atheistic. Having thus, as he imagined, destroyed matter by his sensational psychology, he fell back upon the metaphysics of an opposite school to establish the activity of spirit. In order to reach his theistic conclusion he postulated the rational intuition of power or efficient cause. This, though in itself a perfectly valid ground of reasoning, was incompetent to Berkeley, being wholly inadmissible on his theory of knowledge. Power, or causation, is not a perception of the senses at all, as Berkeley is afterwards compelled, in the exigencies of debate, to allow. The senses give only the coexistent and the successive, but not substance or cause, the rational ground of these relations. As we cannot perceive causation through the senses, on Berkeley's theory we can have no knowledge of power or efficiency. Power is, however, the central and governing conception of his whole system. His doctrine of causation is thus in hopeless conflict with his theory of knowledge. The introduction of such a conception is on the theory wholly illegitimate, and, if introduced, it will inevitably bring back in its train the other rational elements of our knowledge which Berkeley so emphatically stigmatises and rejects.

But, apart from the hopeless conflict between the radical elements of his system, Berkeley's psychology is in itself confused and contradictory. Even the primary question as to whether he is an idealist may be answered affirmatively or negatively from different parts of his system, and each with equal authority. At the outset of the 'Principles of Know-'ledge' he is undoubtedly an idealist on very easy terms, as he begs the whole question at issue in the most summary and decisive manner. The question is as to whether there is an objective element in knowledge—whether we can directly know anything beyond our thoughts and sensations. There is, of course, a subjective element in all knowledge, from the mere fact of the mind being itself the source of cognitive energy. Is there also an objective element? Now Berkeley, in his definition of knowledge, carefully excludes the latter possibility. He absolutely restricts knowledge to its subjective side or element, and having done this at the outset, the detailed reasonings of the treatise, though interesting, are wholly superfluous, as he himself more than once admits. The plan adopted in the special arguments and illustrations, is that of

bringing forward alleged specimens of objective knowledge, comparing them with the purely subjective definition, asserting that, as they do not agree with it, they are not knowledge, and forthwith rejecting them on that account. So far, Berkeley is not only an idealist, but, as we have said, an idealist upon incomparably easy terms. As he himself suggests, a page would indeed have answered quite as well in the way of proof as a volume, and the multiplied details of the treatise, though interesting as exercises, are wholly unnecessary as arguments. To anyone who accepts the definition, the long array of so-called proofs and replies to objections are as needless as the Alexandrian Library to the Calif Omar.

Unfortunately, however, for the system, they are in the end something more than superfluous. In expanding his argument, the author illustrates the maxim of going farther and faring worse. For the special expositions and amplifications, instead of strengthening the definition of knowledge given at the outset virtually destroy it. As we read on, we cannot help asking, Is Berkeley an idealist after all? and the reply is less and less ambiguously in the negative. In order to meet the invincible belief in the existence of bodies as well as minds, Berkeley is obliged to sacrifice the fundamental point of his theory. As we have seen, knowledge, according to him, is restricted to impressions of sense—in a word, sensations, and sensations are undoubtedly subjective. But he is still obliged to recognise a universe of being distinct from the mind, and having qualities, such as extension, solidity, figure, which mind cannot possess. Nothing can be more explicit than his assertions as to the existence of sensible bodies which are distinct in nature from minds. In the 'Treatise on Motion,' he says, expressly: 'We find by experience there is a thinking, active 'being, the source of motion which we call soul, mind, or 'spirit; and we also find there is a being extended, inert, 'moveable, which differs altogether from the other, and consti-'tutes a new class.' In other words, there is the mind or spirit that moves, and bodies that are moved, each equally separate and distinct from the other. Now, what are these bodies, extended, solid, figured, inert, but the very matter against which his whole polemic is directed? Though elaborately exorcised at the outset, the evil spirit, the obnoxious element, returns in a shape more subtle, perhaps, but equally real and equally material. It is true that Berkeley explains, in a not very intelligible phrase, that these sensible bodies are *in* the mind. But this makes no real difference whatever, the dispute between Berkeley and his opponents being in fact

reduced to a mere question of words. On either alternative, the realities remain exactly the same, only their relations to each other are changed. The difference is simply that signalised in the celebrated *mot* about the fortifications of Paris, when they were first decided on—that while formerly the Bastille was inside Paris, now Paris would be inside the Bastille. In the same way, the difference between Berkeley and thinkers of an opposite school is, that while with them the mind is in the body, with him the body is in the mind, without being on that account one jot or tittle less material than before. Berkeley is thus as thorough a dualist as any natural realist, and his system contains a far more explicit and direct recognition of bodies as distinct from mind than is to be found in any school of hypothetical realism or dualism. This part of Berkeley's doctrine, though fatal to his idealism, is of special interest, as involving the recognition, in a somewhat perverted form, of one of the most vital and fundamental psychological truths—that our primitive sense experiences contain objective as well as subjective elements of knowledge. Berkeley found, in spite of his definition, that amongst the mass of sensible impressions he called ideas, some give us the knowledge of objects, and of objects distinct from the mind—in other words, that we have original perceptions as well as sensations. And, having already abolished space and matter, he could find no place for these objects except in the vague infinitude of mind that remained. But mind in this local sense, as the place of bodies essentially different from itself, is simply vitalised space, a diffused and essentially active element, the *τὸ ἄπειρον* of Anaximander in another form. The recognition of bodies, even in Berkeley's sense, is, however, of considerable value as the unconscious but powerful testimony of an acute thinker in favour of a wider theory of knowledge than he himself nominally accepted. At the same time it is, as we have seen, fatally at war with his idealism. The radical elements, even of his psychological system, are thus mutually opposed, and no amount of expository mending and patching, of retrenching in one part and eking out in another, will ever give them the unity and coherence of a consistent whole.

The result is that, excepting his theory of acquired perceptions, no parts of his system are of permanent value in philosophy, except as beacons to warn inexperienced speculators of the shoals, quicksands, and sunken rocks below. The real service he rendered to philosophy is indirect rather than direct. By his pointed development of the inconsistencies involved in Locke's theory of ideas, he fixed attention on the narrowness

and insecurity of the foundation on which that eminent thinker built, and this stimulated more profound and original minds to go deeper, and find a broader and truer philosophical basis. This was just the kind of service that Berkeley's acute and flexible intellect, combined with his subtle power of analysis, was well fitted to render. His love of scientific novelties, his critical dexterity in discovering them, and comparative fearlessness of speculative results where his special sympathies were not affected—a fearlessness due in great part to his narrower range of vision—all worked in the same direction. They enabled him to detect and bring vividly into view some of Locke's more vital inconsistencies. In this way Berkeley becomes an important link in the history of philosophy. He may be justly said to have contributed, indirectly indeed, but powerfully, towards a more complete and scientific theory of knowledge. As connected historically with Descartes and Locke on the one hand, with Hume and Kant on the other, as well as with the modern schools of realistic idealism and extreme sensationalism, he well deserves to occupy a niche of his own in the history of philosophy, and his writings must be carefully studied in order to follow intelligently its modern development.

Professor Fraser's edition supplies ample materials for such a study. All that zeal, industry, and untiring devotion can do for ascertaining the facts of Berkeley's life, and elucidating his doctrines, has been done by his accomplished and sympathetic editor. At length we have a complete edition of Berkeley's works which reflects honour alike on the Clarendon Press and the University of Edinburgh.

ART. II.—*Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye.* Documents inédits et authentiques puisés aux archives publiques et privées par la Marquise CAMPANA DE CAVELLI. Paris, London, and Edinburgh: 1871. 2 vols. 4to.

IT is long since the Stuarts have found as industrious and disinterested a devotee as the Marchesa Campana de Cavelli—an English lady, as we gather from the introduction to these volumes, by birth, though Italy is the country of her adoption, and French appears to be the language of her choice. The amount of pains and research which she has bestowed on this collection of documents, the first instalment we find of what will eventually form a very considerable addition to the mass of Stuart records, must have been immense, and we doubt if anyone before has ever been so prodigal of time and expense in the collection of historic papers.

In July 1864, the Marchesa tells us, she arrived at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and stood in front of the old château. Accustomed as she had been to meditate upon the ruins of Rome, and to live in imagination with the people of the past, she could not fail to call to mind the strange connexion of the gloomy and massive old edifice with the race of Stuart. Here had Mary Queen of Scots shone in all the brilliancy of her unhappy beauty, and received the homage of the court of the Valois as the bride of the Dauphin, and from this place she bade farewell for ever to the gay chivalry of France, with a sadness which seemed a presentiment of her tragic destiny. Here did Henrietta Maria, the queen of Charles I., seek a refuge from the troubles of the Fronde, when the axe sent her forth from the kingdom in which she had shared a throne to finish her days as a widow and in want in the country of her birth. Here, too, did another queen of England make her entry in tears as an exile, accompanied by her infant son, and led by the hand by the great monarch, who, with unrivalled generosity, had done all that delicacy could suggest and munificence could supply to make the fugitive forget the state of Whitehall and Saint James'. The magnificent toilet chamber of the queen, the caskets of silver and gold, the jewels which lay waiting for her, together with the sum of 6,000 livres d'or, in a splendid casket, of which the key was presented to her, were long the subject of talk of all the courts of Europe; nor were the apartments of the Prince of Wales, into which the French King himself conducted his little guest, fitted up with less care.

On the next day arrived the dethroned king. The staircase is yet pointed out, to the bottom of which the dauphin descended by order of Louis to receive the royal guest, while the king himself awaited the unhappy monarch in the Salle des gardes. When James arrived, Louis took him in his arms, as the former bowed low before him, and embraced him again and again, after which he led him to the queen and presented him, saying, 'Madame, I bring you a gentleman of your acquaintance whom 'you will be glad to see.' And then, to the surprise of the French courtiers, the King and Queen of England, in the joy of meeting, 'closely embraced in the presence of all the world.' Nor did the French monarch omit to give himself the pleasure of conducting his royal guest to the apartment of the infant Prince of Wales, and of showing the child to his father, saying, 'J'en ai eu grand soin; vous le trouverez en bonne santé.'

Here, too, within these walls was born the last princess of the House of Stuart, the graceful and charming Louisa Maria —the child of exile—whose sweet attractiveness is portrayed in the pages of Hamilton, and whose premature death added a new bitterness to the cup of affliction of her widowed mother. Here, too, did Louis XIV. say farewell and God speed to his royal cousin, after having furnished him with ships, and men, and arms, and millions, when the English king was about to depart on his luckless expedition to Ireland for the recovery of his throne. 'Monsieur,' the French king said, 'je vous vois 'partir avec douleur, cependant j'espère de ne vous revoir 'jamais'; mais si par malheur vous revenez, soyez persuadé que 'vous me trouverez tel que vous me laissez.'

Here, too, thirteen years after the date of his flight from England, the dethroned Stuart monarch breathed his last, after that eventful interview in which Louis XIV. promised to recognise his son as king of England and to protect his interest. From hence, too, on the morrow, Mary Beatrice went to bury her widowed desolation in the convent of Chaillot, after having recognised her son as her king.

Miss Strickland relates her arrival as follows:—

'Mary Beatrice left St. Germains about an hour after her husband's death, attended by four ladies only, and arrived at Chaillot a quarter before six. The conventual church of Chaillot was hung with black. As soon as her approach was announced the bells tolled, and the abbess and all the community went in procession to receive her at the ancient gate. The widowed queen descended from her coach in silence with her hood drawn over her face, followed by four noble attendants, and apparently overwhelmed with the violence of her grief. The nuns gathered round her in silence; no one offered to speak comfort to her, well knowing how tender had been the union that had subsisted

between her and her deceased lord. The abbess kissed the hem of her robe, some of the sisters knelt and embraced her knees and others kissed her hand; but no one uttered a single word, leaving their tears to express how much they felt for her affliction. The tragedy of real life, unlike that of the stage, is usually a veiled feeling. "The Queen" (one of the nuns of Chaillot has written in her account of the event) "walked directly into the choir without a sigh, a cry, or a word, like "one who has lost every faculty but the power of motion. She re- "mained in this mournful silence, this stupefaction of grief, till one of "our sisters (it was the beloved Françoise Angélique Priolo) approached, "and, kissing her hand, said to her in a tone of tender admonition, in "the words of the royal Psalmist, 'My soul, will you not be subject "unto God?' '*Fiat voluntas tua*,' replied Mary Beatrice in a voice "stifled with sighs; then advancing towards the choir, she said in a "firmer tone: 'Help me, my sisters, to thank my God for his mercies "to that blessed spirit who is, I believe, rejoicing in his beatitude. Yes, "I feel certain of it in the depth of my grief.' The abbess told her she "was happy in having been the wife of such a holy prince. 'Yes,' "answered the queen, 'we have now a great saint in heaven.'"'

Indeed, James died, as he had lived in his later years, in the most fervent spirit of piety, with forgiveness on his lips towards all whom he considered his enemies, and with messages of love for his daughters, whom he might be excused for regarding as unnatural children. There is no reason to doubt that his Catholicism was sincere, since he sacrificed everything on its behalf, and that his profession of religious toleration, although he endeavoured to carry it into practice by unconstitutional means, was sincere also; but it was the toleration of an outlawed, not a dominant Church. So great was the impression which the piety of his latter days made upon the ecclesiastics around him, and so strong was the conviction at Rome that he had lost his crown from his attachment to Catholicism, that there was some thought at one time of his being made a saint in the calendar.

After the death of her husband, Mary Beatrice resolved to wear mourning for the rest of her life, and ever after she appeared in black. As the grief of his attached wife subsided into something like calm regret, the life of the dark old château assumed the gayest aspect which it knew during the time of its Stuart occupation. Mary Beatrice, as regent and the mother of her son, shook off her natural aversion to politics, and carried on the negotiations with the Jacobite party; and as her son was as yet too young to be engaged in perilous expeditions, the heart of the mother was at peace for a while. The young prince and princess, both attractive in form and face, engaging in manners, and gay and sportive in tastes, filled the gloomy château with the light of

their joyous and advancing youth, and the glades of the forest rang often with their laughter and were witnesses of their sports. The happy children forgat their exiled lot, and made a little Arcadia around them. From the pages of the inimitable and gay Hamilton we learn that in spring and summer the young prince and his sister exercised their fancies incessantly in the invention of some new sylvan pastime. Now they led their little court into the depths of the forest in search of wild flowers and strawberries; now they designed little pilgrimages on foot to some shrine or chapel within walk of the palace, carrying with them some light refreshment on which they could picnic in the forest on their return; now they floated along a joyous party on the bosom of the Seine, and they never forgot in the month of June to make a party among the haymakers, when the princess and her governess, Lady Middleton, made rival haycocks against the Duchess of Berwick and her friends. Once we read of both prince and princess dancing among the masqueraders admitted to the terrace on Shrove Tuesday; and in winter the courts of St. Germains and Versailles exchanged balls and receptions.

Often must the prince, in his after life of disappointed hopes, when he was an exile even from St. Germains, have looked back to this merry time, when even the widowed queen forgot her grief for a while in smiles, at the gay fancies of her son and the charming daughter who passed away in the springtime of life. But this happy period was of short duration. The prince was barely twenty when he was called to place himself at the head of his first Jacobite expedition to Scotland; and from that time the unhappy queen knew no more of the tranquil delights of maternity. Soon after the prince's return from this his first unfortunate essay to regain the throne of his ancestors, both he and his sister were taken ill with the small-pox; and the blithe-hearted and unfortunate young princess, the delight of her mother's heart, and the joy of the French as well as of the English inhabitants of St. Germains, was taken suddenly away. Then followed the Peace of Utrecht, by the conditions of which Louis was constrained to deny himself the privilege of any longer giving refuge to the prince, who now began to be called the Pretender; and from that time the unhappy queen remained virtually childless as well as a widow, and saw her beloved son but twice more in the course of her life.

She yearned now desperately to bury her sorrow entirely in the convent of Chaillot, where she spent regularly some months of every year, finding in her intimate communion with

the inmates of the house infinitely more pleasure than in the mock state of St. Germains; but she was instructed that the interests of her son forbade any such seclusion, and she remained at the dreary palace alone. The cares of her position were, however, immense. From the time of her arrival in France, her pension, to which she was entitled from England by her marriage-contract and in right of her dowry, was stopped, and the money retained by William of Orange, while she became a pensioner on the bounty of France; her pension, moreover, in the latter part of the reign of Louis was irregularly paid, and she was literally eaten up by the swarm of starving English Jacobites who had planted themselves to the number at first of twenty thousand on the bounty of the exiled monarch, and were for ever clamouring for relief at St. Germains. The distress of the queen became so severe that she sold all her jewels, with the exception of the ring with which she had been married and one other. While her compassion for the starving people around her was so great that she sometimes rated her lady of the household for giving her too expensive a diet for dinner. She used to stint herself in necessaries, look jealously to the wear of her shoes and gloves, and ran in debt to the nuns of Chaillot for the rent of her apartments, in a sum which it does not appear was ever paid. The death of her protector Louis XIV. added another shade of gloom to her desolate existence. She was, too, in her latter years much afflicted by recurring crises of a painful disease, that of cancer, to which she finally succumbed. It was, indeed, a release from a life of pain when she died on the 7th of May, 1718.

The mother of the Regent, well known for her caustic turn of speech, had nothing but good to say of Mary of Modena.

'I write to you with a troubled heart, and all yesterday I was weeping. Yesterday morning about seven o'clock the good, pious, and virtuous queen of England died at St. Germains. She must be in heaven. She left not a dollar for herself, but gave away all to the poor, maintaining many families. She never in her life did wrong to anyone. If you were about to tell a story of anybody, she would say, "If it be any ill, I beg you not to relate it to me. I do not like stories which attack the reputation."'

As for her manner it is sufficient to recall the expression of Louis to his Court as she was leaving Versailles on her first visit: 'See what a queen should be.' 'Her mien,' says Saint-Simon, 'was the noblest, the most majestic, and imposing in 'the world, but it was also sweet and modest.'

Up to the date of the French Revolution, even when the last heirs of the House of Stuart were excluded from France

and dwelt in Italy, the state-apartments of the château of St. Germains were kept up as they were inhabited by James and Mary, and the descendants of the old Jacobite attendants of the exiled family occupied the rest of the palace. A lady, herself descended from one of these, gave the following account to Miss Strickland of the château as she remembered it before the French Revolution :—

'I was a very young girl when I saw the castle of St. Germains. There were apartments there still occupied by the descendants of King James' household. Among these was my father's aunt, Miss Plowden, niece to the Earl of Stafford, and my mother's aunt, also an old maiden lady, sister to my grandfather, Lord Dillon. The state rooms were kept up, and I remember being struck with the splendour of the silver ornaments on the toilette of the queen. At the French Revolution all were plundered and destroyed.'

It was, indeed, the last request of Mary of Modena before she died in 1718 to the Duke of Orleans, that the descendants of the faithful followers of the House of Stuart should be allowed to retain possession of their apartments till the restoration of her son to his royal inheritance. So the old palace of the Valois and the Bourbon, afforded, by the generosity of the French kings, as Miss Strickland says, a shelter and a home to the last relics of the Jacobite party, and was a Jacobite Hampton Court on the banks of the Seine till the great catastrophe of the French Revolution. Up to that period the chamber in which Mary of Modena died was kept in precisely the same state in which it was during her life. Her toilette-table, with all its plate and ornaments, and four wax tapers in gilt candlesticks, were set out daily for use, and the Jacobite colony still continued to keep the anniversaries of the House of Stuart, such as the 29th of May, and the birthday of the young Pretender, and that of his brother the Cardinal, with bonfires and rejoicings.

After the death of Mary Beatrice, the Court of St. Germains, ceasing to be the habitation of the Stuarts, it ceased also to be the centre of Jacobite intrigue. There was, however, one project entertained by Mary Beatrice which was achieved in the year after her death, and this was the marriage of her son, about which she had occupied herself for two years. The prince was thirty years of age at her death, and his followers naturally objected to risk their lives for a cause which might terminate with himself. But it was not easy to find a fitting wife for a disinherited prince of such pretensions. A first attempt had been made to obtain as a partner for him his cousin the daughter of Rinaldo d' Este, who had become Duke

of Modena on the death of the brother of Mary Beatrice; but the project was defeated by the influence brought to bear on the Modenese Court by the House of Hanover. A second project of marriage was more successful, although here, too, the House of Hanover exerted all its influence to prevent the union. The child of another exiled race Clementina Sobieski, the grand-daughter of the saviour of Vienna, conceived a romantic passion for the heir of the House of Stuart, and the marriage took place by proxy; but the princess was unfortunately living under the protection of the Emperor Charles VI., and George I. prevailed upon the Kaiser to exercise his power for the prevention of the accomplishment of the union. The bride of James Stuart, aware of the toils which were being set for her, escaped away secretly from Olau, where she then was living, with the intention of joining her husband at Bologna; but English spies were then on the watch all over the continent, and at Innspruck she was arrested and thrown into a convent. All the diplomacy of England and Austria was then set in motion to annul the marriage. The emperor engaged to demand from the Pope its dissolution, and in case of refusal the imperial troops were to invade the States of the Church, while the English fleet should bombard Civita Vecchia. As for the princess herself, she was destined to a convent for life. The daughter of the Sobieskis outwitted all the diplomatists of Europe by escaping from the hands of her gaolers, and reaching the prince at Bologna, where she was married anew. Medals were struck in honour of the marriage, one of which exhibited the head of the princess on the face, while on the reverse there was a figure of the bride arriving at Rome (typified by the Coliseum and other ruins) in a Roman triumphal car drawn by two steeds in full career, with the motto above, *Fortunam causamque sequor*, and below the words *Deceptis custodibus*, in allusion to her flight from Innspruck.

Not less connected with the history of the Stuarts than the palace of St. Germains is the convent of Chaillot, the documents of which are now in the archives of France, and have been largely employed by Miss Strickland in her life of Mary of Modena; these documents the Marchesa Campana proposes to publish in full.

James II. in his later years made frequent pilgrimages to the monastery of La Trappe, led thither partly by his desire for religious meditations, and partly by the affection and esteem which he felt for the Abbé de Rancy, the converted gallant and courtier, who was also the especial object of admiration of Saint-Simon. So too the queen loved to

retire during the absence of James and after his death at fixed periods every year to the convent of Chaillot. She had her own apartments there always preserved for her, which Louis XIV. had taken care to furnish; she lived in terms of affectionate familiarity with the nuns of the convent, making them confidants of her joys and her sorrows, and recalling the dreams of her youthful novitiate at Modena. Thus it is from the reports of the sisters of conversations taken from her lips, and from her correspondence with the inmates of the monastery, that the documents in the Archives de France are composed.

The convent of the Visitation at Chaillot was founded by Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henri IV. and queen of Charles I.; in these walls she too had found a congenial retreat from the sorrows of her later years, and finally she left her heart to the society. There was thus a peculiar propriety in the convent becoming the refuge of the griefs of Mary Beatrice, when she could escape from the hollow mockery of empty state which surrounded her at St. Germains. The nuns who sought retreat here were members of the noblest families of France, sprung from such families as the Montmorencies, the La Fayettes, the Ventadours, and the Gramonts.

It was at Chaillot that Madame de la Vallière sought refuge at the time of her first escape from court, and here that Colbert came to recall her to court, at a time when the duties of a minister of France included the management of the king's mistresses; the King of France, the princes of the blood, court nobles, cardinals, and archbishops were among its frequent visitors. No vestige of the convent now remains, since it suffered the fate of all conventual institutions in the confiscation of its property at the Revolution; yet its buildings were not destroyed by the Revolution but by the first Napoleon. On the birth of the Prince of Rome, the founder of the new Carlovingian dynasty determined to honour the event by building a palace for the King of Rome, which should be of a grandeur commensurate with his ambition, and which should, if possible, outstrip Versailles. No site seemed to offer such advantages as the heights of Chaillot, in front of the Champs de Mars, which commanded a view not only of Paris but of the windings of the Seine as far as St. Cloud and St. Germains; and so the whole of the conventual structures, chapel, and out-buildings were levelled to the ground, the gardens broken up, and the work commenced. The stupendous fabric which he thus intended to raise was of course never reared. The foundations fell into ruins before the

walls began to be erected, and the very hill itself was almost removed at the time of the International Exhibition of 1867.* Several catalogues are in existence of the pictures and works of art of the convent, from which it would appear that the establishment was a veritable museum of relics of the last three or four generations of the Stuarts. There were various portraits of members of the Stuart family, beginning with the Queen of Charles I.; and the fine library contained likewise a mass of Stuart records, a good part of which have perished or been dispersed in the French Revolution.

Another establishment hardly less interesting for its connexion with the Stuart dynasty is the Scotch College in Paris, in the Rue Fossés Saint Victor. It was founded in 1325 by David, Bishop of Moray; but its chief benefactor was James Beaton, the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, who, in the days of Mary Stuart and James VI. of Scotland, was ambassador at the court of France. In the latter part of his life he took refuge in Paris from the stirring scenes which accompanied the uprise of Calvinism in Scotland. The Scotch College became the object of his chief care; he deposited there not only a mass of ancient documents and papers relating to the history of Scotland which he had brought over with him, but at his death he left the college the whole of his possessions. The exiled race of the Stuarts finding in Paris the repository of the Catholic relics of Scotland, confided here such papers and documents as they wished to preserve, and left also to it, in token of affection, some portion of their bodily remains. The University of Glasgow and the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh still possess authenticated copies, made in 1771, of the Scottish charters and other documents which were preserved here. Some of the charters having relation to lands granted by the kings to the Archbishops of Glasgow go back to the beginning of the 14th century. There was also a large collection of original letters of Mary Queen of Scots, together with her will and codicil written on the eve of her death. There were moreover four volumes in *folio* of papers, richly bound, all written by James II., containing his memoirs, beginning with the imprisonment of his father, and continued to the year 1698. These historical records were dispersed at the time of the French Revolution. A resident at the Scotch College wrote

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* It was, too, on the heights of Chaillot that Henri III. reined in his horse in his flight from Paris on the day of the Barricades, and, looking back over the city which he had loved so deeply, shook his hand at it with imprecations.

to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' in 1798, giving some account of the manner in which this took place: 'During our stay at 'the Scotch College it was decreed that the books of the library 'should be sold. The Vandals who had the direction of this 'affair were so little acquainted with the value of this kind of 'objects, that the most precious manuscripts were sold by the 'hundredweight and delivered to the flames. Many of the 'prisoners took a share of the plunder.'

The Abbé Paul Macpherson, afterwards rector of the English College at Rome, was, by the aid of Alexander Innes, the last Englishman who remained in the Scotch College, able, it appears, to save the papers of Archbishop Beaton, and to make a selection of the rest of the historical documents preserved in the College library; and it is perhaps from this source that a number of letters of Mary Stuart, part of the Beaton collection, and a mass of other documents, came to the hands of Dr. Kyle, the late Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, from whom they passed to his successor. It is, however, undoubtedly from the ancient collection of the Scotch College that the Prince Labanoff acquired the considerable mass of unedited correspondence of Mary Queen of Scots of which he has made use in his volumes. Of all this collection the autograph memoirs of James II. have, however, gone through the most curious adventures. James II. was fond of writing. He even published a book, while yet Duke of York, called the 'Memoirs 'on the Affairs of England in all that relates to the Navy 'from 1660 to 1673;' and before his dethronement he had progressed considerably in his design of writing the history of his own life. Amid all the oversights and negligences of the bewildered king, after the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange reached his ears, there was one subject about which his solicitude was excessive, and that was his papers. In the midst of the whirlwind of revolt he might lose his head and throw the Great Seal of England into the river, but his journals he enclosed in a casket and confided to Torriesi, Minister of Tuscany, with such pressing recommendations, that the Italian diplomatist thought he was entrusted with the diamonds of the crown, and took charge of the deposit with corresponding solicitude; after which the papers went the round of Europe, guarded with as jealous care as if their weight were made up of diamonds and rubies.

During these days of tumult the residence even of an ambassador was not respected, and the house of the Tuscan Minister was sacked; but he managed to save the precious trust of the king from the general ravage of his mansion. He contrived to

embark the sacred deposit on board a ship sailing for Leghorn, where it arrived safely, notwithstanding the risk which the suspicion of its incalculable value caused it to incur. At Leghorn two Tuscan galleys were appointed to convey it to France, where it reached the hands of the author; and never hardly can it be supposed that the MS. of even a royal author was guarded with such jealous care.

Some months before his death James addressed the following letter to the principal of the Scotch College at Paris:—

'James II. by the grace of God, &c.

'To our faithful and well loved M. Lewis Innes, almoner of the Queen, our very dear spouse, and principal of our Scotch College at Paris, greeting.

'Being well persuaded that there is no place where the original memoirs written by our hands can be in greater safety than in our Scotch College at Paris, where the kings our predecessors have already deposited several important pieces which have been preserved with the greatest care, we have judged it fitting to charge you with the preservation of the above-named original memoirs, which will be deposited in the archives of our said Scotch College at Paris, to remain there as a proof of our confidence in and affection for the College. This present is to serve with you and with your successors for an authorisation sufficient for the retaining of the above-named deposit.

'Given at our Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the 24th of March, 1701, and the seventeenth of our reign.

'For the King,

'CARYLL.'

In the year 1707 James III., the Pretender, evinced, by a letter also addressed in his name by the same secretary, Caryll, to Mr. Innes, equal solicitude for the safety of the papers. After reciting that the memoirs of the late king had been deposited in the archives of the Scotch College, and directing that they never should be removed without the orders of the king himself, Mr. Innes was authorised to deliver the portion of the memoirs relating to the year 1678 and the following years to certain persons at St. Germains, to be named by the king, to be inspected and then returned to the archives. In 1771 a letter of Alexander Gordon, the principal of the college, testifies to the care with which these documents were kept, and that no copy was allowed to be taken of them without the authorisation of their proprietor.

The papers were well preserved up to the time of the French Revolution. At the beginning of this movement Lord Gower, British Ambassador, before quitting Paris, proposed to Alexander Gordon, the principal of the college above mentioned, to take charge of the manuscripts of King James, and to place

them in safety somewhere in England. For some reason or other the proposition was not accepted. A little time afterwards Mr. Gordon, alarmed at the succession of visits paid to him and his college by the revolutionary chiefs, left Paris hastily. He gives some account of the events leading to his departure in a letter dated September 2, 1722, and addressed to a friend:—

'Would you believe that the 13th of August, the Scotch College was invaded twice by armed forces, and that the first time I was taken by four national guards to the section, in order to get me to take the new oath, which I absolutely refused to do. I consented to swear that I would undertake nothing against their "liberty, equality, property (?)" saying that was all I could promise. I quit Paris for some time.'

Before leaving the college, however, the principal confided the charge of it to Alexander Innes, a nephew of the former Abbé Innes, the only Englishman then remaining in the building. At the same period a Catholic priest named Stapleton, principal of the English College at St. Omer, and afterwards Catholic bishop in England, having paid a visit to Paris before leaving France, was consulted by Mr. Innes as to the best way of taking care of the manuscripts of James II. Mr. Stapleton was of opinion that if he could have them sent to St. Omer he could from thence pass them over to England with little risk. The papers were then despatched to a French gentleman, a friend of Mr. Stapleton's, in a parcel by a public conveyance, and they all arrived safely to their destination. After which these august documents underwent a series of fresh experiences till they finally perished. The French gentleman to whom they were entrusted—called Charpentier by Lord Holland in his preface to the History of England by Fox—appears to have been really named M. Carpentier Lemaire, administrator of the district of St. Omer in 1793, who had several sons educated in the English College. He was arrested during the epoch of the Terror; and his wife being left alone with these huge folios, richly bound, with royal arms on the covers, in which the *fleurs de lys* of France were mixed with the emblems of England, became terribly frightened at the thought of their being discovered in her house, so she stripped the binding of the volumes and burnt the covers with her own hands. The manuscripts themselves she carried off to St. Momelin, near St. Omer, where her husband had a country-house, and buried them in the garden. She did not, however, leave them there long. Her terror of royalist papers would not let her rest, so she dug them up again and burnt them altogether.

Posterity, however, is in some measure compensated for the

loss of these portentous documents by the abridgment which was made of them by the Abbé Innes, to whom the letters above cited were addressed, and which forms part of the 'Stuart Papers' at Windsor, and is the basis of the work of Dr. Clarke. This abridgment, it is supposed, was begun at the command of James II., and concluded under the direction of James III.; and the note addressed to the Abbé Innes above referred to bore relation to the completion of this abridgment. This abridgment itself forms several volumes, and was carefully preserved by the descendants of the Stuarts. At the death of Charles Edward, the young Pretender, they passed into the hands of the Abbé Waters, Vicar-General of the English Benedictines at Rome, who gave them up to the Prince Regent for a life pension; and the manuscripts were confided by the Prince Regent, for the purpose of publication, to Dr. Clarke. According to another version, however, accredited by the 'Quarterly Review' of December, 1846, attributed to Mr. Dennistoun, the papers in question were confided to Father Waters by the Duchess of Albany to be delivered to Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York, and Father Waters, who died immediately after payment of the first instalment of his pension, betrayed his trust in so disposing of them. They left Civita Vecchia in 1813, and Dr. Clarke's book was published in 1816.

Henry Benedict—who, after the stirring adventures of a military youth, had taken refuge in the bosom of the Church—found at Rome plenty of leisure for devoting himself to the collection of memorials of his fallen house. His museum was composed of sceptres, crowns, jewels, and decorations, the veil which Mary Stuart had woven with her own hands and worn on the scaffold, and a mass-book, illuminated with miniatures, which had belonged to the Princess Sobieska, and which the Prince left to George IV.; it is now in the library at Windsor. The Cardinal, moreover, had caused his own life to be written by his secretary, and this MS. is, it is believed, now in the possession of the Earl of Orford, while other Stuart documents are also preserved in the seminary of Frascati, where he had a villa.

The Cardinal died in 1807, and at his death all these family relics and papers were scattered in different directions. His last will was dated 1802, and the whole of his property was left upon trust to Monsignore Angelo Cesarini. The trust upon which this property was left was disclosed to Cesarini by the last Stuart on his death-bed; and Cesarini set down the nature of the trust in a sealed paper, which was not to be

opened during the lifetime of the Countess of Albany, nor before certain property in Mexico had been disposed of. This deed was signed in 1808, and Monsignore Cesarini died not long after; the second condition upon which the sealed paper was to be opened was not fulfilled, even in 1831, but, on the authority of the Pope, the seals were broken, and it was found that the sole heir of the last Stuart was the *Propaganda* at Rome. There was a certain fitness in this—the heir of the last Stuart was that Catholic Church for the sake of which the family had lost a throne.

The papers and memoirs, however, of the Cardinal of York had been very loosely kept. They had been stowed away in garrets, and exposed to all kinds of damage and depredation. A portion of them found their way into the library of Windsor Castle, and the story of the way in which they arrived there was told by the late Mr. Woodward in the 'Gentleman's 'Magazine' for February, 1866.

A certain Dr. Watson, who occupied himself with hunting after Stuart relics in Italy, found a collection of papers at Rome in the garret of the Monserrato Palace, exposed to the air and the ravages of rats. The Abbate Lupi then possessed them. They had been confided to Lupi by one Monsignore Tassoni, who was the testamentary executor of Monsignore Cesarini—this last being the executor of the Cardinal of York.

Lupi, who had no notion of the value of the papers, with the permission of Tassoni, sold them to Watson for 170 piastres. Watson, who was overjoyed with his purchase, went about Rome vaunting the value of his papers, and the money he would get for them from the Prince Regent. This talk came to the ears of Cardinal Consalvi, who had been on intimate terms with the Regent, and would gladly seize any opportunity of rendering him any obliging service. They dealt in those days as summarily in Rome in the matter of works of art as in other matters, and Consalvi summoned Dr. Watson to give up the documents, and, on Watson's refusal, put seals upon his rooms and sentinels at his door. In the end, the papers were seized, and sent off in five large chests to the palace of the Governor of Rome. The Cardinal offered to give back Watson his 170 piastres, but the latter refused; and Consalvi, having heard already what interest the Prince Regent had attached to the papers he had received from the Benedictine Waters, offered these additional ones to the Prince, who accepted them with many expressions of obligation. But the unfortunate Watson, who certainly had the merit of

having unearthed the documents, followed them to England, and addressed the Regent with the story of his wrongs. The Prince ordered a sum of 500*l.* to be given to him. This the doctor refused; he claimed 3,000*l.*, and refused all compromise. The ill-starred man, sixteen years later, in 1835, put an end to his existence by hanging himself in the Blue Anchor Tavern, St. Mary-at-Hill, Thames Street.

The history which the Marchesa Campana gives of her indefatigable searchings and investigations on the track of Stuart documents, forms the most interesting portion of her introduction to the documents themselves; and in many cases the whole result of her researches was the knowledge that nothing was discoverable with respect to the object in view. She has, for example, been at great pains to discover the papers and documents which Mary Beatrice left behind her at St. Germains in 1718, but without success. There can be no doubt that the quantity of correspondence and documents left behind her by the exiled queen, who was for many years regarded as the head of the Jacobite party, must have been very great, and much curious matter was undoubtedly contained among them; but all have been scattered, in spite of the precautions taken for their preservation by the Pretender.

When the queen died, her son James III. was at Urbino, from which place he sent minute instructions for the arrangement of the papers of his deceased mother.

1. All the papers in the handwriting of James III., the Duke of Mar, Mr. Nairne, and Mr. Patterson, were to be placed carefully in a chest without being read, except so far as sufficed to verify the handwriting, and sealed with the seals of the four persons appointed for this purpose (the Earl of Middleton, lord high chancellor of the deceased queen; Mr. Sheldon, her vice-chamberlain; the General Dillon; and Mr. Dicconson, her treasurer), and confided to the care of Messrs. Sheldon and Dicconson.

2. All the State papers were to be catalogued, the catalogue sent to James III., and confided likewise to the care of Messrs. Sheldon and Dicconson.

3. All financial documents were to be treated in the same way.

4. The correspondence of Mary Beatrice was not to be read at all, but placed in a separate chest, and consigned in the same way, except the papers of the queen relating to matters of devotion, which were to be confided to Father Gaillard.

5. All the documents in cypher were to be deposited with General Dillon.

6. The four delegates above named were to make an inventory of all the books, furniture, jewels, plate, articles of toilet, carriages, and other property of the late queen.

After the lapse of two years, Dicconson became the sole depositary of the papers and documents of Mary Beatrice, and the last account we have of them is in a letter addressed by him to James III., in which he states that he holds the documents still at the disposal of the king, but that he had not been able, as doubtless he had been commanded to do, to deposit them at the Convent of the English Benedictines, since the holders of the papers were afraid of their being stopped at the gates of Paris.

What has become of all these papers? Nothing leads us to imagine that they ever came to the hands of James III., and Dicconson died at St. Germains in 1742. The Marchioness Campana has made researches in vain at St. Germains, at Versailles, at Paris, and at Windsor, and has found no trace of them. The history of one curious document which was assuredly among them is sufficient to prove that the papers fell into the hands of persons ignorant of their character, and have either been destroyed or dispersed at random. In the British Museum is to be seen a pocket-book which belonged to the Duke of Monmouth, and which was seized upon his person after the battle of Edgemoor; some handwriting of James II. was in the volume testifying to its authenticity. It contains a medley of notes, memoranda, addresses, medical receipts, prayers, English and French songs, extracts from the history of England, remarks on Holland, and charms against sorcery. Dicconson mentions this pocket-book as having been found among the papers of the queen, but its history can be traced no further back than to a bookstall in Paris, at which it was purchased by an Irish student, from whom it passed through several hands to the British Museum. The story of the Duke of Monmouth's pocket-book is sufficiently convincing of the haphazard way in which the documents must have been scattered about, and the probability that they have for the most part perished.

Immediately after the queen's death, however, some portions of her papers had been extracted from her cabinet, and that surreptitiously through the instrumentality of the English ambassador, Lord Stair, who had in his pay one Higgons, the brother of Sir Thomas Higgons, the secretary of the Pretender. Lord Stair, it will be remembered, kept a watchful eye on the court of the Jacobites, and once nearly succeeded in kidnapping the Pretender, when the young prince, having been forbidden

France, came in disguise to pay a visit to his widowed mother at the convent of Chaillot. A letter in the Public Record Office, addressed by Lord Stair to Craggs, the Secretary of State, and printed by the Marchioness Campana, shows that he had just succeeded in getting hold of two letters, and it is of course probable he obtained more.

Mr. Dennistoun, in the article of the 'Quarterly' above mentioned, signalised the existence of another set of 'Stuart Papers,' which he calls the 'Malatesta Papers,' and which appear also to have come down from the collection of the Cardinal of York, and to have formed part of the documents in the possession of his testamentary executor, Monsignore Cesarini, one of whose nieces, a joint heiress with her sister, married the Comte Sigismund Malatesta. These papers had already begun to be dispersed by sale when Mr. Dennistoun found them. He succeeded, however, in purchasing a long letter of James III., addressed to the Princess Sobieska. This was in 1845–46, but we find in this preface evidence that in 1817 a collection of pictures, papers, books, engravings, and bronzes, which belonged to the Cardinal of York, were at a villa Muti, called also Malatesti at Frascati, and of these nothing now remains. However, the palaces of the Cardinal of York, both at Rome and at Frascati, were pillaged during the time of the French invasion, and after this loss of property the last of the descendants of James II. before his death accepted pecuniary aid of George III.

Another collection of 'Stuart Papers' remained in the hands of Sir David Nairne, secretary successively to James II. and James III. After the death of Sir D. Nairne, they came in some mysterious way into the hands of Carte, the historian, and from him they passed to the University of Oxford, and are now in the Bodleian, and a large number of these pieces was published by Macpherson in his two quarto volumes of original papers.

Besides these, there are the 'Leeds Papers,' coming from the Duke of Leeds, formerly Lord Danby and Lord Godolphin, and a mass of documents in the Record Office. Trinity College also, and the Royal Academy at Dublin, possess many valuable Stuart documents. With respect to Ireland, one curious collection of 'Stuart Papers' was allowed to be dispersed in our own time. These were the papers of James II., of Tyrconnel, and other Jacobites, seized among the baggage of the vanquished army after the battle of the Boyne. This collection must, from the catalogue of them still extant, have been extremely curious, and contained the history of the secret

hopes and machinations of the Jacobites in the three kingdoms, and the plans of the cabinet of Versailles. William of Orange placed these papers in the hands of his secretary, Sir Robert Southwell, by whose descendant they were offered to the English Government under Lord Grey for the sum of 1,000*l.* This offer was declined by the Government but accepted by a bookseller of London of the name of Thorpe, who sold them in detail at a considerable profit, and a portion of these papers was purchased by the Royal Academy of Dublin.

Private collections of Stuart documents are also not wanting in England, and have been laid under contribution by the Marchesa, who gracefully acknowledges her obligations to Sir Charles Murray, our minister at Lisbon, Lord Stanley of Alderley, General Craufurd and Sir Charles Dilke, who possesses a collection of 'Caryll Papers,' coming down from Caryll, the secretary of James II. and the friend of Pope. Italy naturally has furnished no small proportion of these documents; and first in importance comes the great library of the Vatican, from which have been taken the briefs of the Popes and the letters of the Stuarts addressed to the Pontiff, and the correspondence of the Papal nuncio, Adda, whose presence in England was almost as fatal to James II. as that of Peters, and which has in part been drawn upon by Mackintosh and Macaulay. At Florence the archives of the Medici have been ransacked. The Grand Duke Cosmo III. was much attached to the Stuarts, and the despatches of his ambassadors, especially those of Terriesi, who lent his carriage to the Queen Mary Beatrice on the night of her escape from Lambeth with the Prince of Wales. The Tuscan ambassadors at Paris, moreover, Ricasoli, Delbene, and inferior agents were in constant intercourse with the Court of St. Germains, and purveyors of Stuart news to the Grand Duke.

No Italian archives, however, are more rich in Stuart papers than those of Modena, the seat of the family of the queen, with the members of which she was in constant intercourse. The brother of Mary of Modena especially remained throughout life on the most affectionate terms with his sister till his premature death in 1694, and was ever in close correspondence, and Rizzini, the Modenese minister at Versailles, gives the most intimate details extant of the inner life of the Court of St. Germains. The zeal of the compiler has led her not to neglect either Turin, Venice, or Geneva, and the Imperial archives of Vienna have furnished a rich collection of papers containing the correspondence of the Imperial ambassador, Hoffmann, during the years 1688–1689, who gave

a most circumstantial account of the events which he witnessed during the Revolution of 1688.

From Spain we are promised the complete collection of the correspondence of Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador in England with the Spanish ambassador at Rome—a correspondence, by the way, wholly distinct from that already used by Mackintosh and Macaulay, and which is that which passed between Ronquillo and the Court of Spain.

But of all foreign countries, the richest in Stuart papers is France. Of the French collections, the Marchesa Campana declares the most curious portion to be the correspondence of Renaudot, a secret political agent in correspondence with all the princes of Europe and all the leading Jacobites in the interest of the Stuart cause, and also that of Colonel Hooke, a Jacobite agent for ever *en route* between the Highlands and St. Germains. Moreover, the Marchesa, not content with having thus laboriously and patiently examined all the archives of Europe in the search after Stuart memorials, has expended such an amount of zeal in the hunt after their bodily remains as we should imagine has rarely been displayed even by a devotee of saintly relics; but she has met with small success.

To understand the way in which the remains of the Stuarts were scattered about, it is necessary to recall the strange practice which existed in former times, in the case of eminent people, of directing by will that certain portions of their bodies removed in the process of embalmment, some of which, such as the brain and the heart, were styled the noble portions, should be extracted and left as legacies to the various convents, churches, and institutions for which they felt affection. Such dispositions were made by James II. and Mary Beatrice, and in the case of the Princess Louisa, we suppose, were directed by her mother. Consequently, the hearts of father, mother, and daughter were deposited in the convent of Chaillot, the brains and lungs were to be given to the parish church of St. Germains, and the remainder of the interiors of the bodies were left to the Scotch College. While the bodies themselves were, in the case of the deposed king and princess, placed in the English Benedictine Convent in the Faubourg Saint Jacques, that of the queen was buried in the convent of Chaillot. James II., indeed, had directed that his body should be buried in the parish church where he died. But Louis XIV., his widowed queen, and the Jacobite exiles, who all dreamed of an impending restoration, decided to disobey the king's injunctions in this respect, and the body, enclosed in several coffins, was deposited, unburied, in the Church of the English Benedic-

tines, to await its future translation to the Chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey. The body of the Princess Louisa was also placed there near that of her father. The king died on the 16th of September, 1701, after having received, as is well known, a visit from Louis XIV., who undertook to recognise his son, and took leave of him with tears, saying that 'he was 'the most virtuous and the most outraged of monarchs.' His body lay in state in the same chamber in which he died. The offices for the dead were chanted, and mass performed for a night and a day. The body was then opened and embalmed, and in the evening carried in procession followed by the Duke of Berwick, the Earl of Middleton, and other officers of the court, and some priests in two carriages to Paris. The mourning procession was escorted by royal *gardes de corps* carrying wax torches, and the road was lined with spectators.

The funeral train halted at Chaillot to deposit the heart of the king, and then proceeded to the Benedictine Convent, where the deceased king's almoner, the Abbé Ingleton, delivered the coffin to the prior, with a Latin speech, to which the prior replied in the same tongue. The body was placed in the chapel of Lord Cardigan, and shut off from the church by an iron grating. A metal plate on the coffin was inscribed thus :—

'Ici est le corps du très haut, très puissant, et très excellent prince Jacques II., par la grâce de Dieu, Roy de la Grande Bretagne, né le 24 Octobre 1633, décédé en France au château de Saint Germain-en-Laye, le 16 Septembre 1701.'

This Benedictine convent, founded at Paris under the regency of Anne of Austria, was, like all other convents, suppressed at the French Revolution, and what remains of the old building has been transformed into a school. The body of James of course shared the same fate as the other bodies of royal personages at that time, and a curious piece of evidence has been published by Mr. Oliver—coming from an eyewitness who was a prisoner in the convent at the time the body was torn out of its coffin. This evidence was taken from an old Irishman, who testifies to the curious state of preservation of the body when uncovered.

'I was a prisoner in the convent of English Benedictines, Rue du Faubourg Saint Jacques, in company with the prior, about 1793 or 1794. In one of the chapels of the church the body of King James had been deposited, waiting to be translated to Westminster Abbey. It had never been interred, and was placed in a coffin of wood, enclosed in a first coffin of lead and a second of wood covered with black velvet. The *sans culottes* broke up the coffins to get out the lead to make bullets of it. The body remained exposed a whole day. It was bandaged, and looked like a mummy. When the *sans culottes* took it out

it emitted a smell of vinegar and camphor, having been well embalmed. The state of preservation was perfect: the hands and the nails very fine. I moved and bent every finger; I never saw finer teeth. A young lady, also a prisoner, wished to have one of the teeth, and I tried to take it out, but I could not, so firm was it. The feet also were in a good state. The face and the cheeks had not changed. I tried to roll the eyes, and the balls were firm to my touch. The French and English prisoners gave money to the *sans culottes* to get a sight of the body. These last said James had been a good *sans culotte*, and he should be buried in a hole in the public cemetery like the other *sans culottes*. King George tried every means to find out where it was taken to, but could not do so. A mask of wax very like the face of the king was suspended to the wall of the chapel.'

The Benedictine Convent also contained a large collection of documents of the Stuart family, including many autograph letters of James II., which also were dispersed or destroyed at the time of the French Revolution.

The inner parts of the body of James II. were distributed as follows:—his heart at Chaillot, his brain to the Scotch College, while his entrails were divided between the English College at St. Omer and the parish church at St. Germains. Of these remains only those of St. Germains have escaped dispersion, and these were discovered in 1824 by the workmen engaged in digging the foundations of a new church on the site of the older structure. We learn from an extract of the register of the Municipal Council that three leaden chests were thus found, one of which bore an inscription to the effect that within were contained a portion of 'the flesh and the noble parts of the body of 'the very powerful, very excellent prince Jacques Stuart, 'second of the name, King of Great Britain,' with his arms at the foot of the inscription. The other chests contained the entrails of the Princess Louisa, his daughter, and of the queen, Mary Beatrice. The curious epitaph which existed in the church of St. Germain-en-Laye ran in part thus:—

REGI REGUM
FELICIQUE MEMORIÆ
JACOBI II. MAJORIS BRITANNIÆ REGIS
QUI SUA HIC VISCERA CONDI VOLUIT
CONDITUS IPSE IN VISCERIBUS CHRISTI
FORTITUDINE BELLICA NULLI SECUNDUS
FIDE CHRISTIANA CUI NON PAR?
PROPTER ALTERAM QUID NON PASSUS?
ILLA PLUS QUAM HEROS
ISTA PROPE MARTYR

. . .

MORITVR VT VIXIT FIDE PLENVS
EOQVE ADVOLAT QUO FIDES DUCIT
VBI NIHIL PERFIDIA POTEST

There was another more brief inscription to the memory of James on the pavement in front of the altar, and also a short inscription in memory of his daughter :—

VISCERA LUDOVICÆ MARIÆ
FILIÆ JACOBI SECUNDI
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REGIS
CONSUMMATA IN BREVI EXPLEVIT TEMPORA MULTA
DILECTA DEO ET HOMINIBUS
ANNOS NATA PROPE VIGINTI
ABIIT AD DOMINUM DIE XVII APRILIS MDCCXVI

As soon as George IV., who as we have seen always took interest in the relics of the House of Stuart, heard of this discovery, he instructed the English ambassador to collect these remains and to inter them provisionally with all possible pomp, and very shortly afterwards the ceremony took place. It is strange to think of the honour paid in a foreign land by a foreign population to a few handfuls of the dust of a throneless English king and queen and their daughter. From the 'Annual Register' of 1824 we learn that early in the morning a crowd gathered together at St. Germains to behold the translation of these remains of James II., and that the roads were thronged with people on foot and in carriages. The ceremony commenced with a procession of priests in full canonicals, who performed high mass in a temporary chapel erected for service during the building of the new church. The interior of the building and the doors were hung with black, and a coffin containing the royal relics were placed on a catafalque in the form of a mausoleum and richly decorated with mourning drapery, and surmounted with a crown of gold placed on a cushion of black velvet and covered with a veil of black crape. At the end of the ceremony the coffin was carried in great pomp to the altar, beneath which it was deposited by the chief persons of the funeral. These consisted of the English and Sardinian ambassadors—the latter were present in the name of the King of Sardinia, as the nearest representative of the Stuart line—Marshal Macdonald, Duc of Otranto, the Abbé Duke de Melfort, and other members of the English and French nobility, and the life guards of the King of France received orders to render royal honours to the remains of James.

It is, however, to our present Queen that the construction of the actual monument to the memory of James II. in a chapel of the Church of St. Germains is due. At the time of her first visit to Paris she had herself seen that the provisional tomb of James II. was in a dilapidated state, and she ordered another

one to be made at her own cost. This monument of simple and stately design is of lofty dimensions, somewhat like the doorway of a Grecian temple, with two columns, one on each side, and with two wings of lower elevation. On its apex is placed a small effigy of St. George and the Dragon. Lower down on the architrave is an inscription which denotes in a modest way to whom the structure of the tomb is due—

REGIO GENERI PIETAS REGIA

Lower down still on the façade are the royal arms of England, and beneath them is the inscription

FERALE QUISQUIS HOC MONUMENTUM RESPICIS
RERUM HUMUNARUM VICES MEDITARE.
MAGNUS IN PROSPERIS, IN ADVERSIS MAJOR
JACOBUS II. ANGLORUM REX
INSIGNES ÆRUMNAS DOLENDAQUE FATA
PIO PLACIDOQUE OBITU EXSOLVIT
IN HAC URBE
DIE XVI SEPTEMBRIS AN. MDCCI
ET NOBILIORES QUÆDAM CORPORIS EJUS PARTES
HIC RECONDITE ASSERVANTUR.

On the wings are two inscriptions in Latin verse. The monument cannot be compared for taste and elegance with that which is well known to every visitor to the great basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, erected in memory of the three last Stuarts, whose bodies lay interred in the vaults below, and which was raised to the last representatives of this English royal race by the genius of Canova by order of George IV. Canova, however, it should be known, received no remuneration for the work beyond the payment of the cost of materials, having made an offer to George IV. to erect it on these terms.

There is something peculiarly interesting in thus seeing the sovereigns of the House of Hanover consecrating with worthy memorials the remains of the royal race of Stuart, whose throne they have occupied for 180 years. By a strange coincidence, indeed, the marriage of Mary of Modena made a new link of relationship between the House of Hanover and the last Stuarts. The common ancestor of the family of Este and of the Houses of Brunswick and Hanover being, as is well known, Azzo d' Este, Marquess of Tuscany and Liguria, who married the heiress of the princely Bavarian family of the Wolfs or Guelphs, and had by her two sons; the eldest of these settled in Germany and founded the German Houses of the line, whilst the youngest settled in Italy, and his descendants became Dukes of Ferrara and Modena. Ferrara was subsequently in

1598, on the death of Alphonso II., without issue, seized by the popes on the pretence that Ferrara was a fief of the empire, although Alphonso had bequeathed the duchy to his kinsman Cesar d' Este. The d' Este family, however, continued to rule at Modena. The marriage of James II. with Mary of Modena made therefore, as we have said, a fresh link between the Stuarts and the House of Hanover, independently of that which existed already by reason of their common ancestry in James I. Another fact, less known, is that the nearest representative branches of the House of Stuart in the present day are the House of Savoy and the ex-ducal family of Modena, since the granddaughter of Charles I., the daughter of Henriette d'Angleterre, married Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy and the King of Sardinia. The great-grandson of Victor Amadeus, Victor Emmanuel I., had no sons, but his eldest daughter married the Duke of Modena, father of the present ex-duke Francis V. Therefore were it not for the Revolution of 1688, the line of James II. being extinct, the title to the crown by the laws of succession would be in Francis V., and failing his line, in the House of Savoy. Indeed, the Cardinal of York, styled on the Stuart monument at St. Peter's Henry IX., left at his death his right to the crown of England to the Duke of Savoy, his nearest relation in the Stuart line.

When Mary of Modena died in 1718 the Regent of France gave orders for the celebration of her funeral with honours befitting her rank; and according to her own request her body was deposited in the chapel of the Convent of Visitation at Chaillot, in the seclusion which she had so often found a solace for the cares of exiled royalty, to await the time of her son's restoration, when it was to be transported to England together with the remains of her husband and daughter. She desired, too, that her heart and other parts of her body should remain there for ever by the side of the hearts of her husband and daughter, and that of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.

The report of the commissioners appointed by the city of Paris at the time of the French Revolution to take an inventory of the property of the suppressed religious houses, gives an account of the state of the coffin of Mary Beatrice at that period, and of the preservation of the hearts in cases of silver (that of James II. was of silver gilt, presented by Louis XIV.); but no further record has been found by the Marchesa Campana of the remains in spite of inquiries in various directions, including excavations made on the site of the old convent and searches into the catacombs themselves. The body of the

queen has vanished as those of James II. and his daughter have vanished, and no earthly trace remains of the last king and queen of the Stuart line beyond the few ashes gathered together at St. Germains, while there is now not even an inscription remaining to mark the memory of Mary of Modena, or that of her daughter.

Of the documents themselves in these volumes, the earliest, which relate to the marriage of Mary of Modena, afford opportunity for correcting in some particulars former accounts; while the instructions given to Lord Peterborough and his despatches present a curious specimen of diplomacy in the negotiation of a royal marriage.

In less than a year after the death of Anne Hyde, the Duke of York determined to remarry. His first choice had fixed itself upon Susanna Armine, widow of Sir Henry Bellasys, who was a steadfast member of the Church of England, and to whom James had indeed given a written promise of marriage. When the King, however, heard of his brother's design, he remonstrated with him, and told him sharply that 'it was intolerable that he should think of playing the fool again at his 'age.' The King was not prepared to see the heir to the throne make again such a match as had seemed scandalous even to Clarendon in the case of his own daughter, and therefore, seeing that James was bent on remarrying, looked out for a bride for him among the courts of Europe. The first person on whom his selection fell was the Archduchess of Innspruck, cousin of the Emperor, and a treaty was entered upon with a view to marriage. Matters were finally arranged, when the Empress of Germany died suddenly, and Leopold resolved himself to marry the affianced bride of the Duke of York. Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, who already was *en route* for the Viennese capital as proxy of the Duke, was stopped in time by Sir Bernard Gascoigne, the British ambassador at Vienna, to prevent his appearance at the Austrian Court; and the Earl was instructed to choose a wife for the Duke from a list of several princesses forwarded to him. Lord Peterborough, who had served under the Duke in the victorious naval fight of Solebay, and who considered himself no mean judge of beauty, seems to have been determined to procure for his royal friend the most agreeable princess he could in the matter of personal charms; he spared no pains or fatigue of travel, and exerted much diplomatic skill for the accomplishment of the purpose. No less than ten ladies were named, to whom the Duke might have the honour of proposing. There was the sister of the Emperor, the Duchess of Guise,

a cousin of Louis XIV., the Princess of Wurtemberg, the Princess of Neubourg, two princesses d'Elbœuf of the House of Lorraine, a daughter of the Duke of Retz, a princess of Spain, and two princesses of the House of Modena.

Louis XIV., in pursuance of his scheme of keeping the Court of England and the direction of its politics in his own power, actively interested himself in the marriage projects of the Duke of York; and both Charles and James were anxious to fix upon a person who should be pleasing to the French King. The earl entrusted with these delicate negotiations has left an account of his mission in the 'Mordaunt Genealogies,' which testifies to his appreciation of its gravity. 'This was a great 'trust,' he writes, 'to the performance whereof were requisite 'both honour and discretion. The first, to render uncon- 'sidered all the advantages which might be proposed to bias 'the person trusted against the interest and satisfaction of his 'master; and the latter to find out and judge what might be 'most expedient and agreeable to his humour and circum- 'stances.' The Duchess of Guise and the Princess of Wurtemberg both resided in Paris, and were the first persons on the list whose aptitudes he considered. He saw the Duchess of Guise at court, and the Princess of Wurtemberg in the convent where she resided. Of all the ladies proposed, Louis XIV. was most favourable to the choice of the Duchess of Guise; but the earl found her to be low and ill-shaped; and even the hope of obtaining the favour of the King of France could not make him recommend the match. At this point, a portrait of the Princess Mary Beatrice of Modena, which had been sent to her relative the Princess of Conti in Paris, was shown to him by a Scotch Catholic gentleman in Paris, for the Catholic world generally felt interested in getting the Duke married to a Catholic princess, in the hope of strengthening in England the interests of their Church. The earl was enraptured at the sight of the portrait, and fell in love with it by proxy. 'It bore the appearance,' he writes, 'of a young creature of fourteen years of age; but such a 'light of beauty, such characters of ingenuity and goodness, 'as convinced the earl that he had found his mistress and 'the fortune of England.' The earl procured consequently an interview with the Abbé Rizzini, who was minister for the House of Este at Paris; but on inquiring about the two marriageable Modenese princesses, was informed that both ladies had devoted themselves to a religious life, and were determined not to marry. These circumstances being reported to the Duke, the earl was directed to devote his attentions to

the Princess of Wurtemberg. The father of the Princess of Wurtemberg had been killed in the service of France in the wars of Flanders, and she lived under the protection of the French King. She was handsome and tall, with grey eyes and brown hair, in all the bloom and health of youth and a good constitution; and the earl, in his first interview with her, was so charmed with her appearance and conversation, that it appeared to him that he could not see or hear of anything more suited for the purpose of his mission—always excepting the young Princess of Modena.

The earl sent over his report to London, and was instructed to see further the Princess of Wurtemberg, and to give expectations to her friends that the choice would fall upon her. However, a change came over the counsels of Charles and James, and the marriage-maker was instructed to go *incognito* to Dusseldorf and report upon the Princess of Neubourg, who dwelt there, the Duke of York further telling him 'that if 'he did not feel satisfied that (this latter princess) was a 'person in mind and manners calculated to make him happy, 'he should have immediate orders to return and bring home 'the Princess of Wurtemberg.'

The fact was that Louis XIV., as appears by letters published in these volumes, did not regard with much favour the marriage with the Princess of Wurtemberg, and was bringing influence to bear, most probably through the Duchess of Portsmouth, to get the royal brothers to turn their attention to the Princess of Neubourg, whom he preferred after the Duchess of Guise. The Earl of Peterborough then proceeded to Dusseldorf, and contrived, while nominally preserving his *incognito*, to have an interview with the Duchess of Neubourg and her daughter. He found the princess short and inclining to be fat, and 'there did not appear in her discourse that great 'genius for business and conversation for which she has been 'praised since she was called to sit on the greatest throne of 'Europe.' In fact, the report of the earl was unfavourable; but this unfavourable report turned out to the ultimate advantage of the princess, for, though neglected by the envoy of the Duke of York, she subsequently married James's former successful rival, Leopold I., on the death of his second wife, and so became Empress of Germany. The mission of Peterborough was, however, notwithstanding his *incognito*, perfectly understood at the Court of Dusseldorf, and the remembrance of his slight, the *spretæ injuria formæ*, is believed to have remained with her through life, so that she conceived a violent enmity for the Duke of York, which she imparted to her husband,

who always remained inimical to the interests of James II. The earl having rendered his report from Cologne to London, was now ordered back to the Court of France, where directions should be sent him to marry and bring home the Princess of Wurtemberg. The earl returned to Paris in all haste, but unfortunately his haste now outran his discretion, which had hitherto been excellent; for, doubting nothing, he alighted at the convent of the princess, and told her of his instructions. The poor princess, an orphan in a strange country, was enjoyed at the news, and could not conceal her satisfaction at the prospect of so great an elevation. But unfortunately for her prospects, a complete change had come over the decisions of Charles and James since the despatches had been sent to their envoy at Cologne, and a messenger had been despatched to meet and inform him of it, but had missed him on the way. The mortification of the lady was extreme, and the earl himself so vexed that he 'durst not see her again.' The envoy laid all the blame on the intrigues of the Duchess of Portsmouth; but it is evident from these letters that it was Louis XIV. himself who opposed the elevation of the Princess of Wurtemberg, and that to his suggestions were due the new directions to the earl to proceed to Modena.

The Earl of Peterborough consequently proceeded to Italy, with not only full powers from Charles II. and the Duke of York to conclude a marriage with the Princess Mary Beatrice, but backed by all the authority of Louis XIV., whose ambassador was instructed to assist him in every way possible; and Louis XIV. later sent special orders to the Marquis de Dangeau at Modena to remove the difficulties which prevented the marriage. The chief obstacle in the way was that which resulted from the aversion of the young princess herself to the match, an aversion so strong that it seemed at one time invincible even to the influence of her mother. This aversion was founded on the inclination of the princess for a religious life. It appears, however, from letters in these volumes that the first suggestions for the match were conveyed by the Duchess of Modena to Louis XIV.; her affection for her daughter, however, led her to take measures to stop all further negotiations as soon as she became aware of the strength of her daughter's objections, and it was only by the united influence of Louis XIV. and the Pope himself, exerted in the one case on the mother, and in the other on both mother and daughter, that the match was ultimately brought about.

The Earl of Peterborough, indeed, when he had proceeded

as far as Lyons *incognito*, found to his surprise that the Duchess of Modena, aware of his proceedings, had caused a messenger to watch for him at Lyons and warn him of the hopelessness of his mission. The earl, however, encouraged by Louis XIV., still proceeded on his journey, though it was not till the ground had been specially prepared for him at Modena by the Marquis de Dangeau that he ventured to present himself at the ducal court. The earl gives a rapturous account of the charms of the princess at the time of his first presentation to her. 'She was tall,' he writes, 'and 'admirably shaped; her complexion was of the last degree of 'fairness, her hair black as jet; so were her eyebrows and 'her eyes; but the latter so full of light and sweetness, as 'they did dazzle and charm too. There seemed given to them 'by nature a power to kill and a power to save; and in the 'whole turn of her face, which was of the most graceful oval, 'there were all the features, all the beauty, all that could be 'great and charming in any human creature.'

To all the compliments, however, of the earl and his excuses for pressing the suit of his master the young princess replied a little indignantly, 'that she was obliged to the King of England 'and the Duke of York for their good opinion, but she could 'not but wonder, when there were so many princesses of more 'merit, who would esteem that honour and be ready to em-'brace it, they should persist in endeavouring to force the in-'clination of one who had vowed herself, as much as was in 'her power, to another sort of life, out of which she never 'could think she could be happy; and she desired his excel-'lency,' even, as he fancied, with tears in her eyes, 'if he 'had an influence with his master, to avert any further perse-'cution of a maid who had an invincible aversion to marriage. 'Princesses there were enow in Italy, and even in that house, 'who would not be unworthy of so great an honour, and who, 'from the esteem they might have thereof, would deserve it 'much better than she could do.'

To this rebuff the earl replied with all the seductive arguments which his diplomacy had at command, but with little success. The young princess could not reconcile herself to banishment for ever from her sunny clime, from her relatives, and from the friends of her childhood, to be consigned to a land of strangers, and to the arms of a man of whose existence she had been unaware till she was asked by him in marriage. The English envoy complained the next day of the behaviour of the princess to Nardi, the Chancellor of the Duchy; but Nardi told him he need not be under the least

wonder on that account, since the ladies of Italy, when it came to be in earnest, were accustomed to have no will but that of their friends; and if her mother were satisfied, she would soon be brought to a much more difficult matter than that.

Mary Beatrice nevertheless evinced such invincible antipathy to the marriage, that Charles and James inclined at one time to substitute for her her aunt, who was only ten years older than herself, and instructions were sent to that effect to the Earl of Peterborough. However, by the time these had arrived the earl had such good hopes of bringing the treaty for the niece to a conclusion, that he proceeded with it. The Duchess of Modena was the first to yield, after being beset with solicitations on all sides, from ambassadors of Louis XIV., from cardinals at Rome, and from her own confessor, all praying her to exercise her maternal influence in the matter of a marriage which promised so well for the Church. The resistance of the daughter was finally overcome by a brief from the Pope himself, written in Latin, to the princess, and addressed, 'Di-'lectæ in Christo filiæ nobili puellæ Mariæ Principessæ Modi-'nensi,' assuring her of the thankfulness to God into which the news of her marriage had affected him, of the deep grief with which he had heard of her opposition, and exhorting her to compliance.

The poor princess, who had declared that she would throw herself in the fire rather than marry at all, and who had lamented with sobs to the abbess of the Convent of the Visitation at Modena that she had not been born in a cottage, must fain yield, but nevertheless not without floods of tears and a last appeal to her mother. Even, however, after the marriage by proxy had taken place, and she had to set forth in state for England, the poor child cried and screamed for two days and nights to put off the detested journey as long as she could; and it was only at last on condition that her mother should go with her, and that she should go all the way to Calais by land, instead of making use of the galleys sent for her use by Leghorn, by Louis XIV., whose share in bringing about her marriage she was acquainted with, that she consented to start at all.

Notwithstanding, however, the repugnance with which Mary Beatrice had regarded the union, and the childish symptoms of aversion which she is said to have displayed at the first meeting with her husband, she became in time sincerely attached to James; and amid all the misfortunes of dethronement and exile her love remained for him an unfailing refuge

and consolation. Her conduct at the licentious court of Charles II., with the exception of some condescension shown to the mistresses of the king, at the suggestion of a husband twenty-five years her senior, was blameless, and she succeeded in winning the affections of all around her. The evidence of Burnet, who later turned treacherously against her, and has registered in his volumes a string of silly stories about the wife of his early benefactor, may be accepted on this head.

Burnet, who had later formed to himself a vulgar and stereotyped conception of the queen's character, as one of unfathomable Italian duplicity, and never misses an opportunity of reviling her and calling her the 'revengeful Italian lady,' gives the following account of Mary of Modena:—

'She was,' he writes, 'a very graceful person with a good measure of beauty, and so much art and cunning that during all this reign she behaved in so obliging a manner, and seemed so innocent and good, that she gained upon all that came near her, and possessed them with such impressions of her, that it was long before her behaviour after she was queen could make them change their thoughts of her. So artificially did this *young Italian* behave herself that she deceived even the eldest and most jealous persons both in court and in country; only sometimes a satirical temper broke out too much, which was imputed to youth and wit not enough practised in the world. She avoided the appearance of a zealot or a meddler in business, and gave herself up to innocent cheerfulness, and was universally esteemed and beloved as long as she was a duchess.'

The theory of Burnet that this gentle demeanour of Mary Beatrice before her elevation to the throne was mere dissimulation which she threw off on becoming queen, or the assumption of Lord Macaulay, based on a coarse pasquinade of the time, that she was one of those characters which are better fitted for adversity than for prosperity, receives no confirmation in the documents now before us; neither do we believe is there the slightest trace of the 'revengeful Italian lady' to be found in any portion of her life.

On the contrary, we find unvarying proof of gentleness and submissiveness of disposition, of the tenderness of her love as wife and as mother, of the deepest life-long affection to the relatives she had left behind in Italy, and especially to her brother with whom she had been reared, and whom she never saw after leaving her country, signs also of warm attachment to friends, and of saintly resignation in adversity.

The most remarkable quality in her letters is the absence of all spirit of political rancour, and they may be searched through in vain for any expression of malevolence to those whom she might well consider the enemies of herself and her husband,

and owing to whom when she was duchess she was, with James, driven no less than four times from England, twice to Brussels and the Hague, and twice to Edinburgh, and was obliged to perform the journeys to this latter city at inclement seasons and at the risk of life. James, indeed, on one occasion narrowly escaped shipwreck.*

Although she acquiesced in the political views of her husband, yet her good sense made her aware of the imprudent part he was playing by acting upon the counsels of Peters, and she opposed the influence of the Jesuit so far as her unassuming disposition would permit. The only distinct charge which has ever been alleged against her, is that she was induced to use her authority to secure some of the rich harvest which Sunderland was making in the sale of pardons to those concerned in Monmouth's rebellion; but it is extremely doubtful whether she was aware of the way in which her name was being used, and very doubtful also whether any of the money reached the pockets of any of her maids of honour, except that of Lady Anna Spencer, Sunderland's daughter. After the death of James II. at St. Germains, notwithstanding her aversion to political intrigue, she felt it her duty, during the minority of her son, to act as the head of the Jacobite party. Her wish had been to retire into the convent of Chaillot; but this she was prevented from doing by the remonstrances of her confessor and political adviser.

Among the letters which we have in these volumes of Mary Beatrice, the most interesting are those written to her brother, whose premature loss was not the least of the many afflictions which fell to her lot. Year by year after she quitted Modena she lived in the hopes of seeing again this much-cherished brother, but they never met from the time that they parted as children. It will be seen in the following letter, written immediately after her flight from England in 1688, how passionately, in the midst

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* James himself writes in his Journal:—'The duchess, notwithstanding her late illness and vomiting blood at sea, the short time it was designed the duke should stay in Scotland, and the king pressing her for that reason to remain at court, would nevertheless accompany him. And though she was twenty years old, chose rather, even at the hazard of her life, to be a constant companion of the duke her husband's misfortunes and hardships, than to enjoy her ease in any part of the world without him. But it was a sensible trouble to his royal highness to see the duchess thus obliged to undergo a sort of martyrdom for her affection to him, and him, to humour the peevish and timorous dispositions of some counsellors, to be thus sent a sort of vagabond about the world.'

of her troubles, she yearned for the consolation of fraternal affection.

'Boulogne, 27 December, 1688.

'Dear Brother,—You will be astonished with reason when you learn that I am in this country and the manner in which I am come. Having escaped by night with my son, and having had a very strong but favourable wind, in less than twenty-four hours we passed from London to Calais, from whence I came to this place, where I find myself in unspeakable anxiety on account of having no news of the king since I left him now eight days ago. He said he should start the day after me, but all the seaports are closed, and I can neither see him nor have news of him, since they will not even let letters come through. You can imagine in what condition I find myself, and I am sure if you saw me, I should excite your commiseration; my only consolation is to see that my son is well and grows every day in our afflictions. He alone is happy in not knowing his own misfortunes and to what state he and his parents are reduced. Pray God for me, dear brother, that He may give me patience and resignation, since without the especial help of God I think I should go mad.

'I am persuaded by all to go to Paris and to see personally the King of France, from whom I receive a thousand favours; but I am not able to decide to leave the sea, and until I have some news of my king, I am able to think of nothing else. I am here with very few of my people, and I have none with me in whom I have confidence but Donna Vittoria (Montecuccoli), and she with *la* Pellegrina (Turini) is the only person I have brought with me.

'M. Rangoni and the Abbé Rizzini must have stayed on the other side of the Channel, otherwise they would be here. I have no news of M. Cattaneo, but I hope I shall in Paris. I thank you a thousand times that you have sent him to me. How great a consolation it would be for me to have you near me in so hard a conjuncture; but I have desired this so often without being able to attain it that I do not dare to hope for it even now.

'Dear brother, have pity on me, counsel me, and with your affection sustain your poor afflicted sister, who, in whatever state she may fall, will always love you from her heart, and will be in all sincerity and affection wholly yours, 'M. R.' *

'Saint Germains, 12 January, 1689.

'Dear Brother,—'If I should undertake to tell you all that has happened to me and the king since our departure from London I should write a volume rather than a letter. Content yourself if I only give you news by this courier, which M. Rangoni is sending off, of what is most importance, of our happy arrival in this place.

'My son and I arrived here on the 6th, and the king on the 7th, after having made me sigh for him and weep much, and not without cause. But God be thanked we are now safe and receive from this king many favours.

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* Vol. ii. pp. 428, 429.

'The state of our affairs in England is wretched. Please God that it may change, and that He may give us patience in the meantime.

'I am expecting soon the Marchesa Bonifacio, and from her you shall have news of all. I do not know what has become of the poor Abbé Rizzini, nor have I news of the Marchese Cattaneo.

'I finish, dear brother, in embracing you with all my heart.' *

In the following letter of a much earlier date Mary Beatrice gives news to her brother of the marriage of Mary, the daughter of James, with the Prince of Orange, a marriage destined to be fatal to the House of Stuart. The letter is a proof of the good feeling of the Duchess towards the Princess who ousted her later from the throne of England.

'London, November 11, 1677.

'Dear Brother,—I pray you write to me as often as you can, since your letters give me great satisfaction. The most important news we have is the marriage between the Princess Mary and the Prince of Orange, which the king caused to be published in the past week, and I think they will be married in two or three days, and then depart quietly. As for me, I am very sorry to lose her since I am very fond of her, and she certainly is a princess of great merit.

'This marriage is the reason that we have not yet taken mourning for Prince Cæsar, since it is not the custom to wear black in times of joy and marriage.

'I conclude, and remain

'Your most affectionate sister,

'MARIA.' †

The following letter was written after one of those bereavements, of which the Duchess had to suffer so many in losses of infant children:—

'Dear Brother,—I write this with tears in my eyes for the bad news I have to tell you of the loss of my dear son, whom it pleased God to take to Himself yesterday at midday. You can imagine in what affliction I am, and as great as was the joy which I had when he was born, so great or even greater is the pang which I feel for his loss. But we must be patient. God knows what He does: let His holy will be ever accomplished. I should have been too happy if this my son had escaped. I, praised be God, am well in health, and should have been excellently well if this affliction had not arrived. This is the first time I have been able to write, having only written to the Signora Madre to-day for the first time since the birth of my child.

'Dear brother, I do not write at length the manner of the death of my son, that it may not afflict you more now, and because I do not wish to write too much at first; but you will hear from others. For to-day I finish, and remain at heart,

'Your most affectionate sister,

'MARIA.' ‡

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* Vol. ii. p. 466. † Vol. i. p. 202. ‡ Vol. i. p. 205.

A letter in English will show what proficiency Mary of Modena had reached in the English tongue; the orthography, it will be observed, is defective, but it is not worse, with the exception of the small *i*'s, than that of Lord Peterborough as we here find it, and that of the majority of the people of quality of the time; and the queen, moreover, wrote French and Italian with great purity, besides being familiar with Latin.

The letter from which the following portion is taken was probably addressed to Lady Hawley.

'I shall not complaine this time that i have no letters from you, for within a very little time i have had three, in one of them you reproach me that i had not writt to you in a great while, but indeed i had been so long without any leter from you that to revenge myself i did not writt neither. Now i see by what you writt me now that it was not of your fault so that hear after i will writt to you as often as i can tho i doubt not it will not be so often as i could wish, for if you knew the quantity of letters i have writt in England, besides Italy and Holland, i am sure you would pitty me, tho i do think that the greatest pleasure next to that of seeing one's friends is to writt to them, which i do with great satisfaction, and am only troubled that i have not more hands, for to be able to writt to the same body as often as i have a mind for having but one hand to writt with and so many letters i am forced to devide my friends and leave som for one post and som for the next.' (Vol. i. p. 276.)

The life of this unfortunate lady has been summed up in a few sentences by the Marchesa Campana, which will, we hope, give a favourable idea of her style, and the romantic enthusiasm which led to the compilation of these documents.

'Harassed by all kinds of adversities, her virtue never gave way and never departed from the right line. Exiled, persecuted, obliged to seek an asylum in a foreign land, she excited the admiration of Louis XIV., of the court, and of France, whom she edified by the innocence of her life and affected by the spectacle of undeserved misfortunes. As a wife she was a model of conjugal love. Before loving her husband with affection, she constrained herself to give him the love which duty imposed upon her. She loved him even in spite of the pangs of jealousy from which she was not spared. She aided him with her counsels, surrounded him with her cares in good and bad fortune. A widow at last—she wept him to the last day of her life, and would not be consoled.

'A mother devoted to her children, she had the grief to see them all, save one, taken away from her one by one by a premature death. The only one who remained became the child of exile, the consolation, and, at the same time, the anguish of his mother, who made his destiny her chief care, and regretted only for his sake the loss of grandeur. She gave him nevertheless an education suited to the heir of a mighty throne. It was for him she battled her whole life against that implacable fatality which beset the race of Stuart.

'As a Christian who had imbibed from the breast of her mother the principles of a religion which elevates the soul from earth to thoughts of immortality, she drew from unmeasured confidence in God all the force she needed to endure the asperity of her fate and the injustice of men. She could feel indignation without sin, to use a biblical expression. She gladly pardoned her enemies for having robbed her of a perishable crown; for her faith promised her another of which no one could deprive her.

'She was less famous than Mary Stuart, since she had not the catastrophe of a tragic end; but she had not less to endure than that heroine of persecution.

'Married for motives of state in spite of her religious aspirations, having passed through rude trials before arriving at the throne, having been raised to its summit to be thence precipitated without recall,—she knew the grief of having to survive almost the whole of her family, and had to endure fresh afflictions in her widowhood. She had a court, but of unreal, borrowed, and precarious splendour; she was a queen without a sceptre, without a country, without a kingdom. The very title which was lavished on her in France only recalled too vividly the sad reality of the one she had lost in England. She had a son, calumniated from his cradle, saved by chance in his flight amid a thousand dangers; but she lived long enough to see a price set upon this cherished head, and the most illustrious partisans of his cause exposed to persecution and oppression, imprisoned, stripped of their fortune or of their life, or forced to partaké with her of the bread of the stranger.' (Vol. i. pp. 8–9.)

Among other curious documents in these volumes, we may cite the papal briefs, addressed by Innocent XI. to the Duke and Duchess of York in 1697 (vol. i. pp. 302–304), advising the former to moderate the excess of his zeal in the cause of the Catholic Church, as additional proof that his unconstitutional errors were always disapproved of at Rome. Additional evidence is also to be found here of the adroit way in which the Prince of Orange contrived to attach both the Pope and the Emperor of Germany to his interests, always making professions of entire devotion to James II., until the moment arrived when he could take his place. The French alliance was, indeed, as prejudicial to the interests of James II. at the Vatican and Vienna as it was in England. But we imagine that the most novel portion of these documents will be contained in the future volumes.

ART. III.—1. *Thoughts upon Government.* By ARTHUR HELPS. London: 1872.

2. *Des Formes de Gouvernement et des Lois qui les régissent.* Par M. HIPPOLYTE PASSY, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: 1870.

ESSAYS and treatises without end have been written on the forms of political government. One of the latest and best of these productions is the volume by M. Hippolyte Passy, which we have placed at the head of this article; for the learned author seeks not only to classify the innumerable forms which the governments of different countries have assumed—all of them, even when they bear the same name, being infinitely various and dissimilar—but he endeavours to trace out the causes of this dissimilarity. The book merits an attentive perusal. But we are grateful to Mr. Arthur Helps for not having followed in the same track. Monarchies and republics—aristocracies and democracies—afford an interminable subject of philosophical discussion; but when all is said, these distinctions do not solve the problems of civil government, which are common to all alike. Strange as it may appear, infinitely more has been written about the form of government than about its substance. The reason is that the forms assumed by the exercise of power are the tilting ground of politics. It is chiefly with reference to them that parties are constituted and party warfare carried on. In Mr. Helps' 'Thoughts upon Government' the reader will seek in vain for any trace of what are commonly called 'politics.' He speaks of civil government as a science and as an art. He considers its functions as not merely embracing peace and war, the administration of justice and the regulations of police, but the whole material and moral welfare of the community, as far as that depends on the action of the State: and he inquires how these vast and delicate functions can best be carried on. Like everything that proceeds from the pen of Mr. Helps, this volume is written with extreme purity of style and a candid thoughtfulness which win the confidence of the reader. He brings to the consideration of these questions a certain amount of official experience, acquired not in the contentious atmosphere of the House of Commons, but in those serener departments of government in which the greater part of the business of the nation is silently performed by men whose names are scarcely known out of Downing Street. And he discusses the subject from a point of view which is alike new and instructive

to the majority of readers. With the exception of Sir Henry Taylor's 'Statesman,' to which this volume may in some respects be compared, we hardly know another book in which the real mechanism of administrative government is examined with equal nicety and discernment.

To anyone who will take the trouble to reflect on the subject it will become apparent that the common and universal functions of civil government, under whatever form of political government men may be living, far surpass in magnitude and importance those functions which fall within the proper sphere of political discussion. For these functions of civil government embrace and provide for all the interests a man has as a member of society, and all the general interests of the community. Although the proper discharge of these functions is the result of a highly artificial mechanism, the perfection it has attained in a well-ordered State is shown by nothing so much as by their action being unperceived. Like the circulation of the blood and the other unconscious functions of animal life, they go on as it were spontaneously; not until some derangement occurs do we estimate the importance of each portion of this complicated machine. The more a nation advances in civilisation and culture, the more various and numerous do these functions become; until nine-tenths of them are regarded as necessaries, indispensable to social life, and absolutely due from the State to the community, although perhaps not a hundred years ago a great many of them were unthought of. Let us hastily recapitulate the most obvious of these public duties.

The basis of them all is, of course, the collection, distribution, and audit of the public revenue, on which we shall have something more to say presently. Armed with the purse of the nation, the first duty of the State is to provide the material means for the defence of the country by sea and land, and for the maintenance of order at home. The second (if it be second), to establish and maintain the authority of the law, by courts of justice and means of punishment for the repression of crime and for the protection of the rights of property and of personal freedom. These three departments of revenue, defence, and law are the pillars of the edifice; to which may be added the Church, but that, as it exists in this country on a basis of independent endowment, can hardly be included within the sphere of civil government. Without a due provision for these essential wants of society, no State can be said to exist at all. They are to be found, though with less perfection, even among barbarous nations.

But if we turn to a community like that of Britain, we shall

find that the functions of civil government are infinitely more numerous; and that they are extending every year. In fact, their extension is the extension of civilisation itself. The best and most certain results of the progress of society are those which are common to the whole social body, through the action of the State. For example, it is now fully acknowledged, though only within the last thirty years in this country, that the education of the people is one of the duties of the State, and that it must be largely assisted by some form of public rating and taxation—the estimate in our budget already reaches to nearly two millions and a half. Next in order come the sanitary measures urgently required of Government by the people themselves—power to remove nuisances, to trace epidemic diseases to their source, to inspect deleterious manufactories and dangerous mines, to limit the hours of labour, to survey buildings, and similar duties. The State, which embraces the largest imperial interests, is not the less held responsible through its agents for the life of every foundling and the relief of every pauper; and the administration of the Poor Law casts upon it the responsibility of providing for the existence of nearly a million of human beings. The registration of births, deaths, and marriages, which fixes the civil status of every member of the community; the enumeration from time to time of the population; the record and investigation of the various causes of disease and death, are matters of the highest importance which now occupy a whole department of government; a few years back these duties were abandoned to the parish clerk and the sexton, or neglected altogether. We are old enough to recollect the time when there was not a single statistical department in any of the public offices; the mere collection and analysis of statistical information for the use of the public is now become an essential and laborious portion of the duties of government. Then come the great mechanical departments — the Post Office, which with marvellous fidelity and rapidity transmits to any part of the kingdom and of the globe the varied intercourse of business and social life; and the Telegraph, which with still greater velocity places at the command of every man for a shilling a power as wonderful as the creations of any tale of magic. Hardly less important, and equally beyond the reach of individual or private means, is the whole system organised for the navigation of the seas—buoys, lights, piers, and harbours, which render the approaches to the English coasts as familiar and secure to the mariner as a high road. The supply of water and of light in the form of gas with some control over their purity, are equally essential to

social and individual life. In a highly artificial state of society, where immense multitudes of human beings are crowded into a small area, it is impossible that they can exist at all without the intervention of a supreme power to regulate their collective interests. Even water and air, the simplest gifts of nature, would fail them, and unhappily do fail them, and the very earth would refuse to receive their remains. The necessity for legislative control and executive interference increases notably with the density of population. The welfare of the individual depends more and more on a good organisation of his collective interests, which is the true function of government. Thus the drainage of towns, the improvements of public buildings and thoroughfares, the maintenance of roads, are all works to be done by authority; and to these necessaries of life must be added some of its recreations and amusements, occasional public festivals and ceremonies, and the distribution of honours. All these things are matters of civil government, though in England, the State properly so-called wisely devolves as many of them as it can on local agents. But down to the humblest local board, they demand, for their due performance, the faculties of administrative skill, the choice of good and faithful agents, and something of the science of government. We have purposely omitted from this brief survey the duties which have a political character. Those we have enumerated are simply the essentials of modern social life. They must be performed alike, with more or less completeness, in all civilised communities. They must be performed alike under monarchies or republics, or any conceivable form of government. They are independent of party distinctions or political opinions; yet they comprise by far the largest portion of the public expenditure, and nearly everything that is really essential to the public safety and convenience. To do these things well—to take care that the administrative train rolls rapidly and easily along, without blunders, mistakes, or accidents—to see that the public money is wisely and economically spent for the public advantage—are really the best claims that a Government can now have to the confidence of the nation.

Is the Government of Great Britain in these respects as perfect as it can be made? Have we been so fortunate as to hit upon that just mean between freedom and authority, which gives us all the blessings of individual liberty and all the benefits of State action? Mr. Helps would give rather an optimist answer to these questions. He thinks that the British people and their near relations in America and the Colonies are the most governable people on the face of the earth; that they are

eminently constant, unenvious, practical, thoughtful, and averse to extremes; and consequently that they have a peculiar fitness for good government. If Mr. Helps had said a peculiar fitness for *free* government, we should have agreed with him entirely and altogether; for we think without doubt that the British people and their transmarine descendants are of the race which has used freedom best, and abused it least. Their respect for law, their deference to the votes of majorities, their reliance on the progress of opinion without violence—the same qualities Mr. Helps awards to them—are admirable guarantees for the wise use of free institutions. But free institutions are not necessarily synonymous with good civil government. They are an effectual barrier against the tyranny of the State; they develope all that is best and noblest in man; they insure a healthy political life in society. But they sometimes leave many of the important functions of civil government to be performed ill or not at all. There is a rough and ready method of getting on in free communities, which has many advantages, and which in the main we ourselves prefer. But we cannot go so far as to uphold it as a model of good administration.

Let us endeavour to point out two or three of the defects or miscarriages in civil government, to which our institutions and national character expose us. The first is the extreme clumsiness and obstructiveness of our legislative and administrative machinery. There are always a multitude of questions, unconnected with politics but of great importance to society, which the Minister of the day (be he who he may) would like to deal with, and knows that it is his duty to deal with. His plans are made; his bills are drawn: and then begin his difficulties. The obstructive power of the House of Commons is so great; the pressure of time so severe; the difficulty of putting a large and multifarious assembly in possession of the details of a complicated measure so insurmountable, that every government is doomed, even though it boasts a commanding majority in Parliament, to see the greater portion of the measures it has brought forward mutilated or abandoned. The blame incurred by a Minister for letting things alone and leaving abuses uncorrected, is as nothing in comparison with the storm he is sure to excite by the most enlightened attempt to carry a bill which is, perhaps, of great practical utility to millions of people. Sir Robert Peel used to say, and did say in justification of his own neglect to regulate the railway system of England in 1844, that the House of Commons can attend to only one large question at a time. But if that be true, it is a misfortune that there are always several large

questions for which we can only hope to discern a solution in some dim and distant future.

The negative power of Parliament far exceeds its positive power: it can prevent more than it can perform. We admit that this obstructiveness has its advantages. It is scarcely possible for anything to be done in England suddenly or in haste. If some good measures are painfully postponed, many bad ones are defeated and many imperfect ones are improved. But the Executive Government is constantly held in check to an excessive degree by the difficulty of obtaining the due attention of Parliament to measures of public utility. Far from being a help to administrative ability, the House of Commons is the great barrier to administrative improvement. The waste of time caused by our modes of proceeding is perfectly incalculable: and as the duties of government extend and embrace a greater multitude of details, it becomes more and more difficult for the mind of man to perform them in his waking hours by this most tedious process, even though the night as well as the day be consumed in the labour.

The forms of parliamentary procedure pervade the whole public business of this country, and retain both their advantages and their defects in the innumerable boards and local committees by which so large and useful an amount of the work of civil government is performed. We are by no means insensible to their merits. They bring a share in the government of the country to every man's door; they make every man take a part in it; they do, to a certain extent, call forth and educate those administrative faculties which are the chief subject of Mr. Helps' book. But government by boards is the most tedious and clumsy mode of government. There is always a great element of uncertainty in the constitution and attendance of boards. Much depends on the chairman. But as no squadron can sail faster than the slowest ship in it, the ablest members of the board are perpetually held back by the least able. Take, for example, the school boards, called into being by Mr. Forster's Act, in the metropolis and all over the country. They began with *éclat*; they then became a sort of petty parliament, in which the most opposite opinions were eloquently expressed; the leading members began to fall off; and at the end of a year or two they had barely erected a hundred schools. We are heretical enough to believe that the Committee of Council on Education, acting in conjunction with local committees, would have accomplished ten times the work at one quarter the expense of time and talk. And we will add, that the principles of genuine toleration and equal forbearance to

men of all sects and persuasions, were far more certain to be respected and upheld by a responsible and neutral department of State than by local boards, in which all these sects are represented by their respective champions, who are at issue not only as to details, but as to the fundamental principles of action. Again. Is there not in our system of administration by boards an enormous waste of time, of power, and of intelligence? The machinery of a metropolitan election is set to work to appoint an agent to do the work of a clerk. Ere long the voters stay away, the candidates are lukewarm, and the office falls into the hands of the most common-place people. Interminable discussions, in which the most crotchety and tiresome of speakers must be heard, consume the valuable time of the meeting, and at last thirty men separate without having done what any three of them would have been able to accomplish under a more direct sense of responsibility. For it must never be forgotten that in the discharge of the duties of government responsibility is always in an inverse ratio to the numbers of those among whom it is divided.

M. de Sismondi remarks in his 'Essay on Parliamentary 'Government' that 'legislative assemblies are apt to perish 'from *ennui*.' In other words, that the bores destroy them. When we see what parliamentary government becomes in other countries less sedate than our own, it must be confessed that the sentence is not quite unfounded. In all of them the bore wields a tremendous power. Here in England there are examples of men raised to high office by the mere dread which their pertinacity and volubility inspire. But not to dwell on extreme cases, it must be confessed that governments conducted mainly by the power of speech give, as Lord Brougham long ago observed, an undue influence to that faculty. To speak with fluency is the first condition of an English Minister. Many English Ministers have no other gift of statesmanship. Yet the test is altogether a fallacious one as a real criterion of the highest qualities of government, and many of the greatest and ablest of men have been wanting in it.

Another defect in our government which, like the obstructiveness of our parliamentary machinery, tends unhappily to increase, is its singular want of *foresight*. The duration of Ministers is so short and so precarious; the pressure of business from day to day so severe; the necessity of maintaining the balance of ministerial authority in a fluctuating assembly so absolute; that he must be a very rash or a very great Minister indeed who would venture to frame a scheme of policy

for coming years. Lord Elgin goes so far as to say, in one of his wise and charming letters, recently published—and to say not altogether ironically—that he foresees that the time is approaching when, in a democratic state of society, 'foresight 'will be considered a positive disqualification for a statesman,' because no Minister will dare to look beyond the circle which bounds the vision of his adherents and supporters. Yet this circumscribed horizon and imperfect vision of the future destroys some of the conditions of great statesmanship. It is absolutely fatal to a wise and enlightened system of foreign policy; because foreign States are unable to surmise or rely on what the conduct of this country will be under any given circumstances in the future. Nothing has contributed more to lower and weaken our influence abroad; and we are only repeating a remark commonly made by foreign critics, that this want of foresight and stability, which prevents English statesmen from following a broadly-marked path and adhering to it, has removed one of the landmarks of the policy of Europe. Mr. Helps is so impressed with the extreme importance of foresight in government, and with the singular and deplorable want of it which characterises our own system of government, that he has devoted a chapter to the subject—not the least significant of his work. We shall borrow from it the following sentences:—

'Would that there were more of this valuable quality shown in every government that governs, or pretends to govern, throughout the world. Never was this quality more needed than in an age justly called an age of transition—when there is immense diversity of opinion; when the world of thought is more than ever divided into sects; and when that most dangerous form of thought, which is best described by the French word *doctrinaire*, is remarkably prevalent. As it is, even the by-stander most favourable to the governments which exist, must admit, however reluctantly, that the action of government chiefly consists in a series of surprises.

'All observant people must agree in recognising this evil, which it will be desirable to examine minutely, in order to discover the causes, and, if possible, suggest some remedy. One of the main causes why government, even in this country, which justly claims to be the best governed country in the world, is still a government that acts in a faltering, hap-hazard, and uncertain manner, is the following:—The persons, who are chiefly entrusted with carrying on the government, are so much immersed in the difficulties of the present hour—their work from day to day so fully occupies them (especially in this age of unlimited correspondence)—that they have neither the leisure, nor the heart, nor the spare intellectual energy, to devote to a large consideration for the future. This work, therefore, is done mainly by writers unconnected with government. Now, with all their merits, we cannot expect these writers to be eminently practical. The views and

wishes, which they put forward, often lack that consideration of the circumstances surrounding them, that knowledge of practical difficulties, and that experience of men, which are only gained by converse with active life.

'What is wanted, in every State, is a body of philosophic—no, I am afraid of that word—of thoughtful statesmen; who, though partaking of some of the active duties of statesmen, should not be overweighted by their having too much of the conduct of ordinary business imposed upon them. I know that this proposal is a very difficult one to realise in action. But, then, the whole matter we are discussing—namely, the providing foresight for government—is confessedly a very difficult one, and we cannot expect the remedy to be facile. Moreover, such a remedy as is proposed, is rather contrary to what is called the spirit of the age. A single illustration will show what I mean. There are certain offices, in the Cabinet of Great Britain, to which no onerous duties are attached, and indeed, to speak frankly, scarcely any duties at all. The present outcry is, "Let those offices be abolished, or let onerous duties be attached to them." In a word, let every man engaged in the highest branches of statesmanship, be oppressed by the severe and urgent routine of office, which already prevents so many of the greatest men from being able to give due foresight to the affairs of the future. Well, be it so; only remember, that if the miller and his men are always employed in grinding for the necessities of the day, and there is no one left, a little outside, to watch the course of the stream, it may fail some day when it is most wanted; or it may come down in one tumultuous overflow, sweeping away the mill, the miller and his men, broadening, as it goes, into one vast torrent of destruction.' (Pp. 123–8.)

To a certain extent these defects, which are inherent in governments whose existence depends on a parliamentary majority, are remedied or palliated by the permanent staff of each public department: and one of the chief merits of Mr. Helps' volume is that it throws some light on this, which is the least known and least appreciated portion of the mechanism of our government. The permanent members of every office of State are the depositaries of its traditions, and they share no inconsiderable amount of its duties and its powers under the control of the Minister of the day. They forego the prizes of ambition: they work in the name of others; even their emoluments are inferior to the professional incomes which an equal amount of ability and industry would command in the market. But it must be acknowledged that there is something in the exercise of power, however occult, which is attractive to some minds of a high capacity.

Amongst a certain class of statesmen and economists, of which, perhaps, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is the most distinguished member, an opinion prevails that Government ought to attempt nothing for the people which the people

can by possibility do for themselves, and that Government ought even to be restrained from aiding the original efforts of the nation, lest by aiding it discourage or supersede them. He even condemns the principle of endowments for the encouragement of learning. Mr. Lowe has more than once expressed his opinion that to call a Government 'paternal,' is the greatest reproach that can be addressed to it, and that paternal government implies a childish people. If these principles were fully carried out, it might be said without injustice that the functions of Government would be reduced to two—those of the taxgatherer and those of the policeman; or, as Lord Macaulay once expressed it with still greater energy, simply to that of the hangman. To this opinion Mr. Helps is radically opposed. He holds that as civilisation advances, Government is not less, but more wanted by the people; that its duties become infinitely more complicated and more essential; and that as the mechanism of society becomes more perfect, it requires more care, more labour, and more expense. The following passage is of great importance and value:—

'It is an opinion of some people, but, as I contend, a wrong and delusive opinion, that, as civilisation advances, there will be less and less need for government. I maintain that, on the contrary, there will be more and more need. It is a melancholy fact, but it is a fact, that civilisation is mostly attended by complication. And, moreover, it is attended by a diminution of power, as regards individual effort. I always like to strengthen an abstract statement by some concrete illustration. Now, take lighting for instance. There was but little occasion for government regulations when the lighting of each particular house in great cities, entirely depended upon the owner of that house. But now, when the lighting, not only of public streets, but of private dwellings, is chiefly effected by four or five great centres of lighting in a town, the whole of this function has entered into the domain of government, for no one private person has power enough to regulate the matter for himself, or can in any way insure that the quality of his light shall be what he desires. A similar course of argument applies to several of the primary requisites for the well-being and comfort of human life. Water-supply, drainage, sewerage, means of locomotion, all enter the same category. I maintain, that the wisest and the richest man amongst us, the man too who shall have the most leisure, is perfectly incompetent, especially if he lives in a great town, to provide for himself some of these primary requisites of life. Having once thrown in his fate and his fortunes amongst an agglomerated mass of people, it is to the government alone that he can look for protection.

'One of the results of advancing civilisation has been an agglomeration of individuals in particular spots, peculiarly suited for commerce or for manufactures. That agglomeration always takes power out of the hands of the individual. It makes a thing too big for him to deal

with. The government is the only body that can control the fierce conflict of contending individual interests.' (Pp. 19–21.)

And again :—

'In considering this most important subject of governmental interference, it is always to be recollected, that the common sense of the community will be for ever employed in restraining this interference within due limits. There will also be two great causes which will tend to make these limits within, rather than beyond what is requisite. In the first place, there will be the individual interest, often most powerful in Parliament, which is injured or menaced by any interference with its action on behalf of the public good. In the second place, there is the immense desire in every human breast to be allowed to act as freely as possible; which desire often militates against, and absolutely conquers the most manifest considerations of self-interest and welfare. People do not like to be controlled, or to lose any freedom of action, even for what they know to be for their good. Amongst a free people, the danger always is of too little governmental interference, rather than of too much.' (Pp. 28–30.)

Mr. Helps has the courage to say a good word for paternal government itself before he concludes :—

'Paternal government prevents revolution. What socialists are always aiming at is a paternal government under which they are to be the spoilt children. But a government which should give considerable attention to the wants, and even to the pleasures, of the governed, would satisfy the reasonable part of the population, and make them very averse to revolution. When government limits itself, as regards the executive, to the maintenance of order, and to the administration of justice, it is not likely to have a very strong hold on the affections of the people. There are persons who theoretically declare, that they desire the least possible of governmental interference in all their affairs; but when any calamity occurs, or when any great evil, socially speaking, comes to the surface and is much talked about, these same persons will be found joining in the cry that government ought to have foreseen this—ought to look to that; and in short, all of a sudden (often when it is too late), they are willing greatly to extend their views with regard to the proper functions of government.

'I mean the conclusion, from all that I have said in this chapter, to be, that paternal government, as it is called, should be welcomed rather than abjured; and that we may be certain, in a free country, that limits will be put to its action, falling short of rather than exceeding those which are required for the welfare of the people governed.' (Pp. 32–4.)

Now this is a question in our day of the greatest practical importance, and it is one on which all policy may be said to turn. Are we in danger in this country of being too much or too little governed? Is it for the general interest rightly understood to carry the mechanism of government to the

highest perfection of which it is capable, or is it wiser to let it alone, and leave society to grope along in a species of savage independence? Good government, like any other good thing, is difficult and it is dear. There is no greater delusion than to suppose that any improvement which demands increased labour, capital, and intelligence can be obtained without paying for it. Nations have revolted against the extravagance and corruption of Courts, like the Court of France under the old *régime*, or the Court of Naples the other day; and they were so far right that the money of the nation was not spent by those Courts as it ought to be spent for the benefit of the nation. But in point of actual cost the sums lavished by the most profuse and profligate of monarchs on their pleasures are soon exceeded in actual amount by the demands of a growing and flourishing community. The Government of Italy is, doubtless, greatly improved in every respect since the independence and regeneration of that country; but it is prodigiously more expensive than the bad Governments which preceded it.

If there be any truth in the enumeration of the duties of modern government with which we commenced this article, it will at once be seen that these demands are enormous, and that they are continually increasing. They therefore occasion an increased expenditure. There are in Parliament and elsewhere a certain class of economists and politicians who speculate on the ignorant prejudices of the community, and who denounce this growing expenditure as a national calamity. They would even take us back some twenty or five-and-twenty years, when the population of the kingdom was considerably smaller, when the wealth of the nation was far less than it is now, and when many of the demands now considered to be urgent were unknown. We venture to take exactly the opposite view. We rejoice in the increase of the national expenditure, just as we rejoice in the increase of our personal expenditure, or that of our family, if we are satisfied that we can afford it, and that the money is well laid out for the public advantage.

It was once remarked by Lord Overstone, we believe, that no part of a man's income is so well laid out, or procures for him in exchange so large an amount of positive benefit, as that which he pays to the State in the form of taxation. And it may well be so, because the sum levied in taxation is devoted to his collective interests, and is applied with the whole power of association, infinitely surpassing in its beneficial effects the results of any individual exertion. Suppose a man in this country to pay one-tenth of his income

in the form of taxes to the State—we know not if he really pays as much; but that tenth procures for him that without which the other nine-tenths would be useless. People sometimes speak of Government as if it existed, or ought to exist, by nature, and afford them *proprio motu* all they require of it. Or, again, they speak of Government as some monster foreign to themselves, which devours their substance for its own benefit and amusement. They forget that Government is, in reality, themselves. Its wants are their own wants; its duties are their own demands; its expenditure is their own daily outlay.

And it should here be particularly remarked that the poorer classes derive, relatively, much more positive advantage from the public expenditure than the richer classes. They contribute far less per head or per family to the revenue. The revenue is chiefly spent in a manner which affords them employment. But, above all, whereas the wealthier classes have independent means of luxury and enjoyment, the luxuries and enjoyments of the poorer classes consist mainly in those which are public and common to all. Hence the more democratic a society becomes, the larger will be the outlay of the State on those public objects, and very properly so. It would be not only churlish, but a grave political error, to repress this form of expenditure, when it contributes to the real welfare and enjoyment of the people. A sum so small as to be infinitesimal taken from the individual—perhaps the price of a dram or a pint of beer—assumes collectively, by the power of association, such importance that it may found schools and museums, open new ways, raise stately public buildings, or remunerate public benefactors. We say with Lord Overstone that no part of a man's income is better spent, or more usefully to his own real interests, especially if he be poor, than that which the State spends for him.

Nothing appears to us more calculated to mislead and deceive the uninstructed part of the public than expressions which imply that taxation is something 'taken out of the 'pockets of the people,' as if the nation were robbed of the money it pays to defray its own expenses. Every individual member of the community, who pays on an average of the whole population of this country 2*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* a head to the State, receives the full value of what he pays. He receives protection for life, labour, and property. He receives all that distinguishes his social condition from that of a savage. And let it be observed that as regards the poor, this statement of so much taxation per head is entirely fallacious. As a very

large portion of the rates and taxes fall exclusively, or in a larger proportion, on the rich, the contribution of the poor man is much below the average of what it would amount to if the whole were equally divided, which it is not. We very much doubt whether a working man and his family pay more than a pound a-head per annum for the whole advantage they derive from their social status as Englishmen; and even that sum is levied chiefly on the spirits and tobacco they think fit to consume. As in fact the amount of taxation bears but a small proportion to the income of any class, but more especially of the poorer classes who pay no direct taxes at all, so a reduction of taxation even to the amount of several millions may have no perceptible effect on the bulk of the community. For instance, when the last reduction was made in the sugar duties, the revenue lost upwards of two millions, but the consumer gained nothing. The same occurred when the shilling duty was abolished on corn.* We contend that it is more for the public advantage to retain a source of revenue based on moderate indirect taxation, and to employ it for useful public purposes, than to cut down or abandon those useful objects for the sake of a reduction of taxation. What is termed the elasticity of the revenue, when it recovers itself under a reduced rate of duties, is a good sign, for it shows that the country can afford to contribute the same sum or even more to the public treasury even when the amount of any given duty is lowered. A sound and just financial system consists in the imposition of taxes which should press as lightly as possible on the individual taxpayer, but which should, by reason of their extent, produce a large revenue to the State. It follows that when taxes of this nature are surrendered the benefit to the individual taxpayer is very small, and the loss to the State very large. In other words, the taxpayer gains a small advantage in his private capacity, but loses a large advantage in his public capacity, as a member of the whole body politic, for the State is in truth nothing else than the collective body of taxpayers, that is, the nation. And it may very well happen that the evil of diminishing the income of the nation exceeds the benefit conferrred by a slight remission of taxation to the private citizen.

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* We are aware that this measure is defended on the ground that by rendering the British ports absolutely free to the admission of corn, England became the greatest depôt of corn in the world. It may be so; but the practical question is whether this advantage is worth a million a year. It is not alleged that the price of bread is affected by the repeal of a nominal duty.

The real balance of profit or loss to the nation and to the individual is determined by the manner in which the money is spent. Take the expenditure of the country at seventy millions. The cost of collection of the revenue is nearly eight millions; the interest of the debt is twenty-six millions; the cost of the defences of the country is twenty-five more; ten or eleven millions cover the whole civil expenditure of the State. Of that sum, upwards of two millions are spent on education, and nearly four on the administration of justice and the repression of crime. We should be heartily glad if the state of the world and the policy of foreign nations allowed us to reduce our military and naval establishments, but those establishments are forced upon us, not by any designs of our own, but simply to protect us against the designs of others. But as to the remainder of the national expenditure, we declare that we are amazed that it is so small; and, provided this civil expenditure be administered with real economy and judgment, we do not doubt that it may be enlarged, and will be enlarged with great advantage to the whole community, by extending the blessings of education, sanitary reform, public works, and good government to raise and improve the condition of the people.

The income of the nation which is assessed to the income-tax is about four hundred millions; the income of the labouring-classes not assessed to the income-tax is probably as much; and the gross revenue of the nation may be computed at eight hundred millions. The amount paid in the form of taxation to the State is about nine per cent., or twelve per cent. if the local taxation be included. When, therefore, we hear the cry raised for an unconditional reduction of the public revenue by such absurd bodies as the Financial Reform Association, that cry raises no response in our breast. This nation, which grows richer every day, is surely not so impoverished or so decayed in spirit that she will not or cannot devote increasing sums to generous and useful public purposes. In fact, in many respects, the self-imposed taxation of the country, in the shape of voluntary contributions, frequently outruns and surpasses the liberality of the Government. The House of Commons is more liberal than the Minister of the day, and rightly so, provided the money be well and wisely spent. The Treasury is probably the only office or establishment in the State or in the kingdom which deliberately acts on the maxim that no amount of public advantage ought to be allowed to relax the severest rules of parsimony, and that it is better to abdicate and renounce the functions of government itself than to run the risk of adding the cost of

any improvement to the estimates of the year. To these views, it is needless to say, after what precedes, we are totally opposed. We agree with Mr. Helps that, as civilisation advances, not less government, but more, is wanted; and if more or better government, more must be paid for it. The public service requires a more numerous and a more highly-educated staff of men. It must procure those men at the price their capacity or skill can demand in the open market. Innumerable duties, which in the last century were not performed at all, or thought of, are now become matters of urgent public necessity. Men are apt to forget how much they would suffer in their private interests and convenience, if these public duties were neglected or ill-discharged. In point of fact, government is the cheapest and most effectual mode of providing for their common wants. The area over which these operations extend is too vast, and the time required to bring them to perfection is too long, for them to be accomplished by private or individual enterprise. Take, for example, the Post Office. Could any other method be devised, irrespective of the Government, which would enable every person in these islands to communicate with every other person for the sum of one halfpenny? Does anybody regard that tax as an immoderate and excessive impost? Yet in reality the Government is every day performing, at the same rate, other services, which are at least as essential to the well-being of society as the rapid conveyance of a postage-card. And we doubt not that it may perform many more. If we were disposed to hazard a prediction, we should say that, before another quarter of a century has passed, the railroad system will probably have been bought up by the Government and leased out to working Companies, much to the advantage both of shareholders and of the public. A power which can raise money at three per cent. can carry on business on terms far more advantageous than any private firm or company. It is the want of power and the dread of responsibility which prevent the extension of this beneficial influence, and the extirpation of a multitude of evils and abuses.

To take another example. One of the functions of government that an individual cannot possibly secure by any act of his own, is that protection in foreign countries, which the diplomatic and consular services afford in every part of the globe to the public and private interests of Englishmen. To a maritime, adventurous, and commercial people, nothing can be more essential than that every Englishman should find abroad some representative of that national character, which is his chief strength. The expense of our diplomatic and consular

services is about 435,000*l.* The value of the foreign exports and imports of Great Britain in 1870 was 547 millions; in other words, we pay for the protection and assistance of our foreign trade less than one-thousandth part of its value. Nevertheless there are persons in the House of Commons who labour to make themselves an equivocal reputation by attempting to prove that a few pounds can be saved by cutting down these services. We utterly disbelieve it. The opening of fresh markets, more especially in the East, and the increased facilities of communication require more agents abroad instead of fewer. The increased price of living everywhere, and the increased duties they have to perform, prescribe not reduction but augmentation of salaries. And it is a most puerile folly to starve and demoralise a service, on which such enormous interests depend, affecting even peace and war, for the sake of such savings as Mr. Rylands would effect. That is a most striking instance of the fallacy of proposing an incalculably small present and private advantage at the cost of great risk, evil, and inconvenience to the nation. For it may be further observed that these ill-judged reductions are all dictated by the mere sense of *present* interest; and that they very frequently occasion either great mischief or greatly increased expenditure hereafter. The 'Megæra' was sent to sea because it was supposed to be good economy to use up an old ship. But the loss of the 'Megæra' will cost millions to this country, because henceforth the dockyard officers will refuse to pass and certify for service any ship not in perfect condition.

We are perfectly satisfied, from observation and experience, that the public service and the true interests of the nation suffer much more than they gain from the mania for minute and vexatious acts of parsimony which the Government has of late affected to regard as the first of administrative virtues. The most zealous and enlightened public servant is tempted to leave things undone, when every attempt at improvement is met by a jealous carping spirit, and the Treasury treats every other department of the State as if it was conspiring to defraud the country. Numerous instances might be quoted of important public duties, which have been neglected altogether, or thrown into incompetent or improper hands, simply because the Treasury thinks it wise and patriotic to refuse to pay for them at their true value; and the mischief generally has to be repaired afterwards at threefold the cost. Government becomes ridiculous when it is absolutely restrained from the performance of positive duties, because they cannot be paid for; yet such instances have been of late not unfrequent, and

the mischievous consequences of this sort of false economy will be discovered from time to time. Mr. Helps has dealt boldly with this subject:—

'It is a favourite maxim with many of the governing persons of the day, and notably with economical reformers, that "you must not be generous with other people's money." That I deny. When you are in an office of great trust, and have to deal with other people's money, it is your business to try to deal with it as though it were your own; and the highest functions of your trust may, in the interest of those for whom you have to act, compel you to be generous. In fact, if you are not generous with their money, you are often doing them a great injustice and a manifest dis-service. . . .

'I am in general much disinclined to indulge in prophecy; but, for once, I will break through the rule, and will venture to say that, I shall not be surprised if some small economy should, on some great emergency, prove to be a pregnant cause of disaster to the nation in which that small economy has been practised, causing fatal detriment to some important national force. . . .

'There is not anything which rewards the individual employer of labour better than supreme trust in his agents. For once that this trust is abused, it is used, nay it is made remunerative, in a hundred instances. If you do not trust your agents thoroughly, even in matters of expense, you must organise a system of checking, which is of itself expensive; and, what is much worse, is a hindrance that tends to efface responsibility, and to prevent rapidity of action.

'As I am, however, dealing with the question of economy, pure and simple, it is, as regards that question alone, that I maintain that the economy, which is sought to be obtained by a system of distrust, is likely to result in increased expense. For example, take any one of the great Offices of State. If every item of their expenditure is to be supervised by other Departments, there is great expense in this supervision; and there is no impulse given to the heads of the office to regard economy in their expenditure, as a thing for which they are responsible, and for effecting which they are to have the entire credit. If, on the other hand, they are intrusted, to a certain extent, with the control of their own expenses, they are more likely to have a pride in keeping those expenses within due bounds, and at the same time they will always have a great care not to impair the efficiency of their respective offices, which is, naturally, the first thing which a Department looks to, and ought to look to.

'No person, who has not had any experience of the effect of ridiculous supervision as regards small matters of expense in public offices, can imagine how much loss of valuable time, and increase of worry are occasioned by this interference—as for instance, when it descends into such particulars (not imaginary) as this—Whether, in the opinion of one office, a broom is sufficiently worn out by use in another office to make it necessary that a new broom should be provided. Moreover, and this is no small point, men's dignity is hurt by being obliged to deal with these absurdly trivial questions; and a man, perhaps one in high authority, curses in his heart the having taken service with an

employer who thinks fit to vex him, and take up his time with questions of this nature.

'Hitherto we have been considering the errors of a false and spurious economy. But there is a real and true economy, which the public servants of our own, or any other country, may be educated to regard as one of their highest and best functions. In private life, in works executed by the agents of any large and wise employer of labour, you will mostly find a devotion to their master in matters of expense, which makes them more careful and saving of his money than he is himself. That man has seen but little of the world, or has been very unobservant, who has not noticed many instances of this, the highest, the best, and the most continuous economy; and it is one which can be elicited by judicious trust, and by imposing upon agents that responsibility which is a source of enlightenment, as well as of the most unselfish and dutiful action.' (Pp. 177–82.)

And he winds up this chapter in the following terms:—

'It was a very bold saying, in which I ventured to declare, at the beginning of this Essay, that it was necessary sometimes to be generous with the public money. This saying may, however, be thoroughly justified, if we acknowledge the fact that the first thing to be aimed at by the government, or by any employer, is to get the best service. Good service, good paid service (I am one of those who do not believe in unpaid service), must be handsomely remunerated, whether the employer of labour is a private individual or the State. I would have the State to be considered as the most generous employer of labour, so that it should ever have the best name for liberality in the labour market, and be able to attract to itself whatever form of talent it may wish to command. It may be a somewhat subtle and Machiavellian way of looking at the matter; but I have ever observed, that occasional acts of extreme generosity on the part of an employer have an almost disproportionate effect in inducing men to seek for work under that man; and that, to express the matter vulgarly, nothing pays better than these occasional acts of generosity. In fine, while pursuing a system of just economy, a government should always avoid such a lowering of salaries and rewards of all kinds as would render its service less than it ought to be to men of talent and education, of whom, happily, there is no lack in this country.' (Pp. 185–87.)

The progress of administrative reform and improvement in England—which is synonymous with good practical government—is very much impeded by the increasing confusion of the legislative and administrative functions of Government. The criticism and control of such a body as the House of Commons is no doubt of use in detecting and punishing mismanagement and mistakes. But, on the other hand, the dread of this powerful engine, which may be worked for party and personal objects, as well as from an enlightened sense of public interest, not unfrequently weakens the hands of authority. A

Minister commonly escapes censure for what he leaves undone; but his most meritorious efforts, if not immediately successful, may call down a storm of opposition on his head. The same confusion which impairs the administrative functions of Government is not less injurious to the legislative functions of Parliament. Bills on intricate and important subjects are drawn in a crude and perfunctory manner by persons who have not even mastered the phraseology of the subject on which it is proposed to legislate; and the Houses of Parliament are left to flounder in Committee through a mass of incoherent and impracticable details. An eminent person of great experience, who has filled a high judicial office, writes to us a few days ago: 'When I compare the extreme care and solicitude with 'which legislative measures were prepared by the Government 'between 1824 and 1832 (my own experience extends no 'further) with the careless and ineffectual proposals now sub-'mitted to Parliament, I must say I think we have not ad-'vanced in administrative wisdom.' To this cause is mainly to be attributed the total miscarriage of all our recent attempts at legal reform, where the harvest is so abundant, though reapers, competent to the task, are so few. The work of the digest of the law and the reform of the system of judicature has really been adjourned for want of the ability to deal with subjects so vast and so important.

As the object of Mr. Helps in this volume appears to have been, mainly, to treat of the duties of administrative government, we are surprised that it did not occur to him that the British Empire contains specimens of the two leading systems of government, each, we may venture to say, very complete in its kind. At home, we have that system of limited administration with which we are all familiar, controlled by a strong Parliamentary power and the vigilance of a popular assembly and an active public opinion. In India, we have an extraordinary example of a strictly bureaucratic and paternal government, administering the affairs of an enormous Empire, ruling over whole races of men of religions, manners, and laws dissimilar to our own, upon principles which, in relation to the State and in relation to the people, are those of integrity and justice. It is a remarkable proof of the capacity of the English race for the great functions of government that, whilst our domestic annals are crowded with the names of statesmen eminent for oratorical power and skilled in the conduct of political assemblies, the administration of India boasts a long series of English statesmen, not inferior in genius to the greatest of our Parliamentary ministers, although the duties

they have had to perform, and the method of performing them, differ as widely as possible from the mechanism of English politics. Indeed, as administrators and statesmen in the stricter sense of the word, we are inclined to think that the first place must be assigned to that marvellous school and series of rulers by whom the British Empire in India was founded and has been maintained. Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley, Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Metcalfe, and Lord Lawrence, are names so illustrious, that in the art of government we can place nothing above them. They exercised an immense and almost uncontrolled power; but they exercised it, one and all, with as earnest a desire to promote the welfare of the people of India as to maintain the supremacy of the people of England.

We have seen it recently asserted by writers—English writers—that the British Empire in India was founded in blood and is maintained by tyrannical force. Is it in malice or in ignorance that these absurd and detestable calumnies originate? Will anyone believe that an empire could be maintained for a century and extended until it embraces 180,000,000 of human beings, though it is defended by only 60,000 British troops, and governed by three or four thousand British civilians, if its authority rested on no better foundation than force and bloodshed? Compare the present state of India with what it was a hundred years ago, when the Mahrattas were riding in triumph over the ruins of the Mogul Empire, and we affirm that civilisation and government never achieved a more signal triumph. It is by far the grandest system of pure administrative government existing in the world, and if allowance be made for the difficulties inherent in the task, we believe it to be the best.

The chief difficulty of the government of India is that it is exotic, and that by the nature of things it brings the ideas and interests of the West to bear with great—sometimes too great—intensity on the traditions and manners and faiths of the East. The Government represents, not only all political and military power, but almost all the elements of social improvement. The servants of the Government, eager to distinguish themselves according to an English standard of merit, by the advancement of their respective districts, are tempted to vie with each other in carrying on the work of improvement faster than the native mind can follow them. The march of the elephant, rather than the rush of the railway train, is the pace at which Indian improvements ought to proceed. The people are startled by the vivacity of their rulers; and,

as all improvements in government are more or less expensive, the expenditure and taxation of the country have increased more than is wise or prudent. The objects of the Government are excellent, and will even prove remunerative in a certain number of years, but they have been pursued with rather too much vehemence. In England, we just now pointed out the obstructive character of our institutions. In India, there is not quite obstruction enough; it is somewhat too easy to embark in undertakings and to institute changes when they depend on the will of a minister, a viceroy, or a service eager for active employment. So that, by an unlucky inversion of our respective wants, in England the Government is hardly able to keep pace with the public demand for improvement, whilst in India the Government outruns the demands and desires of the native community. But how admirably does the Indian Government illustrate, both by its merits and its defects, that which forms the main subject of Mr. Helps' book, namely, government without party, and without party contentions or politics, but based on a great structure of administrative unity. It is in India, even more than in England, that he would have found examples to illustrate his just and profound remarks on the conduct of public business by the servants of the State.

One of the causes which have created and developed the administrative genius of the civil service of India is the extent and variety of the duties and powers of every member of that service. The districts which every superior officer of the Indian Government has to administer are so large, the population so numerous, and the wants of society so various, that each branch of the service approaches the dignity and importance of an independent State government. Every member of it must be prepared to deal with unforeseen emergencies. He must be ready to bear a large share of responsibility; he must be prepared to act alone, upon his own personal judgment. These are the conditions which form and educate men to the discharge of the true functions of administrative government; and for this reason the Government of India is the most perfect school of administration in the world. The Germans, and especially the Prussians, are great masters of administration; but they act on a far more contracted field, and they submit to a monotonous uniformity of system which is fatal to originality and independence of individual character. It is one of Mr. Helps' sagacious remarks, that 'if by any means a man of organising 'power is attached to any branch of the Executive, care should 'be taken, by his superiors, not to allow him to be ground

'down in the mill of routine; lest even he, too, should be 'subdued by over-much familiarity with the subjects he has 'to manipulate, and should thereby lose the power of dis-'cerning in what way the current treatment of matters, in 'his Department, requires to be entirely altered or amended.' (P. 122.)

Nothing is more opposed to that principle of individual energy and personal responsibility which characterises the administrative government of India than the system of boards, commissions, councils, and committees which forms the basis of English administration from the Cabinet down to the parish vestry. Mr. Helps, whose official duties connect him with one of the most important of these deliberative bodies, the Privy Council and its Committees, is naturally prone to defend them; but we are not sure that we entirely agree with him.

'There is hardly a more difficult thing connected with government, than to make good use of these aids to administration. There are certain matters which are best treated by the clear decisiveness of one man, while there are others which are decidedly best treated by conjoint counsel, or after having been submitted to a council. In affairs of much perplexity and variety of circumstances, it very rarely happens that any one man is master of all the facts, and all the circumstances, which are needful to be known in order to arrive at an exhaustive result. Moreover, in matters wherein there is danger of much odium, whatever determination may be arrived at, it certainly elicits boldness of decision to act by means of a council or commission. The well-known passage in the Bible, "In a multitude of counsellors "there is safety," has frequently been misconstrued. It does not allude to the safety of the counsel, but of the counsellors. In a council, a timid man will be bold, or, at any rate, so far bold that he will be willing to take his full share of responsibility as one of a number; whereas, if he were the sole person to decide, he might be oppressed by the sense of responsibility, and endeavour to evade coming to any decision at all.' (Pp. 96, 97.)

It is an old saying that a council of war never fights; and the result of our own observation is, not only that a timid man is quite as timid in council as he would be if he had to decide alone, but that his timidity is apt to infect his colleagues. Upon the whole, the result of deliberative action is rather negative than positive. It is easier to state the objections to any given course of action than to demonstrate its beneficial results. The advantage of such deliberative bodies is, no doubt, that they are more prudent and cautious than independent agents of government; but, on the other hand, they are much less resolute and bold, though in government the bolder course is often the wiser one. The real mark of a statesman of the highest order is when he

masters the negative and obstructive tendencies of his own colleagues by the force of genius and will. Pitt, Peel, and Palmerston had that power. Such men may sometimes be dangerous, but they are great, and there will not be much greatness in statesmanship without them. The secondary order of statesmen have an invincible tendency to put their power, as it were, in commission, and consequently to descend to the common level. The following observations of Mr. Helps on the formation and conduct of business by such bodies are highly discriminative and judicious:—

'Great attention should be paid to the special nature of the council, by those who have to call it together, and to profit by its counsels. For example, in a purely consultative council, it will be found that the counsellors will be prone to ignore difficulties in action, and will recommend courses of conduct, which they might hesitate to recommend if they were the persons who would have to carry into effect their own recommendations. Again, a representative council will naturally have (whether consciously or unconsciously) an inclination to accommodate its proceedings to the state of knowledge and opinion of the outer world; and each counsellor will be prone to give advice, of such a nature as those whom he represents would wish him to give. Doubtless this leaning towards the outer world will be greater or smaller, according to the more or less publicity given to the proceedings of the council.

'In any council, you will have a great chance of hearing, not only what is best to be done, but what can be done with reference to the state of public feeling and opinion. You will have the opportunity of hearing what unwise persons may think, or have to say about the matter in question; and therein even a foolish, obstinate, argumentative, or perverse person may be very useful, and his presence in the council may be of much worth and significance.

'Altogether, there are immense advantages to be derived from councils; but these advantages will only be derived by those persons who know how to make the proper use of them. It is a sign of great weakness in a government, when it submits too much of its current business to councils, commissions, or bodies of a like nature; and it should be carefully noted what kind of business is fit to be submitted to the arbitrament of a council. The business should rather be of that nature which involves principles to be considered or rules to be determined. A council is a very unfit body to determine questions of language or expression; and will waste any amount of time in vain attempts to insure great nicety and accuracy of expression. That kind of work is seldom well done except by one man; and even the great masters of language require, while they are working, to be undisturbed and unfettered by criticism, and to be able to deal with the matter as a whole. No man expresses anything exactly like another man; and if you wish a document to have a certain clearness and completeness in its expression, it should, if possible, be drawn up by one person, or at least be finally submitted to one person, as far as the language is concerned.

'In the conduct of councils there are several things to be observed

by those who would make judicious use of such bodies, and especially by those who are placed at the head of them. In this world so many things are decided by fatigue. The council, if not guided by a skilful person in its discussions, will waste its time upon minor points, and in combating the unreason or the argumentativeness, of some one or more of its members; and then, at the last, a hasty decision has to be formed, which may be anything but the wisest which could be formed. Lord Bacon has given the world an essay on councils, full, as might be expected, of valuable thought, and not disdaining to discuss points apparently somewhat insignificant, such as the shape and size of the council table; but he does not notice the effect of weariness. This omission may be accounted for by the greater powers of endurance of our ancestors, who, moreover, were trained to listen to long discourses patiently, and were not so much oppressed by a variety of business as we, the men of the present generation, are. With us I doubt not that the effect of weariness is one of the main elements of decision in any assemblage of men.

'Then, there is always the difficulty of eliciting the opinions of those members of the council, who are very reserved and modest in the expression of their opinions. I have known instances in which the man, most fitted to direct the council, has not once had an opportunity of fairly bringing forward what he has thought and felt upon the matter in question. And that, too, in a council, commission, or board, which has sat for many days to consider the particular question. A man of the kind I mean, has strong and clear opinions; but is of a modest and retiring nature. In the course of the discussions he ascertains, or rather thinks that he ascertains, that his views will not meet with any response from his colleagues; and, accordingly, he is entirely silent about them. It is especially the business of the chairman, or leading person in the council, to take care that the views and opinions of these reserved persons should not fail to be brought forward. It often happens that the best choice of a chairman is to be made by selecting one who, perhaps, is not particularly cognisant of the matter in hand; but who is skilful in discerning character, and has the tact and judgment necessary for eliciting fully the opinions of all those over whom he presides. This is especially necessary when the councils or such like bodies are of a temporary character; but it is also requisite in permanent Boards. A man may have had a place in such a Board for many years, and yet never have given an entirely unreserved opinion upon the matters that have come before him in that conjoint capacity. . . .

'In fine, the utility of councils may be divined from this one fact—that no man is as wise as all other men, or even as any four or five other men. He may be swifter, he may be more decisive, but he is never so comprehensive and so various. From the earliest ages to the present time there have always been councils and similar aids to government; and there never will be any form of government, to the aid and enlightenment of which such bodies will not be summoned. He who knows how to make good use of them, and how, as much as possible, to avoid a certain weakness and dilatoriness inherent in them, will show forth one of the greatest merits which a statesman can pos-

sess. He cannot see and listen to the whole world; but, by making use of councils, he may attain to something of a cosmopolitan view, or, at any rate, may learn the views, wishes, and opinions of large bodies of his fellow-men. If he is very skilful, he may combine the advantages of varied thought and conjoint action, with somewhat of the singleness of purpose, and the directness of executive action, which are the property of an individual ruler.' (Pp. 98–106.)

The real object of all political construction ought to be to obtain *men*—to obtain men, the ablest, the wisest, and the best, and to place the conduct of public business in their hands. The higher ranks of office in this country are filled, as we know, by the currents and contests of Parliamentary life; but the ranks of permanent office are filled by the influence of the successful politicians of the day; and, as we have already said, the importance of these permanent officers to the good working of the whole administrative machinery can hardly be termed secondary. If, therefore, we were to name one quality more essential than another in a Minister, it would be the wise and discriminating selection of his subordinates. A Minister who gives an office to an unworthy person, for an unworthy motive, does a very foolish as well as a very wrong thing; for the time will certainly come when he or his successor will have cause to suffer for his mistake. Every Minister and every person in office has a vast interest in obtaining the best assistance he can from his subordinates, since if they make blunders he is the man to bear the blame, and if they do well it redounds to his own honour. We regard, therefore, this duty of the selection of the fittest candidates for official life as a duty of paramount importance, and one on which the future welfare of the public services in this country much depends. It is, therefore, with extreme surprise and regret that we have seen this duty repudiated by some of the leading statesmen of the day, who, in order to escape from the trouble of a just exercise of patronage, or to court popular favour by a show of liberality, have thrown open the public offices to competition. Nay, in some of them this principle has been carried so far, that they have actually deprived the head of an office of the power of filling up an appointment with a competent person, even where his qualifications were well known. Competitive examination, based on a certain number of marks awarded for proficiency in Euclid, Greek, and Latin, or some other scholastic attainments, is a totally false and imperfect criterion of the qualities required for a good administrative servant of the State; and we believe that the all but unanimous opinion of the permanent heads of the Civil

Service is extremely unfavourable to the experiment, which is beginning to be known by its results. We quite agree that every person who enters the service of Government may fitly be required to pass a certain examination as a test of education and capacity. But would anyone in his private relations of life consent to accept servants, clerks, or agents by a system of competitive examination which would compel him to take a butler or a cashier, because he has been crammed up to a certain level of literary acquirements? As applied to the lower offices under Government such tests are ludicrous; as applied to the higher offices they are totally fallacious. Mr. Helps has had the courage to bring the weight of his experience and good sense to bear against this fashion of the day, which threatens hereafter to lower the character and efficiency of the public offices, if it has not already done so; and as we cordially concur with him, we have great pleasure in recommending the following remarks to the consideration of our readers:—

'In Great Britain we have, of late, adopted the system of competitive examination, as a means of discerning men's qualifications for office. In my judgment, although the system has long been adopted in China, it is a most inadequate one for its purpose. It detects qualifications which are little needed, while it fails, inevitably, to discover those which are most needed. It is a bringing back of the world to the schools. The main reasons given for its adoption are, that it prevents jobbery, relieves men in power from importunity, and encourages education. These may be very good objects; but, unfortunately, they are foreign to the main object, which is to choose fit men, and, if possible, the fittest men, for certain employments. Competitive examination is mainly a mode of relieving those persons, who ought to have the burden of making a choice, from the responsibility of so doing.

'How ineffective this mode of procedure is likely to be, may be inferred from the following statement. You wish to ascertain that a man will be zealous, faithful, true, reticent, cautious, and capable of dealing rapidly with current business; and, also, as he advances in office, of taking a certain amount of responsibility upon himself. You think that you have accomplished this end by ascertaining that he can construe Latin, and has been crammed with a certain knowledge of the facts of history, which facts, having been devoured rather than digested, stand very little chance of being well used by him for the future, and will probably be entirely forgotten.

'As a humorous person, I know, is wont to say, "If you were to try the candidates in whist, there might be a chance of discerning whether they would be capable of dealing with the real business of the world."

'There is one very important point to be considered in reference to this question; and that is, not only is the talent for acquiring knowledge not a talent of imperative necessity, as regards the conduct of the

business of the world, but it is absolutely injurious in some respects. Young people very often manifest a readiness to acquire knowledge merely from a certain docility of mind, which makes few inquiries, is easily satisfied with what the teacher tells it, and never cares to take an original and independent view of what is taught. These qualifications are exactly opposed to those which are wanted in the conduct of business. Putting aside, however, for the moment, any conjectures about the matter, I venture to assert that much of the greatest and the best work in the world has been done by those who were anything but docile in their youth. This bold statement applies, I believe, not only to the greatest men in Science, Literature, and Art, but to the greatest men in official life, in diplomacy, and in the general business of the world. If I were asked to point out the men who, in my experience of public affairs, have shown the most remarkable competency for the conduct of business, they would, in several instances, prove to be men of very limited education. One of the principal qualifications for the conduct of business is decisiveness; and surely no one will contend that decisiveness is, of necessity, promoted by the acquisition of much knowledge in youth.

'What I have said above applies principally to men who are to be chosen for the permanent Civil Service of the country. The statesmen who have to take a more prominent part, whose business it is to argue, to explain, if possible to be eloquent, may doubtless be greatly benefited by an education of the highest kind.

'There is also another point on which I would guard my previous statements. When I say that I entirely object to competitive examination, I do not mean that there should be no examination at all for the candidates for office; but it need not be competitive. There are certain primary requisites, the existence of which may be perfectly ascertained by examination. For example, there are qualifications of the most elementary kind in reading, writing (alas! how seldom attained), and arithmetic, which may well be insisted upon. I would also add, that the digesting of documents, and the making abstracts from them, are real tests of the fitness of men for official life. But when you insist upon acquirements in history, or Latin, or mathematics, the question is entirely different.

'There is another point I would urge. Some of the greatest men never do their best until they have realities to deal with. It is in vain to tell them that the acquisition of knowledge is a reality. They will persevere in being playful, indolent, and disinclined to acquire knowledge. Once, however, bring these men into real life: once show them that what they do may have serious consequences, and they are sobered as it were. They exert all their powers, and are often found to be the most consummate managers of human affairs.

'The foregoing remarks have been directed against the system of competitive examination. That system has, however, prevailed. The only thing now to be done, is to implore all those who have power in the matter to resist this system being carried to its utmost extent; to make exceptions wherever they can, and to reserve for themselves some power of choice.' (Pp. 62–7.)

After all, in treating of the great subject of Government, the fundamental truth to be borne in mind is, that its primary object, to which all others are subordinate, is to improve the condition of the people, to promote their well-being, to raise their moral and intellectual character, and to increase their virtue and happiness. There is an immense deal of contention in the world—there has been of late years much contention in this country — as to the political institutions and forms of government by which these objects can be most surely and swiftly accomplished. People are apt to mistake these changes in the mechanism of government for the functions which government itself has to discharge; and they throw into these disputes, which are generally mere struggles for party or personal power, much of that energy and passion which it would be well to direct against the real evils of society, such as ignorance, barbarism, and vice. But it is by the test of utility, that is, of the positive service done to the collective interests of the nation, that all government must be tried at last. In point of political freedom the institutions of this country leave not much to be desired, for no nation has ever carried the liberty of thought, speech, and action to so great a length without compromising its internal security and peace. England happily combines at present a great amount of freedom with a degree of social order and prosperity which has been strengthened by that freedom. It is rather in the wide field of social improvement that the task of future statesmen lies, and that task cannot be performed with effect save by the authority of the Government and of Parliament, acting on behalf of the people whom they represent. Mr. Helps contends that to carry out the greatest improvement, there is not the slightest necessity to change the form of things, but rather to apply the forces and the machinery of government we already possess, and to build upon our old foundations.

'To convince a statesman of what good might be done by the improvement of that which already exists, I have sometimes thought that if one could persuade him to take a walk with one in London, and its suburbs, or in any other thickly populated town, what opportunities one might show him for improvement of the kind that I mean, both in legislation and in administrative action.

'There are huge factories rising up on the banks of rivers, the refuse of which will, for certain, whether openly or furtively, be shot down into the stream, and will thereby inevitably cause great mischief to all those who dwell on its banks and have to drink of its waters. This statesman would see portions of land about to be occupied by mean and unhealthy dwellings, which land ought to be under the control of the government for the public good. He would see volumes of smoke

issuing from factories, and begriming great public buildings for which he has consented that the nation should pay large sums of money; and it might be suggested to him, that this smoke, though one of the greatest evils of modern civilisation, is at the same time one of the most easily preventible. One might then take him into the most densely populated parts of the town; and show him how absolutely abominable are all the primary arrangements for habitation, which have to be endured by thousands, and tens of thousands, of his poorer fellow-countrymen. The remedies for these evils need not be sought for in forms of legislation, which will encounter much opposition by evoking political passions or prejudices. They lie within the placid realm of the improver.

'I do not undervalue the great political measures which remove political disabilities, and are framed with a view to making large masses of our fellow-countrymen more contented with imperial rule. But it is improvement in those minor matters before enumerated, which will make life more comely, and which will create good citizens as well as good men.

'There are, at this moment, vast schemes for change and reform brought forward by men who have, as yet, but little political standing, or political weight in the State. Without undervaluing the labours of these men, or depreciating the objects they have in view, one can hardly doubt, that practised statesmen look upon these outsiders somewhat as quacks, while they consider themselves to be the regular practitioners. But let statesmen take this fact to heart; that it is only from their failures, that these men, whom perhaps they affect to despise, derive their chief influence; and I contend that these failures are mainly to be attributed to the negligence of statesmen, in improving the condition of the poorer classes by measures, not of great political, but of immense social urgency.

'The statesmen of almost every country might afford to despise the efforts of the most democratic agitators, if the welfare of the common people, in what are regarded as comparatively minor matters, had been sufficiently attended to. That man is seldom inclined to be clamorously destructive, who has a comfortable home, and who finds that the legislation of his country is directed, not merely to the redress of political grievances, but concerns itself with all that can free his condition from whatever is ignoble, unhealthy, and unbecoming.

'If these minor improvements, when tried, had been found to fail—if experience had proved that men whose homes had been made more comfortable, and whose well-being had been looked after in every way by their superiors, had still continued to be agitators, or the prey of agitators—we might conclude that that was not the way to satisfy mankind. But the experiment has been tried and proved to be successful. Wherever, and whenever a great manufacturer, or other large employer of labour, has had somewhat of the spirit of the true statesman in him, and has striven to create a happy and contented population in the neighbourhood of his works, he has uniformly, as far as my knowledge goes, succeeded in doing so. Now, if statesmen would place a similar object in view, for the whole of the labouring population, they also might meet with similar success. And the means by which

they might attain that success lie rather in the way of improving the legislation that has already been begun with that view, than in bringing forward great measures of political or social change.

'I am by no means anxious to contend that there are not many subjects for political action, which need the reformer in preference to the improver. But I maintain, that an enormous field of mere improvement lies before those who would have the modesty to limit their political action to improvement. That "last infirmity of noble minds," the desire for fame, which, however, I would characterise as the first infirmity of minds ignoble as well as noble, has, in no branch of human life, effected more mischief than in politics. I have scarcely a hope of increasing the number of improvers; but I think that they might be consoled for the want of fame attendant upon their labours, by their fully appreciating what an extensive sphere of usefulness lies before them.' (Pp. 155–60.)

It is somewhat inconsistent with the general tenor of Mr. Helps' work, which, as we have remarked, relates almost exclusively to civil administration rather than to political government, that he has introduced into his fourth chapter some remarks of rather a perfunctory character on a subject of such vast political importance and difficulty as the constitution of a Second Chamber in the Legislature, and particularly of the House of Lords. We shall not follow him at the close of this article upon ground so strewn with burning ashes; and we shall confine ourselves to one or two observations. To assert with Mr. Helps that the House of Lords as at present constituted does not do the work or even provide the restraint which a Second Chamber should do or should provide, is to beg the whole question. For we would ask those who desire to modify the constitution of the House of Lords, what it is they desire to do? To make that body more powerful, or less powerful? to increase its claims to check and resist the will of the House of Commons, or to diminish them? To those who desire to strengthen the House of Lords, we would observe that it has already the weight derived from continually attracting to itself many of the finest intellects and most experienced statesmen and lawyers in the country, and that if its power were increased, the danger arising from a collision with the House of Commons would be materially increased also. There cannot be two estates of the realm exactly equivalent in force. To those who desire to weaken the House of Lords by reforming it, we would observe that it has now exactly the amount of power which is useful to arrest a precipitate decision, though it be quite unavailing to oppose the deliberate will of the nation. Lastly, there are those who condemn the House of Lords because it is an aristocratic assembly; but would the influence

of the heads of the great houses of England be diminished if instead of sitting by themselves in a separate chamber, with limited powers, they were returned, as they would be returned, to sit on the benches of that Assembly which is practically in this country supreme? The influence of Lord Derby or Lord Salisbury, of Lord Kimberley or the Duke of Argyll, sitting in the great popular Council would be far greater than it ever can be in the assembly of their peers. The present constitution of the House of Lords tends rather to circumscribe than to augment their real power. It excludes the great heads of families and the clergy from the House of Commons. It removes them from the principal arena of contest, and it confines them to a highly useful, but comparatively inglorious function in the State, which many a young and energetic peer would willingly exchange, even at the loss of his privileges, for a more active position in the ranks of the great army. This subject, however, has no real connexion with the principal matters treated of by Mr. Helps in this volume. It is a question of constitutional law and legislation rather than of government; and we prefer to confine ourselves to the topics he has discussed with so much ability in these pages.

ART. IV.—1. *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.* Von ALFRED VON REUMONT. 3tter Band. 1ste Abtheilung. Berlin: 1869.

2. *Italie et la Renaissance.* Par J. ZELLER. Paris: 1869.

3. *Cultur der Renaissance.* Von J. BURCKHARDT. Zweite durchgesehene Auflage. Leipzig: 1869.

THERE was a moment in the history of Catholic Europe when the course of civilisation having taken a strong and definite bent apart from the sphere of ecclesiastical dogma, the Papal See had to decide between working with it or against it, and chose the former line of action. For a limited period, by a few pontiffs, the experiment was sedulously made of trimming the sails of St. Peter's bark to catch the gales of secular progress. How long the attempt lasted, how far it succeeded or failed, and what the phenomena were which it presents to the view of the philosophic historian, it may be interesting shortly to review at a time like the present, when the old essential warfare is so emphatically proclaimed.

The books whose titles stand at the head of our article are—

1. That portion of the 'History of the City of Rome,' by

Alfred von Reumont, which comprises the period from the election of Pope Martin V. to the death of Pope Alexander VI., 1417–1503. Von Reumont writes as an accomplished scholar, and views his subject in varied lights. He treats of the political and Church history of Rome, of its economic history, of its literary and artistic history. It is with his very interesting chapters on literary history that we shall have to deal. He writes as one whose sympathies are with the Roman Catholic Church, but who is fully alive to her sins and shortcomings at given periods. His point of view may best be described in the words of his preface:—

'After a long intermission,' he says, 'Rome steps forth once more (in the early part of the fifteenth century) into the sphere of the great movement of mind. The mode and nature of her action are decisive, for good and for evil, of the tendencies of that brilliant period which followed. During the eighty-three years' interval between the date of Martin's return and the death of Alexander VI., the political and ecclesiastical history of the Papacy reveals two currents, flowing in divergent directions, and bearing unmistakeable resemblance to the two currents which come to the broad light of day afterwards. It is easy to misunderstand the last without accurate knowledge of the first. For the city of Rome, the fifteenth century is a time of resurrection after deep decay. But for the Papacy, its close marks a moment of obscuration. The sequel [he is referring to the sixteenth century, the history of which, with the close of the work itself, has been published more recently,] will reveal the modern city on the pinnacle of its splendour; it will also show the expiation and the resuscitation of the Pontificate.'

2. The work of Zeller is written in a lively and popular strain, but makes no pretensions to original scholarship. He brings before us the leading tendencies and characters of the Renaissance from the middle of the fifteenth century to the end of Leo X.'s reign, depicting them with a good deal of the antithetical effect common in French writers, and also, we believe we must add, with some of that deficiency of critical conscience which is content with the transposition of a small anecdote or fact to enhance antithetical point.

3. Burckhardt's 'Cultur der Renaissance' is a new edition of perhaps the most satisfactory and scholarly work on the intellectual aspect of the fifteenth century that modern criticism has produced. It would be difficult to do justice, in a few words, to the discriminating and sympathetic spirit with which the author follows up each line of thought, each whim of taste, suggested to the lively fancy of the Italians by the various elements of culture around them, notably by that devotion to the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, which gave the predominant character to the epoch.

Taking these three works for the basis of our remarks—or rather the first and third, for Zeller's work is less calculated for our purpose—we shall proceed to consider the leading characteristics of a movement possessing unusual fascination of interest both in its facts and its suggestions.

The subject brings us face to face with that remarkable mental phase of the fifteenth century known by the name of Humanism; psychologically, the questioning of man's understanding with the awakened sensibilities of his soul; historically, the turning aside of students from the technical ways of thought stereotyped in the learning of the schools, to investigate the experience and the taste of classical antiquity under their natural conditions.

The impulse to the Humanist movement came from various sources. That when the human mind received the impulse to move at all, the old scholastic framework should have been cast aside, was inevitable; the notions on which it was based were mere unrealities to inquiring and feeling men. That classical antiquity should have been the medium in which exclusively the self-emancipated intellect found range for its sympathies, was a consequence of the poverty of the world in experimental knowledge, added to the impatience inherent in all enthusiasm. There was assuredly, at that moment of time, no other influence which could compete with antiquity in its attractions for the culture of reason and of fancy. Science and philosophy could only be reached through the writings of the ancients: poetic beauty and grace found aptest reflection in them. A sense of their pre-eminence had indeed prevailed throughout the darkest ages. Homer and Virgil, Aristotle and Plato, had never ceased to be ideals in the sanctuary of popular fame. The Italian poetry of the Trecento might, perhaps, have shown that there was originality enough in the national genius to have led the way in the formation of a new literature. But to the eager students who followed Dante and Petrarch, the glamour of a past which *had* been glorious, took the brilliancy from the hues of a day whose promise was young. The interest of the new movement, moreover, consisted in great measure in this: that it was an appeal to the real facts of a given period of intellectual life, in lieu of conventional representations, vague popular legends, and phantom logomachies. Ultimately, no doubt, it resulted in a somewhat servile shifting of allegiance from one class of authorities to another; but in its outset it had definite features of analogy with the scientific revolution inaugurated two centuries later by Bacon.

It was in the fifteenth century that Humanism attained to

full recognition as the mode and condition of culture. Its tendencies, however, had been actively at work in the fourteenth; and it will be needful to glance at the position of the great men who first kindled the mastering passion for Greek and Roman lore—who, in fact, if not in current parlance, constituted the first generation of 'Humanists'—in order to appreciate the relation in which their successors stood to the traditional landmarks of their time.

The poetry of ancient Rome, though discountenanced, as a rule, by the Church, and travestied by monkish fancies, was still sufficiently known to the few men of real literary genius who adorned the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—especially in Italy, where language and nature were in their degree an indissoluble bond of union between the present and the past—to excite their admiration and refine their taste: Dante's devotion to Virgil is the keynote of his Divina Commedia. In the generation succeeding Dante, when political life was very stirring in the peninsula, a spirit of literary curiosity mingled with the other sources of rivalry which so greatly promoted the growth and prosperity of its lively commonwealths and petty courts. Then, over and above the existing impulse for original composition, either in Latin or the vernacular, the minds of a few masters turned, not merely with a fanciful and poetical, but with a thoughtful and scholarly spirit of investigation, to explore the works of the great classics. Among those masters Petrarch and Boccaccio were pre-eminent. With them, the link between the present and the past was all suggestive. Rome—the spectacle of its actual degradation, the longing for its reinstatement as a headquarters of ecclesiastical and intellectual life—brought back to Petrarch's soul so vividly the glories of its ancient time, that it became, next to Laura, his most animating ideal. Nay, some have thought it *was* his Laura—his love—his anagrammatic *Amor*.

That the most vigorous portion of the fourteenth century culture existed outside of the Church's influence, that it was indeed positively antagonistic to the Church as represented by the Papacy from Boniface VIII. downwards, was owing to other causes besides the contrast between Rome degraded and Rome triumphant. In the first place, the spirit of the Provençal and Sicilian poetry, the lineal progenitors of the Tuscan vernacular, had always worn a heterodox tinge; then, the exaltation of the ancient classics was a tacit challenge to the ecclesiastical bigotry which had so long held the famous masterpieces of the heathen world at arm's length; finally, the flagrant immorality of the Avignon Papacy came in as a powerful

argument to cover and invigorate every other motive. That just at the time when the Papal See was in its discreditable French exile—its 'Babylonian captivity'—the patriotic sentiment about Rome should have been revived by the dreams of scholars was, indeed, a sinister omen for the Church. Petrarch's diatribes against Avignon and its corruptions were as severe as any that Luther or Zwingli could have enunciated. The immorality, the unfaithfulness to the interests of Rome, the hostility to the demands of culture which the Avignon Court exhibited, all entered into the motives of his wrath. Yet it would be an error to suppose that Petrarch meant to attack the Church of the Papacy as such. He was ready enough to hail the pontificate of no better a representative than Urban V., if only his projected return to Rome might be accomplished, and St. Peter's successor might once more sit in St. Peter's chair.

The germ of secularism which under the revived study of the classics was destined to such powerful expansion in the next century, found certainly no recognition in the moral consciousness of this generation of scholars. The position they took up as against the orthodox 'obstructives' was this: 'Chris-'tianity, it is true, had once to fear the influence of pagan poetry 'and philosophy. When the world was only half converted 'from heathenism, reason good there was to banish the seduc-'tive teaching of its votaries. But now Christianity tri-'umphs: the old gods are dead; there can be no fear of an 'Olympian reign again. Let us then study these writers of 'the past for their beauty, search out in them all that is good, 'recognise the grains of truth of which the Almighty permitted 'them to be the transmitters, and use them fearlessly as 'teachers of the true rules of literary *taste* to a generation that 'has much need of such teaching.' Petrarch was above all devotedly attached to the writings of Cicero; and Cicero was a thinker who had outgrown the mythological beliefs, and whose higher speculations presented many points of contact with Christian truth. No one can study the life and meditations of the pious student of Vaucluse without perceiving how entirely his admiration of the great works of antiquity was dominated by his conviction of the claims of religious faith and action. These last, whatever his practical distractions may have been, Petrarch consistently placed above learning, and love, and earthly interests of whatever sort. Boccaccio, who was much more of a heathen in his proclivities than Petrarch, much more like the scholars of the fifteenth century, and, had he lived among them, would perhaps have been as uncompromising a libertine as Filelfo or Valla, turned devout in his

later years, and always *professed* the views we have indicated. Thus he justifies his work 'De Genealogia Deorum' explicitly on the ground that, whereas the early Church had to defend itself against the heathen, now, thanks be to Jesus Christ, the foe is conquered, the victors are in possession of the hostile camp, and the exploded superstitions may be handled without fear of contamination.

So far as to the moral position of these fourteenth-century students. With regard to the special classical studies brought into the foreground by them, it should be noticed that these mostly referred to the works of Roman authors already more or less traditionally known, but imperfectly comprehended and valued under the conditions of mediæval scholarship. The discovery of obscure or forgotten works of the ancients was the industry of a later time. To obtain accurate copies of Cicero, of Livy, or of Quintilian, Petrarch and Boccaccio searched libraries and gave their hours to the work of transcription. Petrarch's 'Africa' and his Eclogues were attempts to imitate, in Latin verse, the style and spirit of Virgil. His familiar epistles and conversational treatises were avowedly after the models of the sage of Tusculum. If the knowledge of the Latin classics had been scanty and confused up to the middle of the fourteenth century, that of the Greek classics was to all intents and purposes a blank. Petrarch and Boccaccio undertook a memorable work when they attempted to revive this branch also of ancient lore. But their teachers, the best whom chance brought to them, were only Grecised Calabrians. Petrarch could never read Plato or Homer save in Latin translations. Boccaccio was only able to follow the process by which the one language was transferred, under his eyes, into the other. Had the immigration of Greek scholars from the East then set in, these beginnings might have fructified. But the mere mercantile intercourse between Italy and the Levant seems never to have promoted the study of language; and when Barlaam and Leontius Pilatus moved off the scene, their place as pedagogues was not filled up. Hence it came to pass that, while the Latin revival held on its way, and numbered many eminent scholars, at Florence especially, through the closing quarter of the fourteenth century, the Greek revival came to a standstill, and made no sign till it began a new career with the advent to Florence of Manuel Chrysoloras in 1396. This is its real date in literary history. It is the real date of Humanism in its second and decisive start. It is on all accounts a memorable epoch.

Chrysoloras was a Greek who originally came to Italy from

Constantinople to solicit aid for the Eastern Empire against the Turks. After accomplishing his mission, he returned to Florence for the purpose of publicly teaching the Greek language. He remained there eight years only; but in that time his lectures created a veritable *furore*, and the effect, both on the outer and inner life of the scholastic world was enormous. To us, a few leading indications only are possible. Florence, from 1382 to 1434, was governed by an aristocratic faction, of whom the Medici were the foes, and ultimately the subverters. Now, far from the Medici being the original patrons of the literary impulse which glorified the republic throughout the last half of the fifteenth century, and with which their name is indissolubly connected, they were only carrying on the feeling and the policy of their quondam rivals the Albizzi. Already, a generation before Cosmo rose to supreme power, literary interests had become the pride and recreation of all classes in the State above the lowest. The love of learning and discussion brought not only men of leisure, and men of business, and curious foreigners, but the keen and restless leaders of political parties also, to listen to this or that expounder of classical lore. The lecture-room of Chrysoloras was especially crowded. Private literary re-unions or academies held their sessions at the Camaldolese convent degl' Angeli, and at the Augustine convent dello Spirito, and attracted the highest class of scholars. Here it is that we find the origin of those academical bodies which formed so characteristic a feature in the later literary life of Italy. The University of Florence itself started into fresh existence under the auspices of Palla Strozzi; but it would seem that the new intellectual impulse found a more congenial field for its special tendencies in these self-organised clubs, than in the regulation classes of university science; and it was doubtless an accident in favour of the freshness and freedom of the Revival literature that it should have sprung to life at a time when universities everywhere happened to be in a state of decay, and should, in consequence, have been thrown mainly on the voluntary principle for its embodiment.

The revived study of Greek, which dates from the lectures of Chrysoloras, and was kept up, after him, through the influx of Greek scholars driven from their country by the advance of the Mahometan power, was more intellectually revolutionising, more *paganising* in fact, than the antecedent Latin culture had been. The minds of inquirers were led back to what had been the original sources of Roman taste and imagery. The field was essentially a novel one. Cicero and

Virgil had always retained a name and reputation even through the darker middle ages. Sometimes scouted by Church asceticism, sometimes half christianised in popular myths, they had this special hold on remembrance, that the language in which they wrote was the groundwork of the spoken dialect, and was actually the language of scholasticism and of the Church. Greek literature, on the other hand, opened up a world of its own. The fascinations of its expressive vocabulary, the nice involutions of its grammar, were a charm to the subtle perceptions of the student's intellect. The ideal setting forth of beauty, the deep searchings of philosophy, to be found in its great writers, with whom no Christian associations existed, both worked as a spell on their own account, and gave also a fresh zest and meaning to the Latin authors whose models they had been. And here we must duly estimate the share which the enthusiasm of fancy, both by national character and by circumstance, bore in the awakened intelligence of Italy. We are not inclined to state the full force of the enhanced zeal for antiquity earlier than Poggio's journey in search of MSS., A.D. 1416, and the fervour of emulation to which that journey gave rise; but assuredly the eager brightness of life at the chief literary centres, while this influx of new ideas was first pouring in, can hardly be over-estimated.

Florence, as we have seen, was pre-eminently such a centre, but Rome was not; and it is necessary to place clearly before us the different state of things which prevailed in the metropolis of Christendom. The Avignon exile had come to an end, but the great schism had intervened. There were Popes again at Rome; but Popes who had lost the allegiance of half Christendom. They were by no means, all of them, averse to the cause of learning. Innocent VII. (1406) tried to recall the Roman University into existence; and the language of his bull deserves to be cited, as showing the unsuspicious way in which he could then speak of the interests of culture and of religion as identical. He had resolved, with God's assistance, he said, to summon back the long-neglected studies to the city of Rome, 'in order that 'learning might lead men to the knowledge of the truth, and 'teach them to obey God and the laws.' But the learning he would have recalled—his enterprise proved abortive—was rather the scholastic than the classical erudition. He wanted professors to fill his chairs of Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Philosophy, and so forth; neither he nor his immediate successors had eyes to perceive that a mental culture independent of University traditions was forcing itself into recognition as a power in Italy, and would before long have to

be confronted in the guise of a friend or of a foe, by the representatives of Church supremacy. Even as a seat of the old-fashioned enlightenment; Rome had utterly lost caste since the critical times of Boniface VIII. Papal absenteeism, and the schism, and the internal feuds of the city, had reduced it to a most barbaric state. Boccaccio said, bitterly, that Rome in his time stood at the lowest, as once it had stood at the highest, point of worldly estimation. 'A nation of cowherds,' the astute Tuscans called their benighted neighbours. The only apparent exception to this state of things is presented by the phenomenon of Rienzi's rule—Rienzi, the friend of Petrarch. His attempt at political regeneration, in 1347, had been a passionate but ill-instructed endeavour to assert the hereditary glories of classical times. But it was to the genius of patriotism, rather than of erudition, that the audacious tribune appealed; and when he took his stand on the old monuments and inscriptions, a puerile ignorance was manifest in the teacher as well as in the taught. His flash, too, passed away without kindling any abiding fire. If the population of Rome remembered at all that they were descendants of the Gracchi and the Fabii, they were content to hold that faith for the most part in a confused legendary way. As time went on, other demagogues, with more classical knowledge, repeated the experiment of Rienzi; but we do not find that at any time their efforts harmonised practically with the culture which took its tone from Florence.

An important era in the interests of the new learning was formed by the Council of Constance (1414–1418). This famous Council was not merely a Convocation of Bishops of the Church, as former Councils had been. For the first time, what Hallam in speaking of it calls a *Whig* character, was visible in the composition of an Ecclesiastical Synod. It was a meeting of laity as well as of clergy. Abbots and doctors, doctors of law as well as of divinity, heads of orders, ambassadors of temporal sovereigns, were called to sit and vote. Many of the most learned scholars of the Humanist type were present. Manuel Chrysoloras was there, and died during the sitting of the Council; Ambrogio Traversari was there; Poggio Bracciolini was there. It was inevitable that in such a concourse the newest excitements of the world of letters should have been eagerly discussed in the intervals of formal business. There it was that, during a pause in the sessions, Poggio made his celebrated expedition, to which we have already alluded, in quest of the MSS. rumoured to lie hidden and neglected in various monastic and other libraries in the

neighbourhood of Constance. His zeal eventually led him into France, and even as far as to Paris. The catalogue of his discoveries is a long one. The fatigues and expenses he incurred in his search, undaunted by inclement seasons, bad roads, and haunts difficult of access, make his enterprise, to philobiblist susceptibilities, quite as romantic as any tale of chivalry; and in the then but half-disused language of chivalry, he and his fellow-enthusiasts were wont to speak of their enterprise. Their mission, they said, was to rescue their glorious ancestors from the prison-houses of the Germans and the Gauls. The MSS. Poggio recovered were all of Latin authors. But the time had come when Latin authors were studied with more interest as handers on of Greek culture, than as representatives of a culture about to give way to Christianity, which was the light in which the *Trecentisti* had regarded them. And if any substantial reticence on the score of religion remained up to the date of Poggio's journey, it may be said to have been entirely cast away by the advanced school of philologists, after the intoxication—scarcely any other word will describe it—consequent on that event. Then set in that complete self-surrender, which ever marks the stage where enthusiasm passes into fanaticism; when judgment is transferred from the tribunal of man's innate conscience and taste, and rested on the mere technicalities of a special culture. It was, in its extreme, a species of intellectual fetichism which thenceforth spell-bound the lettered legion, the Poggios, Filelfos, Vallas, Aretinos, and their like. They sought for every scrap of ancient parchment as eagerly as the Mahometan seeks for the stray leaves of his Koran, and cherished them as devoutly. Their communications to each other on each discovery have quite a dramatic interest.

Now all this glamour of the so-called 'age of Poggio' was experienced at Florence more than anywhere else, and more in all the other states and towns of Italy than at Rome, where, as we have said, the unculture of the people was proverbial. At the moment of Martin V.'s election to fill the chair of St. Peter, the attention of the world to the great Church question kept other interests proportionally in the background. The new Pontiff's first and most pressing cares upon his elevation were —first, the re-organisation of the Roman State; and, secondly, the maintenance of the moral authority of the Holy See; both of which had been most grievously dislocated since the original removal to Avignon. Martin was no incapable politician, and the first part of his task was, on the whole, well performed; but the moral resuscitation of the Papal authority, such as he

achieved it, must have been felt to be a very poor compromise. The nations of Christendom were anxious, on many grounds, to set up again the central authority of the Church, and were willing to give all outward honour to its newly-appointed representative; but, as a ruler of spirits, his word was essentially powerless; he could not attempt, by the old dogmatic devices, to control the mental activity of the age. The choice before him was either to adjust his relations to it, so as to accept its general impulse, harmonising it, as well as he was able, with traditionary Church assumptions; or, while possessing less spiritual prestige than even the Popes of Petrarch's time, to set himself in opposition to the intellectual novelties of the day, as they did. What would have made the latter course even a more disastrous one in his case than in theirs was, that the city and State of Rome could no longer be hid in a corner, as it were; and that the contrast between its actual condition and the sentimental glorification of its past existence, which the Humanists were for ever repeating, must have been patent to every eye.

Pope Martin chose the only course that seemed reasonably open to him. He called men of learning about him, advanced them to high ecclesiastical posts, and made the culture of letters honourable in his dominions. But it was still possible at this time, without being conspicuously behindhand with the character of existing literary progress, to hold it in solution with the approved elements of trained scholasticism and churchmanship. The most far-seeing statesman in Martin's position need hardly have been aware that the intellectual saturnalia towards which philology was tending at Florence, must necessarily infect the whole Humanist movement.

Martin's successor was a man of less worldly temperament than himself, of narrower mental prejudices; yet, as regarded his position towards Humanism, Eugene IV. pursued a very similar course. And on the whole, the general character of the Revival learning, as represented at the court of these two pontiffs, may be described as businesslike, liberal, and sympathetic towards the later tendencies, yet decorous enough to keep under suppression the wilder license of even Poggio himself, who held office in the chancery of both.

To exemplify by a few names. Cardinal Giordano Orsini was the most eminent, and, if some angry scholars are to be believed, the most jealous, of contemporary book-collectors. His discovery of twelve hitherto unknown Comedies of Plautus, set the literary world in ecstasies. He bequeathed his very valuable store of MSS., 254 in number, to the library of St.

Peter's, afterwards absorbed into that of the Vatican. Cardinal Corser was likewise a diligent collector; Cardinals Albergati, Cesarini, and Capranica devoted their talents more to church history, law, and theology than to philological learning. But this too was efficiently represented by—among several others—the great Poggio himself, by Cencio de' Rustici, his fellow-student, and by Biondo Flavio, whose painstaking investigation into the local and documental records of past times anticipated the favourite studies of the next generation. Biondo dedicated his first work, 'Roma Instaurata,' to Eugene IV. Cyriac of Ancona, again, a strange vagabond genius, half enthusiast, half rogue, who wandered all over Italy and the East, sweeping into his net every alleged relic of antiquity he could lay his hands on, wrote his garrulous confidences to this Pope, and found some favour in his eyes. Considering Eugene's monkish cast of mind, the posture he assumed towards the interests of literature is of itself an evidence of the potent spirit that was abroad. He re-constructed the Roman University, a work which Innocent VII. had failed to achieve, and which Martin V. had let alone; which, indeed, may have been a measure less calculated to promote the tendencies of Humanism than to conserve the old pedagogic traditions; for though the influence of advanced philology might be felt in some branches of study, still the school sciences of theology and jurisprudence were sure to hold their own against the special genius of the Renaissance, in a seat of learning under the very shadow and sanction of the Church.

The removal of Eugene to Florence in 1434, on account of local disturbances in his capital, was the cause of a very marked and memorable change in the intellectual attitude of the Papal See. Here opens a vista, through which the eye may range in continuous prospect to the cynical voluptuousness of Leo X.'s court; then to the startling chasm of the Reformation; then to that uncompromising and abiding reaction which definitively severed the action of the Papacy from the course of secular free inquiry; which prepared, in the gradual seething-pot of cause and consequence, the encyclical manifestoes and the dogmatic definitions of the present day. The whole train was laid, when, on the evening of the 4th of May, 1434, dressed in monkish disguise, the fugitive Vicar of Christ descended, with a few attendants, from the Ripa Grande into a small boat bound for Ostia, thence to make his way to what had been before now a safe refuge for popes in trouble, the vigorous republican city, the leader among the free states of Italy, the ever-brightening focus of her arts and letters.

Providence works often by little-suspected means. The Roman Court located for nine years at Florence, implied a newly-aroused but hitherto conventionally-guarded spirit of literary research coming in contact with an enthusiasm which had unconditionally surrendered itself to the seductions of the classical revival. It was the tinder receiving the contact of the spark. Rome transplanted to Florence, was Rome no more, in the sense of a self-centred authority and influence. It became an aggregate of official personages merely, around whom an independent civilisation was plying its seductions. Since the ecclesiastical scandals of the former age, Florentine life had been practically very free from Church control. The outburst of Humanism falling in with its secular tendencies, had not failed to give them fresh impetus. To think and feel as did the ancients, and live as did the ancients, began to be an acknowledged aim. There was no question at all, at this time, among scholars, of throwing off the bonds of ecclesiastical allegiance. The efforts to reconstitute the Papacy after the schism had shown how strongly a supreme head of the Church was felt to be a necessity of the Christian world by the great majority of its members. Men's habits of life and thought had been too much mixed up with church influences and agency to permit the thought of rebellion. Heretical doctrine was far from making way in southern brains; it had no interest or attraction for them. But to preserve respect in the abstract for church routine, and acquiescence in church dogmas, was one thing; to revere the Papal policy or person, or to have the slightest deference for church authority as a guide in intellectual research, was another. The advanced race of scholars at this time, while they for the most part accepted the church of their fathers as a machine for making things go right in this world, and—somewhat hypothetically—in the next, altogether avoided weighing the claims of doctrinal or of moral faith, and gave themselves, without adjustment of consequences, entirely to the resuscitation of the ideals contained in classical antiquity. This was their practical inspiration. For this they lived. For this posterity owes them a debt; for had their zeal been less, we might never have entered fully into the heritage of those thoughts and words of past days which taste must ever hold to be of priceless value. But when we look at the mental habits of Poggio, Beccatelli, Valla, Filelfo, and their like, it must be admitted that the 'gran 'studio e 'l grand' amore' to which they surrendered their hearts, pretty well cancel their claim to be considered Christians in any real sense. And it was not only that men of their

type of character succeeded in emancipating themselves from all scruples which morality or religion might have opposed to the entire assimilation of their pagan ideals.

The study of antiquity became also, as a study, set apart from the reflex operation of Christian sentiment, by a class of scholars far less unscrupulous than they were, a class who form one of the most interesting groups of the period under review. However inconsistently, these men, along with the keenest zest in profane literature, managed to retain their Christian decorum and even a positive spirit of piety, though without attempting to harmonise the two devotions that governed their hearts, or forecasting the disruption which must in the nature of things result from the collision of such ill-matched associates. They formed for a time a bridge between Christianity and secularism. They had their prototypes in the student life of Florence itself; and a few of the most distinguished may find fitting mention here. First there was Ambrogio Traversari, the president of the Academical Society, which held its meetings in the Convent degl' Angeli. Thirty-one years he lived peaceably at Florence, observing the rules of his order, to the generalship of which he was eventually promoted; guiding the young by his counsels, keeping up an extensive correspondence with the chief men of learning of his day, collecting ancient MSS. and translating Greek authors —the fathers of the Church chiefly if not exclusively—into Latin. Traversari was admired and respected by all parties in the state, for, to the honour of Florence, differing politics were then no bar to literary appreciation; but the advent of the Medici to power was a special satisfaction to him, as his best friends were to be found in their party ranks. During the last years of his life his learned repose was broken in upon by the demands of Eugene IV., who wanted the services of the general of the Camaldolites to carry out the petty monkish reforms by which he dreamed of regenerating the Church. Vittorino da Feltre was another of the pious Humanists. Education was his special department. Under him, Mantua, the city of his patrons the Gonzagas, became the foremost seat of training for the young. He bestowed equal attention on the poor as on the rich, nourishing and teaching the former 'per l' amore di Dio;' and the religious discipline of his house was monastic in its strictness. Guarino da Verona performed similar offices at Ferrara, under the patronage of the princes of the house of Este, and was equally observant of religious discipline. He was one of the most eminent revivalists of his time, and evinced fabulous industry as a translator of Greek

works. Maffeo Vegio, who added a thirteenth book to the Eneid, wrote also biographies of the saints, and was an enthusiast for the memory of S. Augustine. Niccolo Niccoli and Giannozzo Manetti were biblical students and devout men; yet was Niccolo so ardent a classicist that he is said to have modelled his daily habits on the traditions of antiquity—carefully extruding everything that could disturb his dream—and to have so spent all his substance in collecting ancient books, that he had to subsist latterly on the charity of the Medici. Then there was Thomas of Sarzana, to whom we shall presently recur.

Of these men, and such as these, it may be said perhaps that their pious instincts stood them in stead of reasonable religious conviction, and that, children still in the Church's arms, they were content to shut their eyes to those anomalies and puerilities in the popular faith, which had so much to do in provoking the ultra-secularism of less scrupulous classicists. With all their enlightenment, they had not attained to the perception that the accepted creed of the day was an artificial system, not endowed with vital inspiration, and that the profane literature now laying hold of the world's thought was bound up with a spirit of restless inquiry which must extend to other regions eventually; which must shake the pillars of moral and religious, as well as of intellectual tradition. It was still to be proved, by the Reformation scholarship of the sixteenth century, and the infusion of German earnestness into the other elements of the world's culture, that critical investigation and sympathy with the noblest thoughts of pre-Christian ages, might blend with a living spirit of faith, reasonable in its basis, though transcendent in its goal.

As for Pope Eugene himself, when at Florence, his thoughts were taken up with intricate controversies about the Union Councils, the monastic orders, and the recovery of his own authority at Rome, in which last object he eventually succeeded. But on the members of his retinue the spells of the classical Sirens worked most potently. Some forgot their spiritual fatherland as completely as the companions of Ulysses forgot their home; others remembered their allegiance, but sought to serve two masters.

Thomas of Sarzana, a distinguished student at the University of Bologna, came as a young man to Florence, where he was engaged as tutor first to the sons of Rinaldo degl' Albizzi, then to the sons of Palla Strozzi, both political leaders in the republic. Cardinal Albergati made him his secretary, and took him as his companion on various missions in and out of Italy. In 1434 they followed the Papal Court to Florence, where

that same year the Medici rose to power. Thomas was happy at finding himself among his old friends and associates. He returned to live again the life of a scholar among scholars. Day by day his small spare figure might be seen, mounted in blue attire on a mule, the acute lines of thought stamped on his countenance, wending his way to join the literary assemblages at the Palazzo della Signoria, or at the Convent degl' Angeli. The life of Thomas was pure, his faith unimpeachable, his piety sincere; but the one prevailing passion of his heart was to acquire and to diffuse classical learning. If ever he was rich, he was wont to say, he would spend his money on books and buildings. Even when poor, he impoverished himself still more by his efforts to collect a library, giving sums he could ill spare for some obscure MS. of past ages, or for careful and correct copies of those already known.

This was the man who, on Pope Eugene's death in 1447, was chosen to fill the office of Head of the Church. True to the enchantment of his life, his first ambition was to create, at Rome itself, a 'Court of the Muses,' a central home of all that was most advanced in arts and erudition. To achieve his end he was aware that he must rely entirely on the external forces he could attract. There was no indigenous literature at Rome, no pulsation of intelligence, quivering through all classes of the population, as at Florence. He had to 'call his spirits 'from the vasty deep.' And they came. 'All the learned of 'the world,' it is said by the old writer Vespasiano, 'came in 'Pope Nicholas's time to Rome, partly from their own impulse, 'partly invited by him because he wished to see them at his 'court.' And what kind of spirits were they? Rather, it must be confessed, like those which the magician's ignorant apprentice, in Goethe's poem, called up rashly with his master's spell. Lorenzo Valla was one. His attacks on the authenticity of the legendary 'Donation of Constantine,' in which he did not scruple to inveigh against the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy—on the monkish orders, on the scholastic system of education, his defiance of the Inquisition, his calumnies against Pope Eugene, his suspected doctrinal heterodoxy, and his literary libertinism, might well have made him an *enfant terrible* to a conscientious upholder of ecclesiastical proprieties. But he was reputed to be the best Latin scholar of his time, and altogether one of the very ablest and most active promoters of classical literature; and he was engaged in translating the history of Thucydides from Greek into Latin. And so Nicholas, in whose eyes a handsome philological cloak always covered a multitude of sins, appointed him to the office of Apostolical

Scribe. Nay, having a scholar's respect for historical criticism himself, the Pope did not grudge Valla the opportunities which his access to the papal archives afforded him, of collecting evidence in corroboration of his attack on the myth of Constantine's donation, which evidence, curiously enough, became, when eventually Valla's treatise was published—not till 1520—one of the most formidable weapons against Rome, in the hands of Ulrich von Hutten.

If his desire to patronise the best possible Latin version of Thucydides made Nicholas V. blind to Valla's disqualifications as an ornament of the Papal Court, so the desire of securing the best possible Latin version of Homer induced him to invite Francesco Filelfo, a still more discreditable specimen of Humanist morals, but the foremost of all Italian Grecists. The circumstances of the invitation are characteristic. Filelfo is passing through Rome on his way to Naples, and after half a day spent in the former capital, is mounting his horse to proceed on his journey. But the rumour of his visit has reached the Pope. Biondo Flavio waits on the traveller with a flattering message from his Holiness, requesting an immediate interview. Filelfo remonstrates. Another envoy arrives from the impatient pontiff, seizes the man of letters by the arm, and drags him to the presence chamber. Nicholas receives him with profuse expressions of delight; and being unable to prevail upon him then and there to forego his other engagements, presents him with a purse of 500 ducats, as a testimonial of the gratification which the perusal of his Satires had afforded him. The Satires of Francesco Filelfo thus rewarded by the Head of the Christian Church, a respectable and pious Head to boot! Verily the times were ominous.

No insignificant circumstance again, as showing the advance towards recognition which special Humanist tendencies were at this time making, is that Poggio, who had attacked Beccatelli for the license of his writings in 1438, now, under the eyes of the good Pope Nicholas, ventured to publish his own 'Facetiæ,' a collection of scurrilous anecdotes, many of them relating to his own experiences among the ecclesiastics of Martin V.'s court, but hitherto decorously concealed in MS. Of the violent and indecent forms which personal controversy between scholars could assume, a more notable example could hardly have been given than the quarrel between Poggio and Valla, carried on at the Pontifical headquarters without any sort of restraint, and embracing in its vortex partisans from every quarter.

The self-sufficiency and vanity of all these men of letters was in fact overweening, and such patronage as that of Nicholas

did much to spoil them. Everywhere they were courted and feared; for the thrust or jibe of a learned classicist was an evil to which no one could be indifferent. Soon they began to think themselves rather superior than otherwise to the very ancients whom they professed to idolise. There is an epigram by Filelfo, in which he ranks himself above Virgil as an orator if below him as a poet, and above Cicero as a poet, if below him as an orator; adding that no great man of antiquity can be pointed out as his equal in respect of his having the mastery over both its languages alike.

As a matter of fact, the literary merit of this generation of Humanists lay in translation, and not in composition. Of their own writings, the special boast of their day, no memory now survives, save when the subject may happen to have historic value. But in making the knowledge of the Greek philosophers and historians accessible to the world in accurate and readable Latin versions, they did a great work, and it is this work for which specially the literary court of Nicholas V. merits recognition. How signal the benefit to the world was, may be conceived when we call to mind that Aristotle, the great so-called authority of the middle ages, had only been known hitherto in the second-hand versions of the schoolmen; that a few dry compendia summed up the current knowledge of Thucydides, Herodotus, &c.; and that the Platonic philosophy was literally a *terra incognita* till, under Nicholas's direction, the first translation was made, and gave substance to the interest excited by Bessarion's lectures. Nor must we forget the attention which Nicholas certainly paid to sacred literature. He claimed the labours of scholars for translation from the fathers and from the Scriptures. Valla's annotations on the N. T. text were perhaps the actual commencement of scientific criticism in that direction, while his exposure of sundry ecclesiastical fictions led the way in another. In the last year of his life, Nicholas induced Giannozzo Manetti to enter his service, and saw the beginning of a translation of the Bible and of an apology for Christianity made by that estimable man of letters.

Is it invidious to add, or rather, is there not a touch of natural pathos in the anecdote, that after some troublous years of local and general government, which jarred his temper and made him long for the peace of his old student life, there were found in the room in which Nicholas V. breathed his last, fifty-six volumes, his cherished companions, all, except two works of Lactantius and Eusebius, belonging to the masterpieces of profane antiquity? Truly, 'the ruling passion strong in death!'

It is not to be wondered at if in modern times Nicholas V.

should have acquired the highest praise from historians. That Gibbon should have been one of the first to do him honour might have seemed of ambiguous import; but Gibbon's encomium on the Pope who 'sharpened the weapons which were 'soon pointed against the Roman Church,' commended itself to the lights of the eighteenth century. Romanists have been proud to show that one of the most virtuous of their line of Pontiffs felt himself able to sympathise with and promote the richest intellectual culture of his time: liberals have admired him as a churchman in advance of his age and communion —a Mæcenas not hampered by the straitness of St. Peter's chair. A sober view of the case in all its bearings must, we think, qualify the commendation. If greatness means the power to grasp the real nature of the principles at work on the tendencies and needs of contemporary society, then surely he cannot be pronounced to have achieved it who, as Head of a church calling itself infallible, the one authoritative depository and witness of Christ's truth, countenanced the speculations of irreverent critics; who, as professional champion of Christian morality, gave ungrudging, unmisgiving encouragement to absolutely paganising views of life in the mental atmosphere around him. What matter that he led processions, composed litanies, presided over the most thronged of jubilees, preached a crusade? There can be no doubt that his patronage of men like Valla and Filelfo contributed essentially to place the garrison of the Church in the fatally false position in which Luther found it, when, under some guardians of the fold less virtuous than himself, the spirit of the Renaissance had proceeded in its natural course of evolution.

Nicholas founded the Vatican Library, and endowed it with 5,000 volumes: many more than any other library in Europe possessed. The contrast between his attitude towards literature and that of St. Gregory the Great, the book-hater, might well make Hallam liken them to M. Angelo's figures of Night and Morning, standing at the two gates of the Middle Ages; guardians respectively of the sleep and awakening of the world's intelligence. But perhaps Gregory was the most consistent of the two, in that he recognised the logic of incompatibilities: at all events, later Ultramontane reactionism has given direct countenance to his principle: And indeed was there not something startling in the converse exemplification, when, sixty years after the death of Nicholas, Leo X. utilised his double command as interpreter of the Church's verities and prince of literary society, by fulminating a bull of excommunication against anyone who should infringe the ten-years' copy-

right of the publisher to whom he had intrusted the MS. of five newly-found books of Tacitus? It is recorded of Nicholas's successor, Calixtus III., a technical jurist with no taste for letters, that when he stepped into the apartment which contained the volumes collected by his predecessor, and beheld their outward magnificence as well as their number, he exclaimed, 'And it 'was for this, then, that he wasted the treasury of God's 'Church!' It is recorded, too, that Calixtus scattered far and wide the literary stores for which he entertained no value; but the accusation is certainly in its main features untrue. 'Indeed,' says Reumont, 'the Vatican Library contains not a 'few MSS. placed there by this unlettered Pope himself.' It would seem that the spirit of the age was too strong for him, as it had been for Eugene IV. He only reigned three years.

Next after the brief interlude of Calixtus III., came the six years' pontificate of Pius II.—Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini—a man whose character has singular interest as bearing on the moral conditions of his age, and is in every way remarkable. Of the leading Popes since the Council of Constance, each had had his distinctive tendency. Martin V. was a statesman primarily; Eugene IV. a churchman primarily; Nicholas V. a patron of letters primarily; Pius II. was a man of varied impulses, whose greatness lay in their coincidence, and whose failures in their conflict.

Nature had endowed him with a versatile temper. His mind was open to impressions from all quarters, and it so happened that his experiences brought him acquainted with many sides of things. Inoculated in early life with the prevailing passion for classical literature, he had been a diligent pupil, while at Florence, of Francesco Filelfo. At the Council of Basle he acted as private secretary to Cardinal Capranica, and was thus enlisted in the Church party adverse to Pope Eugene. Afterwards he took service with Cardinal Albergati and went with that prelate to Germany, where he resided for several years, became secretary and envoy in the employment of the emperor Frederick III., and identified himself with the affairs of the Church in Germany, of which he was looked upon as a kind of representative, or 'protector,' when at Rome. To his German associations we are inclined ourselves to ascribe much of the earnestness and sensibility of his matured character; for though it is true that German intelligence made little figure in the literary world at that early period of the Revival—none at all in comparison with Italian intelligence—yet there was a stir in the mental atmosphere of the North, also, of which the colleges at Deventer

and elsewhere are an indication; and quietly, but surely, a foundation was being laid for that patient, true-hearted questioning of fact and theory, which was characteristic of German thought at the epoch of the Reformation, and has been characteristic of it ever since.

Calixtus III. gave Æneas Sylvius the Cardinal's hat: but before that time his politics had undergone a change. From having been an advocate of Councils against the Pope, he had become a strong Papal partisan, and strove to bring back the German prelates from their insubordinate ways. When, having been raised to the Pontificate on the death of Calixtus, he tried to enforce his authority as chief of Christendom, in summoning the powers of Europe to a crusade, his earlier opinions were naturally brought up against him. Then it was that he made his famous recantation: 'Believe me now that I 'am old, rather than when I spoke as a youth. Pay more re-'gard to the Sovereign Pontiff than to the individual. Reject 'Æneas, receive Pius (*Æneam rejicite: Pium recipite*).'

The motives assigned for his change of front have been various: interest, cowardice, time-serving pliability, or a wearied longing for central peace. We imagine them to have been analogous to those of the 'frightened Radical' of modern politics. Alarmed at the possible consequences of the reforms he at first advocated, and the more alarmed as danger was pressing from the infidel East upon Christendom, he knew no remedy to have recourse to but the old remedy which his predecessors had recommended to sluggish hearers, and which nothing but vigorous authority could apply. How little his sober judgment trusted in its efficacy, his own words when Cardinal may show. 'To say the truth,' he once wrote when a crusade was talked of, 'I do not expect to succeed. Chris-'tianity has no longer a head. Neither to the Pope nor to 'the Emperor do men render what is their due. Every state 'has a separate prince, and every prince a separate interest. 'What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, 'Genoa with Aragon, Germans with Hungarians or Bohe-'mians?'

There are, as we think, few episodes in history so pathetic as the narrative of that abortive expedition brought about at last by dint of incessant toil and exertion, of unsparing self-sacrifice, and of importunate eloquence, by this man of many minds and many perceptions, of broken health and hourly suffering, for whom books and nature had delights unspeakable, yet who immolated everything to the hope of saving Christendom by a spell which would no longer conjure. 'I

'have hitherto said to the people, Go! and they would not go. 'I will now say, Come! and perchance they will follow me. At 'all events, I will set the example of embarking, if only to 'meet my death.' These were the sentiments of desperation; and, turning back to cast a last glance on his illustrious city, as he proceeded in his bark down the Tiber, he exclaimed, 'Farewell, Rome! never more shalt thou behold me living.'

Then came the dreary stages, as borne on a litter, worn with anguish of body and vexation of spirit, Pope Pius made his way to Ancona, his curtains drawn close that he might shut from view the spectacle of the few ill-appointed stragglers who in answer to his appeal were dragging themselves to the port of embarkation. Even when there, further disappointment awaited him; the promised Venetian fleet had not arrived. It came at last; but the sight of the white-winged galleys on the bosom of the Adriatic could not now bring back the warm current to his veins. 'Till to-day,' he said to those beside his couch, 'the fleet has failed the Pontiff—now the Pontiff fails 'the fleet.' On the morrow he expired; his arm round the neck of his trusted friend Cardinal Ammanati, to whom his last words were, 'Be good, my son, and pray for me!' This abortive crusade of Pius II. was the funeral march of mediæval Christianity.

The world's ways had changed indeed. There are two kinds of leaders among mankind on whom the verdict of contemporaries has stamped the sentence 'incompris'—the leaders whose ideas go before their time, and the leaders whose ideas go behind their time. The one sort would light a fire before the wood is dry; the other sort would kindle one amid embers whose vitality is consumed. Of these last was Pius II. The feature that differenced his appeal from the earlier crusading summons of Peter the Hermit, or of Bernard de Clairvaux, was that his leverage was from the mind, not from the heart. He sought, by reflection and analogy, to call back an enthusiasm which the temper of the times was unfitted to entertain. His personal conviction of the moral claims and import of Christianity was assuredly something very different from the mere adhesion to its creeds and traditions through custom, or superstition, or distrust of change, which constituted the religion of so many of his contemporaries. Different, too, it was from the then latest birth of speculation, the fashionable syncretism which at Florence was attempting to amalgamate the faith of the Gospel with its old foe of the Roman Imperial times, Neo-Platonism. Pius was wont to say, 'If Christianity 'had not received the attestations of miracles, it would never-

'theless have commanded acceptance on the ground of its 'morality.' This was a conception superior to contemporary theology. In his application of Christian principles to the practical problems of his life, he could be no less clear. 'The 'divine gift of just rulership,' he said, on occasion of the death of a Venetian doge, 'is not to be learnt from the philosophers; 'it is to be fetched only out of those depths of the inmost soul 'into which he that descends has God for his companion.' The quixotic letter he himself wrote to Mahomet II. to endeavour to persuade him of the truth of Christianity was at all events a testimony of his own loyal belief in the religion of which he was the official guardian.

Let us now consider Pius as connected with the literary conditions of his age. That the expectations his accession had raised among the learned were not fully realised, is certain. But with some liberal historians it has been the fashion to decry him as a reactionary pope, a renegade and a bigot, and to rate him much below Nicholas V. or Leo X. Here, again, historic judgment has changed its note of late, as students have learned better to appreciate both the refinements of his genius and the twofold perils to Christianity which certainly impended in his time, from the Mahometans and from the Revivalists. The endeavour to rekindle Christian earnestness in men's wills at such a juncture was no unworthy, though, with the means he used, it was a mistaken effort. For the interests of solid learning, no one in his time cherished a greater zeal. The phase of so-called Humanism for which he least cared, for which, indeed, he manifested something like contempt, was the pedantic philology which had hitherto been so extravagantly lauded, and to which Nicholas V. had accorded the highest honours. Filelfo expected to have reaped great benefits from the advancement to the Papacy of one who had been his former pupil, and was in every way so distinguished a scholar. But Pius neglected to give the old pagan the posts he desired; and Filelfo, *more suo*, broke out into scurrilous invectives which did not cease when Pius was in his grave.

Those tendencies of the classical revival which met with his special encouragement mark the advent of the second generation of the fifteenth century Humanists; the men who occupied themselves mainly with the practical side of ancient life; with its monuments and inscriptions, with the records and vestiges of its historical existence. Petrarch, who acted as pioneer in so many directions, had pointed to this, among others; but the conceited philosophers of the 'Poggian era,' while hunting for their manuscript treasures, had neglected to

trace and preserve the records which the crumbling stones around them had to reveal. Much was irrecoverably lost by their carelessness. Poggio himself did collect many inscriptions which but for him would have been lost to posterity; which, in fact, were thought to be lost, till only of late years his collection happened to be discovered among the MSS. of the Vatican. Biondo Flavio, who had dedicated his first work, 'Roma Instaurata,' to Eugene IV., now dedicated his second work, 'Roma Triumphans,' to Pius. The first was an attempt to reconstruct the topographical and architectural, the second the moral and historical, existence of the city. Biondo did great service in photographing, as it were, the Ancient Rome of that day in all its essential details. An antiquarian of the imitative sort, whose fame originates with the reign of Pius, was Pomponio Leto. He was quite as fantastic in his way as the earlier philologers had been. His house on the Quirinal was a perfect museum of antiquities. He lived in the life of the old Romans, planned his abode according to the rules of Cato, Varro, and Columella, lectured on the classics to crowded audiences before daylight, promoted theatrical representations of the comedies of Plautus, and instituted in his own house a sort of club, or 'Academy,' of which one object was the occult celebration of old Roman rites. The proceedings of this Academy attracted serious attention in the next pontificate, and were the occasion of an attempt to raise a 'No Paganism' cry for political purposes. Pedantry like this could have had little attraction for Pius; but he inspired or encouraged in some members of his court that interest in the wider bearings of history which he felt himself. Biondo Flavio's 'Decades' dealt with the records of mediæval times. Pius endeavoured to give them with his own hand an improved literary form. Campano composed a biography of the Pope; and Ammanati continued his 'Commentaries' in a style modelled after that of his patron, and with a good deal of his spirit of observation. Another of Pius's cardinals, Nicholas of Cusa, was a very remarkable man indeed; a high church politician, and with something of the old scholasticism in his modes of thought, yet an accomplished Humanist also, and perhaps the most able and original thinker of his time in a department then almost neglected, that of Natural Science. He had had his earliest training in the German college of Deventer, and represented German interests, in great measure, at the Papal Court.

But Pius himself was the pre-eminent literary genius of his own pontificate. If Nicholas V. admired and invited the

greatest lights of culture, Pius inspired them by personal example.

He was a most prolific author; skilled in almost every department of literature then in vogue: in poetry, philosophy, geography, fiction (he wrote a romance in early life), but above all, in history. His 'Commentaries,' or 'History of his Own 'Time,' composed after he became Pope, are invaluable as an original source of information, and, if judged not to be in the most finished style of contemporary scholarship, are said to be very attractive for the spirit and life with which they are composed, and for the rich field of observation they embrace. For it is distinctive of this writer of the fifteenth century, that he seems to have observed all that a curious inquirer of modern days would have observed—the manners and peculiarities of different nations, the beauties of landscape, the monumental relics of past ages, varieties of individual character; everything, in short, which can throw light on the actions and thoughts of man as man. In its strictest sense, no one of his day merited as well as he did the title of Humanist.

The fascinating pages of Burckhardt open many glimpses into the mental kaleidoscope of this accomplished pontiff. He was the first to extend antiquarian investigations from the capital itself to the peninsula in general. The Campagna, and the regions adjoining, engaged his special attention. He regarded the monuments of past times with more than a scholar's interest, with a sort of sentimentality that would seem almost to have anticipated the feelings of the age of Göthe and of Byron. His curiosity never deserts him. When travelling to attend the Congress of Mantua, he is anxious to certify the tradition of the labyrinth of Clusium described by Pliny, and of the so-called Villa of Virgil on the Mincio. Not only was his interest kindled by the sight of buildings and inscriptions connected with the glories of old Roman history, but the relics of Christianity also had a voice for him which sometimes conflicted with the older voice. Few who prided themselves on mental culture in those days would have ventured to suggest, as he did, that the city of Nola may perchance have merited truer honour from the memory of St. Paulinus than from that of Marcellus and his heroic fight; or would have cherished the idea that possessed him latterly of forming at Rome a general receptacle for the saintly relics which might be despised or maltreated elsewhere. He loved to observe the natural characteristics of every place to which his wanderings led him. Towards the close of his pontificate, when worn by his inveterate enemy the gout, and unable to

move save in a litter, he takes pleasure in relating his journeys through the hills and valleys of the Roman States, seeks to determine the limits of the ancient tribes who dwelt there, and describes man and nature with untiring vivacity. His sensibility to the charms of nature is a trait very unusual in the writers of his age. The panoramic view from Monte Cavo, the site of Todi, the hill country of his native Sienna, are among the pictures most vividly rendered in his Commentaries. He delighted in short excursions and rural retreats, and would derive genuine refreshment from the influence of those Italian skies he loved so well. Then he would hold consistories or receive envoys camped out in some green meadow under the shade of a giant chestnut, or in an olive grove, with the sound of waters purling at his side. Everything that was curious or characteristic caught his eye; the blue waving flax-fields, the yellow broom, rare shrubs or picturesque trees and waterfalls. And all this, be it remembered, he deemed worthy of being noted down. This constitutes the difference between Pius and the ordinary intelligences of the time. They had eyes too, and saw what was before them; but who save he, this much worn invalid, this pontiff harassed with public affairs, this scholar of abstruse acquirements, would have thought, then, of describing so unpretending an episode of rural life, as, for instance, a boat-race on the Lake of Bolsena?

The pontificate of Pius II. saw the expiry of mediævalism in more respects than one. It was the concluding period of MS. bibliography in Italy. The first book printed south of the Alps was issued from the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco in 1465, the year in which both he and Cosmo de' Medici died. New men, new modes.

The closing stage of MSS. had been one of great, though deceptive brilliance. Book-collectors of the time may be excused if, like Pius in his delusion about other things, they dreamed that here also the old ways were destined to perpetuity. So it is, that we often seem to witness a rapid development of existing conditions just before the advent of some great revolution which is to supersede those conditions altogether. Such of us as are familiar with English districts of hill and streams, will have remarked the great movement that set in some forty years ago, to improve the speed of coach travelling not only by the ease and lightness of vehicles, but also by the construction of level valley roads in substitution for the old up and down highways over which our leisurely forefathers were content to journey. And then all

at once came the inexorable iron railway; and time, money, ingenuity, and good meadow land had been sacrificed in vain. Analogous to this were the phenomena of book-making in the period from 1420 to 1465. There was a rage for collecting libraries and multiplying MSS., and the art of transcription advanced many stages in dexterity, accuracy, and speed. A large class made their ordinary living by it; and it was practised occasionally by many besides, poor scholars, or casual residents in some busy capital, who desired to add to their other means of subsistence. It is said that the copyists at Rome in the time of Nicholas V. were mostly Germans or Frenchmen; suitors, probably, who had come on temporary business, and had to support themselves during the proverbial waiting time for princes' favour. Copyists who knew the Greek characters were the most prized, and were called *scrittori*, par éminence. When Cosmo de' Medici wanted to form a library on short notice for the Badia, he commissioned Vespasiano to organise a body of forty-five transcribers, got Pope Nicholas to draw up a list of desirable works, and had two hundred volumes ready for him within twenty-two months. Federigo di Montefeltro kept from thirty to forty copyists at work, both at Urbino and at Florence, fourteen years long, for the formation of his splendid library at the former city; which library now reposes on the shelves of the Vatican, and displays, in the beauty and accuracy of the caligraphy, in the luxury of the crimson satin bindings and silver mountings —the regulation dress for specially prized volumes—in the refined illuminations and the substantial parchment, the homage paid to the *matériel* of book production in those ardent days. No wonder that this same Duke of Urbino, living to see the democratic innovation of types, should have exclaimed that for his part he should be ashamed to possess such a thing as a printed book! Like our stagecoachmen and innkeepers of the past, the whole legion of copyists must have found themselves terribly thrown out of work when the new invention had once taken hold of public favour. It was not long in doing so. The cheapening and multiplication of books was everything to professional scholars and to the public at large. Under Pope Alexander VI., the preventive censure was instituted at Rome, because by that time it had already become impossible to *annihilate* an obnoxious work: as when Cosmo de' Medici required Filelfo to annihilate his offensive treatise 'De Exilio.'

Paul II., who reigned from 1464 to 1471, has been all but unanimously stigmatised as an enemy of learning. It is certain that he came twice into collision with the cultivated classes

in Rome: first, when he suppressed the *Abbreviatori*, a college of officials connected with the Roman chancery, and reconstituted by Pius II. with a special view to the encouragement of a good literary style in its members; and again, in his proceedings against the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto, which was thrown into outspoken disaffection by the suppression of the Abbreviatori. It was unlucky for the reputation of Paul II. that his biography should come to be related by a man of letters who, being connected with both corporations, had the strongest grounds for personal ill-will against him. Platina's animus has been imbibed by subsequent writers, who have almost unanimously reprobated this Pontiff as a barbarian and a persecutor. Von Reumont, who has a strong bias in favour of popes in general, refuses to believe Paul's aversion to culture as such, bringing in evidence his measures in favour of the university, his endeavours to provide for the subsistence of poor scholars, and the antiquarian collections with which he enriched the palace of St. Mark—with which indeed the racked academicians themselves pointed a *tu quoque* argument against him, as we find from Platina. It seems pretty clear that political fears were the real ground of Paul's hostility to the academicians. The connexion of old Roman reminiscences with new Roman revolutionism in the case of Stefano Porcari when Nicholas was pope, and in the case of the so-called Catilinarian bands when Pius II. was pope—both of them phases of the old Rienzi spirit, peculiar to Rome—was present to his mind, and he was ready to credit the rumours of conspiracy attached to the meetings of men who had dropped their baptismal names for high-sounding Roman appellations, who raised altars to Romulus, and enrolled themselves into a priestly college at the house of one whom they delighted to call their 'Pontifex maximus.' When the charge of conspiracy broke down, Paul fell back upon that of impiety. In so doing he overstrained the temper of his age. Public opinion went against him. The tastes introduced by heathen antiquarianism had become too widely spread among the influential ranks of society to make such allegations shocking. The Church was not the awful tribunal of opinion it had once been, and a pope of self-indulgent unscrupulous temper was hardly felt to be in his right place when reproaching men of learning with heterodox views about the immortality of the soul. The severity with which Paul tortured his victims was extreme; some died under the trial. 'You would have imagined,' says Platina, 'that the castle of 'St. Angelo was turned into the bull of Phalaris, so loudly the 'hollow vault resounded with the cries of those miserable young

'men who were an honour to their age for genius and learning.' After all, the utterances of Pomponio and his comrades were but a shade more pronounced than the utterances of men hitherto high in favour of popes—nay, of popes themselves. Had not Pius II. euphemistically remarked, on the death of Nicholas V., that doubtless he had gone 'to the celestial choirs, there to 'quaff nectar and the fruit of the vine'?

Certain it is that the persecution of the learned was soon felt to be an anachronism. Sixtus IV. allowed the Academy to be reopened, and officially recognised. Under the safeguard of publicity, its eccentricities were permitted to run their course. The memorial Feast of the City's Foundation was then instituted. Pomponius, the high priest, lived on till 1498, when, after all his extravagancies, he made a Christian end, and was religiously buried in the church of S. Salvatore—though, indeed, it was rumoured that, as a matter of choice, he would much have preferred to rest in an ancient Roman monument on the Appian Way. About this Roman Academy, Von Reumont has a curious passage, which it is worth going out of our way to transcribe. Speaking of the accusations made against it by Paul II., he says:—

'The latest discoveries in the old Christian series of graves have produced a special confirmation of the circumstances on which such charges rest. Up to the fifteenth century the cemeteries had lain totally forgotten, with the exception of the Catacombs of S. Sebastian, whose votive inscription is found in Signorili's collection. With the year 1433, traces of visitors commence, first in the cemetery of Calixtus on the Via Appia, afterwards in the neighbouring one of Prætextatus, and in that of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus on the Labicana. At first the names are those of Minorite brothers, pilgrims apparently, some foreign ones among them. All at once we find ourselves among the members of the Roman Academy. The names Volscus, Ruffus, Pomponius, Fabius, Fabianus, &c., are written on the wall. They style themselves "likeminded reverers and explorers of Roman antiquity "under the rule of Pomponius, *Pontifex maximus*." A certain Roman, Manilius Pantagathus, designates himself, "Priest of the Roman "Academy." The date, 1475, points indeed to the time of Sixtus IV., when the meaning of all this society was understood, and all danger had passed away. But there can be no doubt that it was a repetition before the eyes of the public of a cultus which had before subsisted as a kind of secret bond. It is certain that these modern heathens were ransacking the Christian cemeteries only for heathen monuments. For in the collection of inscriptions belonging to the latter times of the fifteenth century, in those of Fra Giocondo and Pietro Sabino, which Pomponio Leto had a considerable share in making, cemetery inscriptions are as much absent as they are from the collections of Signorili and Ciriaco. The museum of antiquities in Pomponio's house

contained no Christian monument whatever. The learned consistorial advocate, Andrea Sta. Croce, who died in 1471, in his studies of the inscriptions and their various marks and signs, confines himself entirely to the monuments of classical antiquity.' *

With Sixtus IV. the Papacy struck into that path of territorial ambition in which it was led forward without faltering by Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Julius II., and which gave it, for the space of forty years, a character distinct, consistent, sinister. The popes of this period were too much occupied with their nepotical and otherwise worldly schemes to take interest in guiding the march of literature. Yet they were not strangers to culture. The literary movement reacted on them; and when it came in their way to do so, they promoted it. Sixtus collected books, made Platina his librarian, reinstated the Roman Academy, and was eulogised in superlative style by the neo-classic poets. Canute the Dane would have deprecated such flattery as Politian accorded this Pope, when he said, on occasion of a timely shower, that even the rains of heaven fell at the pontiff's bidding. Alexander VI., while making the morals of the Vatican a scandal of scandals, was munificent to scholars, and patronised works of art. It was owing to his intervention that Pico di Mirandola was rescued from the inquisitorial persecution in which his alleged heresies had involved him. Julius II., again, was a conspicuous patron of art; and the substitution of a magnificent temple after the model of the Pantheon for the old ecclesiastical structure of St. Peter's, decided upon and begun in his reign, shows how completely, in that department as well as in literature, the tendencies of classical Paganism were prevailing. Still, a Mecenate, or Court of the Muses, properly speaking, there was none at the headquarters of the Church during this period. With Leo X. we find once more the same relations between the Papacy and the Renaissance as when Nicholas V. and Pius II. wore the tiara.

What had occurred in the interim to give a fresh colouring to either?

On the one hand, the Papacy had become thoroughly secularised by the policy on which it had entered in respect of its position as an Italian power, and by the dying out of even the faintest echoes of crusading zeal. Mental development, on the other hand, had assimilated two new influences: that of the Neo-Platonic eclecticism, and that of the new vernacular poetry. Both had their fulcrum at Florence—Florence, ever

* Geschichte der Stadt Rom., 3 Band. 1ste Abtheil., s. 342.

athirst for life and novelty, and more than ever abundantly fertilised by the wealth and patronage of the Medici. That from Florence both should make their way to Rome, was, under the sway of a pope himself a Florentine and a member of the house of Medici, inevitable.

On Leo's reign of letters it is not within our province to descant; but the preparations for it come in our way, and must be briefly noticed. In relation to the Humanist studies, this pope represented the tendencies of the third stage, as Nicholas V. and Pius II. had represented those of the first and second. To the poet-philologers had succeeded the historical antiquarians; and now came on the philosophers, bearing to the front the arguments and discussions raised by revived investigation of Platonic and Aristotelian metaphysics. From the time when Gemisthus Pletho indoctrinated Cosmo de' Medici with the charms of Plato's lore, Platonism had become affixed as the science specially in favour with the ruling dynasty at Florence. All the exaggeration incident to Italian fancy seized upon its half-mystical tendencies. The consequences were twofold. They resulted, on the one side, in the promotion of a modern Paganism of a more defined philosophical sort than that which the reckless profanity of the philologers had introduced. Attracted by the pretensions of Platonic and of Neo-Platonic speculations—for it was even more on the doctrine of Plotinus than on that of the Athenian sage that the philosophy of the Florentine Academy was erected—many leading minds advanced theories of the soul's emanation, and purgation and re-absorption, and spurned altogether the humilities of Christian doctrine. Others, again, made an attempt to reconcile two systems coming equally, as they maintained, from a Divine source. Platonism, these teachers held, was a key to Christianity. The leading dogmas of Revelation ought to be brought in line with the mystical abstractions of the sublimest sages of antiquity. It is said that Marsilio Ficino, the doctor whom Cosmo de' Medici had selected to preside over his Academy, kept a lamp burning in his chamber before a bust of Plato and also before one of the Virgin. The combination is, at all events, typical of his own efforts in his elaborate work 'De Religione Christiana.' The result of such philosophy as this was very attenuating to the positive facts of the Bible. But there were syncretists of yet another sort, with whom Christianity went for more, and Platonism for less, who not only accepted the Scripture narratives, but drew mystical and recondite meanings out of them. Of these the most distinguished genius was Giovanni Pico di Mirandola. The

position of this very remarkable scholar is thus described by Burckhardt in his 'Cultur der Renaissance':—

'He is the only [man of learning of that age] who distinctly and emphatically champions the science and truth of all epochs as against the one-sided exaltation of classical antiquity. He prizes, according to their intrinsic worth, not only Averrhoes and the Jewish inquirers, but also the scholastic teachers of the Middle Ages. He imagines them thus speaking: "We are destined to live for ever, not in the "schools of grammarians and pedants, but in the select circle of the "wise, where men dispute not concerning such trivial matters as the "mother of Andromache, or the sons of Niobe, but concerning the deeper "foundations of things divine and human." He who looks more closely still, thought Pico, will recognise that even the very barbarians had their share of spiritual divination (Mercurium), not on their tongue, indeed, but in their heart.'

Burckhardt observes that from Pico we may form an idea of the lofty flight Italian philosophy would have taken, had not the counter-Reformation come to destroy the whole higher intellectual life of Southern Europe. We know that this remarkable man influenced many of the ablest forerunners of the Reformation: Colet and others in our own country, Zwingli in the recesses of the Alps. But it may be more than doubted whether his genius had force and originality to have given a new spring to psychological science. He was dazed with excess of learning. He set disproportionate store by each grain of truth he discovered, or seemed to discover, among the scattered philosophies of distant ages, and thought less of their logical coherence as a whole than of their superficial points of contact. And it was consonant with the want of plastic vigour in his genius, that as the mystical tendencies towards which he was always prone gained upon him under the influence of Savonarola, he more and more depreciated the value of intellectual inquiry, and more and more submitted to the dicta of a so-called infallible Church. Pico was one example among many of the mental ferment of an age which had more appetite than digestion for the stores on its suddenly-filled table.

It is a strange, typical circumstance, one of those dramatic coincidences which now and then strike one's fancy in crises of the world's history, that as Lorenzo de' Medici, the hero of those brilliant decades of Florentine life which closed in the fifteenth century, lay on his deathbed, three men of mark were summoned in turn to bid him farewell. One was Politian, the most accomplished poet of the classic school; one was Pico, the prince of that mystic philosophy which had its home in the 'Academy'; one was Savonarola, the prophet-politician. Of this last extraordinary man we must now speak.

Who would have believed, after all that has been said of Florence, the worldly, the witty, the sceptical, the central source of all that was most advanced and daring in the secularism of the Renaissance,—who would have believed the sight which the last carnival days of the years 1497 and 1498 presented on the Piazza della Signoria? A pyre built up in stages, like those which were used to consume the bodies of Roman emperors, and, piled upon it, the rich attire of men and women, their ornaments, their false hair and bright cosmetics, their pictures, musical instruments, and games of chance; and, besides all these, the poems of Pulci, Bojardo, Petrarch, together with illuminated MSS. and printed parchments of classic Latinity? A Venetian merchant, who happened to be present on the first occasion, offered, we are told, twenty thousand golden dollars for the contents of the pyramid. But it was doomed. A religious asceticism had taken hold of the population, and the sacrifice was not to be averted. Fire was set to the rich holocaust in presence of the approving magistracy, while trumpets sounded, and songs and dances were executed by the priests and the excited multitude.

Jerome Savonarola, under whose influence this wonderful deed was done, succeeded in establishing for four years a political theocracy which forms the most singular contrast to the whole tenour of the Renaissance. Suddenly, 'infiammato d' un 'pericoloso desiderio di dire il vero,' as Paolo Giovio finely says of him, he brought to bear on the polished heathenism of Florentine life the demands of Christian self-denial; on the successful tyranny of the Medici the aspirations of democratic liberty. He was the precursor, but under circumstances which after all made his position less anomalous than theirs, of the Lacordaires and the Lammenais of our own time.

It will be observed that Savonarola's political standing-point was different from that of Rienzi or of Porcari. He did not affect enthusiasm for the traditions of ancient Rome. He set out rather from the Hebrew idea of God's immediate government, and aspired to the position and the fame of a prophet; for, says Paolo Giovio also of him, 'era di natura occultamente 'ambitioso.' The learning in vogue he regarded as contemptible in its alliance with contented submission to slavery, with a dreamy unpractical life in the past and a delight in heathen poetry and heathen ethics, with a soul-destroying abnegation of Christian self-discipline. Both politically and spiritually, he believed it to be the ruin of his fellow-countrymen. He saw its workings in the depravity of the Papacy, conspicuously in Alexander VI., whom he declared truly to be 'no Christian,'

and whom he sought to depose by the agency of Charles VIII. of France and a Council.

Abrupt as was Savonarola's interposition in the outward face of history, his mission was linked with a series of past agencies which had held their place alongside of the world's prevailing impetus, putting in their spoke ever and anon while the wheel of secular selfishness went round. The Mendicant orders had nourished a line of penitence preachers; holy monks who would sometimes shake whole cities and provinces by their appeals. Burckhardt remarks on the difference between the manifestations of early spiritualism on the two sides of the Alps, that the same tempers which in the North took a mystical and intuitive character, went out in expansive practical energy and eloquence in the South. 'The North,' he says, 'brings 'forth an *Imitatio Christi*, which works its effects at first only 'within the walls of convents, but continues them for ages 'long; the South produces men who make on their fellow-'men a colossal impression, but an impression of the moment 'only. Thus preached, in the fifteenth century, Bernardino 'da Siena, Alberto da Sarzana, Capistrano, della Marca, 'Da Lecce, and others. Finally, thus preached Savonarola. 'No stronger prejudice existed than that against the Men-'dicant orders; these men overcame it. The haughty spirit 'of Humanism criticised and contemned; when the preachers 'raised their voice, Humanism was for the time forgotten out 'of mind.'

Alexander VI., double dyed in crime, yet refused for some time to listen to the representations of those who urged him to prohibit Savonarola's preaching. 'He is a holy man,' he said, with something of respectful awe. After a while, however, he counterworked the reformer's already waning influence by sending a rival pulpit orator, Gennazzano, who dealt leniently with the foibles of the rich and great. And, in the end, Alexander satisfied the condemnation urged by Savonarola's enemies, and allowed him to perish in the flames.

When Julius II. succeeded to the Papal throne, the temporary shock to the interests of culture was past. The conscience of his fellow-citizens had not permanently responded to Savonarola's appeal. To Rome his influence had never extended. There, more than ever, classical notions and fancies moulded the intercourse of polished life. The fanatics of the Aristotelian philosophy, who at this time waged an angry war with the Platonizers, were accused of being more incorrigible infidels than their foes. It would seem to have been the Aristotelians chiefly who forced the Olympian myths into the explanation of

Christian mysteries, and even into pulpit harangues. Erasmus reports a sermon which was preached in his hearing before Julius II. and his cardinals, in which the Pope was compared to Jove, the death of Christ to the self-sacrifice of Decius. The identification of God the Father with Jupiter, of God the Son with Apollo, and of the Virgin Mary with Diana, was certainly an allegory of more profane import, as advanced by the Leonine divines, than as suggested by the studious statesman of our day, who has theorised on the hidden instincts of mythology. The only check on the propagation of infidel tenets was the occasional self-assertion of ecclesiastical decorum or alarm, as when the Lateran Council sitting at the time of Leo X.'s accession, decreed the immortality and individuality of the soul to be necessary Christian doctrine; and when the ecclesiastics of Venice made application to the same Pope—vainly however—to procure the condemnation of the Paduan doctor Pomponazzo, for his atheistic utterances. Such reclamations were not calculated to lessen the dalliance of the cultivated classes with the censured topics. 'In quel tempo,' says an Italian historian quoted by Ranke, 'non pareva fosse galantuomo e buon corte-'giano colui che de' dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche 'opinione erronea ed eretica.' Assuredly the whole 'situation' furnished a suggestive field of thought, when the two German students, Erasmus and Martin Luther, successively made their visits to the headquarters of Christendom—A.D. 1506 and A.D. 1512.

ART. V.—1. *The Southern States since the War:* 1870–71. By ROBERT SOMERS. London.

2. *Revenue of the United States.* Official Report of Mr. D. D. WELLS, the Special Commissioner. London.

3. *Monthly Reports of the Department of Agriculture.* Washington: 1871.

SINCE the close of the long political struggle which succeeded to the American civil war, the outer world has heard comparatively little of the Southern States. Our knowledge of the interior condition of that great section of the Union comes almost entirely from Northern sources. We look in through the open door of New York or the window of Philadelphia, and get only such a view of what is going on within as it may suit Northern interests to give. Of the political side of reconstruc-

tion we have heard enough; of its more important social and commercial aspects hardly anything is known. Yet the problem which the Southern population had to work out—the problem in the solution of which they are still engaged—was one of the greatest and the most interesting ever given to a nation. The civil war left the whole area of the rebellious States strewn with ruins. The Southern people staked everything they had on the desperate venture, and lost the throw. Their social system was destroyed. Their commercial organisation was swept away. Their political constitution was overthrown. Even the material fabric of civilisation in the Southern States—the roads, the bridges, the telegraphs, the railways, the public buildings in the chief cities—came out of the struggle in a state of ruin. Everything needed to be reconstructed, even to the very culture of the fields. The world had in the most literal sense been turned upside down. When the war began, the social and political system of the Southern States was strongly organised under the rule of a dominant caste: the political equality of one race founded on the entire subjection of another. The land was owned by a few millions of planters, and was cultivated for them by four millions of slaves. The proprietor of an estate owned not only the soil but the people who lived on it. He had absolute power over them. The men of his own race in the towns and cities were either agents of the planters or idle hangers on, who looked upon labour as a curse which rested on colour, and regarded the white men as divinely appointed rulers of the black. The whole social structure was built on this assumption, and was strong. The whole commercial system was organised in accordance with it, and flourished. To the ruling caste the Southern States were almost a paradise. With a slight element of social danger, and a certain recurrent dissatisfaction as the thought of the vast outer world of freedom came home to the lord even in the midst of his dependents, there was everything that men could desire. They had a predominant position in the politics of the Union, and practically ruled a vast republic whose boast it was to be democratic and free. Their commercial position was above anxiety. A lazy, inefficient, and wasteful culture of a young and fruitful soil produced sufficient crops of cotton, tobacco, and rice to give them all they needed. They had possession of the world's markets, and in return for the products of their soil, and of the labour of their slaves, civilisation put all its luxuries within their reach. The 'gentlemen' of the South thus constituted themselves the aristocracy of the republic; held in scorn and contempt their

mean white brethren in their own cities, and the farmers and traders of the North and West; lived the life of princes at home and of courted visitors abroad; had a monopoly of political office at Washington, and enjoyed over all the world the reputation of an equal monopoly of the breeding, the culture, the gallantry, and the intellectual ability of the Anglo-American race.

The failure of the Confederation shattered this whole social structure as none was ever shattered before. It not only freed the slaves, but it enslaved the masters. It not only ruined the political position of the planters, but destroyed their commercial prosperity. During those years of supreme effort and agony, when the country was first isolated from the outer world and then ravaged by the incursions of a victorious enemy, the labour system became disorganised, the land fell out of cultivation, the railways and roads were broken up, and many of the most prosperous towns were laid in ruins. Mr. Somers, who spent the latter months of 1870 and the early part of 1871 in a tour of intelligent observation in the Southern States, found, even then, that the trail of the war was everywhere visible. In the magnificent valley of the Tennessee, he found 'burnt-up gin-'houses, ruined bridges, mills, and factories, of which latter 'the gable walls only are left standing, and large tracts of once 'cultivated land stripped of every vestige of fencing. The 'roads, long neglected, are in disorder, and having in many 'places become impassable, new tracks have to be made through 'the woods and fields without much respect to boundaries. 'Borne down by losses, debts, and accumulating taxes, many 'who were once the richest among their fellows have disap-'peared from the scene, and few have yet risen to take their 'place.' This unhappy valley is no exception; all over the South the same ruin spread. The commercial ruin was even worse. The mere money loss in the abolition of slavery was four hundred millions sterling, though the loss was one by which civilisation and humanity have gained. The banking capital, estimated at two hundred millions, was, says Mr. Somers, 'swamped in the extinction of all profitable banking business, 'and finally in a residuary flood of worthless Confederate 'money. The whole insurance capital of the South—probably 'a hundred millions more—also perished. The well-organised 'cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations, mills, factories, coal 'and iron mines, and commercial and industrial establishments, 'built up by private capital, the value of which, in millions of 'pounds sterling cannot be computed,—all sank, and were en-'gulfed in the same wave. Every form of mortgage claim, 'with the exception of two or three proud State stocks, shared

'for the time being the fate of the principal, and only now 'crops up amid the subsiding deluge like the stumps of a sub-'merged forest.' But no description of these losses can so powerfully set them forth as the figures of the census returns of the value of property in 1870 as compared with 1860. The valuation of Virginia and West Virginia was 480,800,267 dollars in 1870; it had been 657,021,336 dollars in 1860. South Carolina had diminished in taxable value during the ten years, from 489,319,128 dollars to 174,409,491 dollars. Mississippi stood at a valuation of 509,427,912 dollars in the year before the war, four years after the war it was valued at only 154,635,527. Louisiana fell to about half its former valuation; Florida to less than half; unfortunate Georgia to less than one-third. Mr. David Wells, the late Special Commissioner of Revenue, in his last official report estimates the direct expenditure and loss of property by the Confederate States by reason of the war at 2,700,000,000 dollars. Mr. Wells thus describes the condition in which the South was left:—'In 1865, this sec-'tion of our country, which in 1860 represented nearly one-third 'of the entire population, and, omitting the value of the slaves, 'nearly two-sevenths of the aggregate wealth of the nation, 'found itself, as the result of four years of civil war, entirely 'prostrate, without industry, without tools, without money, 'credit, or crops; deprived of local self-government, and to a 'great extent of all political privileges; the flower of its youth 'in the hospitals or dead upon the battle-fields; with society 'disorganised, and starvation imminent or actually present.' To this dark picture one darker line must be added. Southern society was demoralised by defeat. A profound discouragement settled down over the whole surface of the land. High-spirited and chivalrous as it had been, the South might be described at the close of the war, in the language of the prophet, as 'a nation scattered and peeled, a people terrible from their 'beginning hitherto, a nation meted out and trodden down, 'whose land the rivers have spoiled.'

The first hope of the South was, that in reconstructing its social, commercial, and political organisation it might be let alone. But the North had made itself the guardian of four millions of liberated negroes, and it could hardly leave its wards to be dealt with by eight millions who were once their masters. The rational and even the obvious course towards the freedmen was that they should receive complete civil rights, and be considered as in a state of pupilage for the exercise of political rights. The Northern distrust of Southern politicians, and, to some extent, the violence which the disappointed

Southern population exhibited, rendered this policy impossible; and after three years of warfare, almost as violent as the strife of arms, the liberated negroes were clothed with all the powers and prerogatives of American citizenship. In the very midst of this political discouragement natural difficulties arose. During the years 1866 and 1867 the crops both of cotton and of grain were, Mr. Wells says, to a great extent failures. The freedmen, excited by the discussions which were going on about them, stimulated by appeals from 'carpet-baggers'—travelling enthusiasts and politicians and commercial speculators from the North—were not disposed to work for hire. They had some vague notion that the world had been disturbed about them, that a great nation had successfully vindicated their cause; and they might well be pardoned for believing, or at least for vaguely expecting, that they were about to become masters where they had hitherto been slaves. Their demands for wages were excessive; it was impossible to satisfy them, and they had to learn by bitter experience that the difference between slavery and freedom was simply that they might choose their work and select their masters, and own the proceeds of their labour. But while they were learning this lesson even Nature seemed to fight against the planters. All efforts to revive the cotton trade seemed doomed to failure; the farmers turned to the sowing of corn, but the corn crop failed; and at the close of 1867 and the beginning of 1868 the whole South was worse off than it had been when the war closed. There were men not altogether hypochondriacs who began to despair of its recovery. The prophecies of the failure of free labour were regarded as actually fulfilled. Even in the North there were apprehensions that the South would only recover as the old races both of masters and slaves died out, and were succeeded by a new race of immigrant free men. It was the lowest point of Southern depression, the darkest hour before the dawn. During the summer of 1868 it became evident to the Southern people that General Grant would be elected President; that the three years' struggle against the Radical reconstruction policy of the North would as surely fail as the war had failed; and that there was nothing before them but to accept the civil and political equality of the negroes with themselves. While they were coming to this resolve the seasons smiled on them, and an abundant harvest was gathered in. There was not only enough for home use but plenty to spare, and the value of the cotton, grain, sugar, tobacco, and naval stores actually exported amounted to three hundred millions of dollars in currency. The tide had gently turned just

as the people were disposed to take it at the flood; and though it has not yet floated them on to fortune, it has at least enabled them to clear the shallows and the miseries into which the war had drifted them.

The great resources of these Southern States are scarcely understood even in the Northern States, and are almost unknown to the rest of the world. Their peculiar domestic institution made the Southern people jealous of the observing eyes of foreigners, and induced them to cultivate an almost Chinese isolation; since the war they have been jealous of the influence of Northern immigrants upon the negroes, and have not encouraged intercourse. Mr. Robert Somers, as an Englishman and a man of business, found none of this jealousy. He set out from Washington in the autumn of 1870, and travelled over the whole South, everywhere noting the commercial and industrial condition and resources of the country, and gathering an immense mass of the most valuable information. His volume, though without literary arrangement or finish—'rudis indigestaque moles' as to its form, and as to its abundant matter

. . . . . 'congestaque eodem
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum,'—

is the most complete account yet given to the public of the condition and prospects of the Southern States since the war. Mr. Somers was eminently qualified for the task of estimating from actual observation what those resources were. A man of business, thoroughly familiar with the cotton trade, and completely at home on all questions of labour, production, capital, and culture, he knew exactly what to observe, and how to test his observations so as to make them valuable. He left Washington in October 1870, and went to Richmond; from thence, through North Carolina, by way of Goldsboro' and Wilmington, to Charleston—'old Charleston,' as its citizens are proud to call it. From Charleston he travelled through the whole State of South Carolina, stopping at its capital, Columbia, by the way; and proceeding through Lexington and Graniteville to Augusta in Georgia. In Georgia he travelled along the line of Sherman's march to the 'Forest City' of Savannah, the great seaport of the State, and back by way of Millen and Macon to Atlanta. Plunging through the mountain defiles at Chattanooga, in Tennessee, he visited the Valley of the Tennessee, one of the gardens of the South, the Indian name of which—Alabama, 'Here we rest'—has been given to the State along the northern end of which the valley runs.

Traversing this beautiful valley, Mr. Somers penetrated the State of Mississippi; and re-entering Alabama, traversed the whole of that State; visited its seaport, Mobile; went from thence to New Orleans; returned along the River Mississippi to Memphis in Tennessee; thence to Nashville, and back to Washington. This journey, which occupied between four and five months, enabled Mr. Somers to make a general survey of the industrial region of the Southern States. It did not include the great Valley of Virginia, the agricultural highlands of Western Virginia, nor the State of Florida. But though cotton is grown in both these States they lie out of the 'cotton belt;' and it is cotton which must still be, as it always has been, the main source of Southern prosperity. It was impossible to make such a journey without being greatly impressed by the splendid resources of the country. It is a land of magnificent possibilities. Nature has been prodigal of her bounty, and only art is needed to develope the full value and profusion of her gifts. Crossing the Potomac, the Northern winter is left behind, and the mellowed climate is only the visible and appreciable sign of a more genial soil. Amid this kindness of Nature man has been unkind to himself. The obstacles to Southern prosperity are moral, social, political, and industrial, not natural. The trail of an evil institution was over all the Paradise; and, though the institution has passed away, is over it still. The intelligent observation of Mr. Somers has, however, enabled us to make a clearer estimate than was possible before of the industrial resources by which these great natural gifts are being developed; of the progress which has been made in the social and commercial reconstruction of the country, and of the obstacles which political difficulties still put in the way of the full restoration of peace, plenty, and prosperity.

No war could destroy the natural resources of the country. If the whole labour-system was destroyed, the fields on which the labour was exerted still remained. It may be said indeed that, after the war, the soil and the climate, the fruitful showers and the ripening sunshine, were nearly all that was left. But the soil was freed along with the slaves. Slavery was itself profitable, but it rendered everything else unprofitable. It prevented the application of culture and intelligence to the development of the Southern resources, and consequently hindered that development. Free labour and slave labour cannot coexist; and however well slave labour might do for the cotton culture or the rice planting, only free labour could work the iron mines of Georgia, or make the coal-fields of

Alabama valuable, or bring into use the vast deposits of mineral manure which lie buried along the shore of Virginia and the Carolinas, the natural fertilisers of the exhausted soil. The first effect of the abolition of slavery has been the break up of the great estates. In Virginia the land question occupies the foremost place. Under slavery the land was owned by slave-owners who held large estates which they never fully cultivated, but on which they shifted their crops from one place to another, leaving the soil to recover in fallow what had been taken out of it by an idle, inefficient, and wasteful culture. Under freedom they find it necessary to hold no more land than their capital will enable them to keep in cultivation; hence it is everywhere being forced on the market. This land is to be bought at a price which in England would be regarded as a low sum for the annual rent. 'The landed property of a great 'and long-settled State,' Mr. Somers says, 'is literally going 'a-begging for people to come and take it.' Farms small and large, with roads and railways near them, with good society in their neighbourhood and good markets for their produce, are to be had at less than four pounds an acre. One estate of 800 acres, 'land good, with abundance of greensand marl only 'four feet below the surface,' could be bought at fifteen dollars an acre. In Georgia the large planters are, in the same way, trying to let or sell portions of their estates: some land is let at a rent of one-fourth of the produce, and improved farms can be bought at from five to fifty dollars an acre. A statistical table just published gives the account of the number and size of the Virginian farms, which, by the way, do not represent a fourth of its cultivated soil:—

Farms of	3	and	under	10	acres	. .	2,351
„	10	„	„	20	„	. .	5,565
„	20	„	„	50	„	. .	19,584
„	50	„	„	100	„	. .	21,145
„	100	„	„	500	„	. .	34,300
„	500	„	„	1,000	„	. .	2,882
„	1,000 acres and over					. . .	641
	In all					. . . .	86,468

The smaller farms pay best, and there is room for indefinite expansion of their number. Immigrants with a small capital will find in Virginia perhaps the best opening which at present exists on the American continent. In the counties of Georgia where the light soil is covered with enormous forests of pine, land has been sold at ten cents an acre; and any man with a small fortune to invest, 'might become lord of a 'county or two full of wood, and in the event of the Baltic

'forests giving out, might be confessed in some generation 'or other to have made a splendid investment.' Even this land will grow cotton. The best crop Mr. Somers saw was on a farm of this poor land, on which a recent settler, by close attention and manuring, raised nine bales from thirteen acres. In Alabama, the land market is equally glutted. In one village hotel, ninety advertisements of real estate for sale were posted up. In the State of Mississippi, plantations are being 'broken up into small farms occupied by 'white people, who are taking the cultivation in room of the 'negroes,' who are moving away to the richer lands of Alabama and the Mississippi bottom. On the wide rolling prairies of Alabama, hundreds of thousands of acres of rich plantation soil are relapsing into primitive wildness. Along the Mississippi bottom, where the soil, as was said of the Indian soil, needs only to be tickled with a hoe to smile with plenty, three-fifths of the land is waiting for cultivators. The country needs a vast importation both of capital and of labour. Yet, notwithstanding the diminution of the area of cultivation, the cultivation has itself so much improved as to give a relatively larger produce. Mr. Wells says of the crop which had just come in when his official report was issued, 'The new cotton is far supe-'rior in cleanliness, strength, uniformity of fibre and absence of 'waste, to any ever before sent to market; while a new variety, 'originating in Mississippi, "the *Peeler*," has been introduced 'and brought to market, which commands a price from twenty-'five to thirty per cent. higher than greenseed cotton of the 'same grade because of the superior staple.'

This immense profusion of fruitful soil, these millions of acres crying for cultivators, constitute the chief resource of the Southern States. They possess this resource in common with the Western and North-western States, but they possess it with the vast addition of a more generous atmosphere and a warmer sun. The Northern prairies can grow splendid crops of wheat and corn, but so can the great plains of Hungary and the Russian steppes, while the domestic agriculture of every European country competes with them in the production of wheat. But in the Southern States, rice and sugar, tobacco and cotton, can be grown. The great staple production of this district will always be cotton. India competes with Carolina in the production of rice; and though in 1870 South Carolina reported a rice crop of 40,000 tierces, full two-fifths of the whole growth of rice in the United States, nearly the whole of it was sold for home consumption. For twenty years past the production of rice has been diminishing, and now the lands

round Charleston, on which this most unhealthy culture has been carried on, have been found to contain a vast mine of undeveloped wealth. The country people have long been carting from their soil loads of round chalky pebbles, which hindered the plough; they have even used them to pave the streets and mend the roads. These nodules are now found to yield from 45 to 65 per cent. of bone phosphate, and as they extend over an area sixty miles long by twenty broad, and an acre has been known to yield 1,300 tons of them, they constitute a most valuable product. Charleston is already becoming a great seat of the manufacture of super-phosphate manures, and the discovery has come just in time to supply the lands on the eastern slope of the American continent with natural fertilisers which will enable them to compete with the richer lands which lie stretched out behind them. At the same time the possibilities of improved cultivation are rapidly developing. Almost in the centre of the cotton-belt lie the great coal-fields of Alabama, covering nearly a third of the northern half of the State. The Warrior coal-field covers an area of 3,000 square miles, and there are some five-and-twenty points at which the coal seams actually crop out upon the hill sides, and are worked by the most primitive processes. The coal is soft and bituminous, burning with a bright flame, and is as good as any coal in the world for use in the steam engine. Two smaller coal-fields, the Cahawba coal-field, so called because the Cahawba river flows through it, and the Coosa coal-field, penetrated by the Coosa river, lie south and east of the Warrior coal-field. Side by side with the coal are found equally available deposits of iron ore, the seams of hematite being at some points from seven to fifteen feet in thickness. The hematite yields 56 per cent. of metallic iron, and the other ores from 36 per cent. upwards. Mr. Somers describes this mineral region of Alabama as 'the 'most deeply interesting material fact on the American conti-'nent.' It marks out a manufacturing region in the very centre of the agricultural South. Yet the whole district is, over a great part of its area, practically a desert. The soil is good, is well watered, and might be made to produce large crops of corn and cotton, with abundance of meat and fruit: but it wants men. 'There are no negroes, little population of any kind, and the 'hunter often finds wolves and other wild animals which have 'disappeared from other parts of the State.' Yet this very absence of population is favourable to the development of the country. Mining is white man's work. The negro is an agricultural labourer, when he is not a waiter, a servant, or an idler of city streets. It is a large immigration of white labour

which Alabama wants, and the absence of negroes will greatly facilitate the settlement of white labourers on the soil. There will be no social entanglements to disturb them. Among these Alabama solitudes they will create a society of their own, and will draw around them a farming population by whom they will be fed. Of the political consequences of this implantation of a manufacturing district in the centre of the South, we must say something presently. They will rise out of its commercial consequences. Coal and iron will draw capital and population, and new means will be created of developing even the agricultural resources of the country. The Southern crops will not always be mortgaged to New York, and cotton will find its way to the outer world through Southern ports. This change is, however, quite in the future as yet, but as it takes place the commercial and political dependence of the South upon the North will gradually cease.

The great problem of the South is, however, not the development of its mineral wealth, but the reorganisation of its system of agricultural labour. It is difficult for those who look on from a distance to realise the change which has come over Southern society in this respect. A single fact will make it clearer than any description. In the 'New Orleans 'Picayune,' at the end of the year 1841, appeared the following advertisement:—

'*Five Dollars Reward.*—Ran away from the subscribers on the 23rd November last, the negro boy Oscar Dunn, an apprentice to the plastering trade. He is of griffe colour, between twenty and twenty-one years of age, and about five feet ten or eleven inches high. All persons are cautioned not to harbour the said boy under penalty of the law. Wilson and Patterson, cor. St. John and Common-streets.'

In a New Orleans paper, issued in November last, appears the romantic sequel to the above advertisement. Among the deaths is the following:—

'In New Orleans, Wednesday, November 2nd, 1871, the Hon. Oscar J. Dunn, Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana.'

Mr. Somers mentions Lieutenant-Governor Dunn as presiding over the Louisiana Senate at the time he went to see it; 'a really black man, as far as could be seen in the shadow, 'and was being addressed by an honourable white senator of 'an intellectual cast of head and face, who appears to have 'gained more notoriety than all the rest by marrying a black 'woman.' Mr. Somers also says that 'it is not uncommon to 'hear in New Orleans that Dunn, the negro Lieutenant-'Governor, is a more trustworthy man than his superior in

'office.' This change from slavery to citizenship, from practical outlawry to actual participation in the government, has been attended with a good deal of disturbance, though not nearly so much as might have been expected. The negroes show a good deal of disposition to flock to the towns. Even at Boston there is an extensive immigration of negro 'house-'servants.' Mr. Somers says, 'Sambo is a natural-born cock-'ney. Whether one meets him in the hotels, or driving his 'lorry in the streets, or roaring at the railway stations for the 'honour of carrying one's luggage, he gives the assurance of a 'man who imbibes aptly the *genius loci* and contributes his full 'share to all the smartness and animation, polite or noisy, of 'the scene.' In this power of adapting himself to circumstances, of fitting easily and with some contentment into his place, the freedman becomes a most valuable element of Southern society. The tendency to gather into the towns is held in check, or partly counteracted, by a general inclination to go southward. The negroes are, in fact, gravitating towards that part of the South in which their labour is most valuable and is most needed in the culture of cotton. It is said that in the year 1870, 20,000 negroes went south from the State of Virginia alone. They still need protection, for the jealousy of the mean whites, the 'white trash' of the days of slavery, is still inclined to act on Chief Justice Taney's dictum in the Dred Scott case, that 'a negro has no rights which a 'white man is bound to respect.' But Mr. Somers found that, as a rule, public opinion has become quite reconciled to free negro labour, and the planters often told him that 'they could 'not do without the "darkies" in the field, so superior are 'they to any white labour which has yet been tried.' Nevertheless white labour is not altogether valueless. In South Carolina and in Middle Georgia a good deal of cotton is being grown by white labour, but it is chiefly on small farms where the farmer's own family till the soil and tend the plants. The very fact that these small farms, thus cultivated, can now be made to pay is one of the new features of the South; it is the direct result of emancipation, and may have very important consequences in the future. It indicates the possibility that a system of small farms and small proprietors may eventually supersede that of large estates farmed by negro labour. The negro and the large planters who employ him have, however, one great advantage. He is the child of the sun, the creature of the tropic warmth, and is literally at home in the scorching cotton fields. The growth of cotton, on any considerable scale, will not be made to succeed apart from negro labour.

Mr. Somers says that in South Carolina 'there is little or no 'disparagement of the negro as a labourer among respectable 'countrymen, who need his services and employ him. On the 'contrary, there is much appreciation of his good qualities, a 'good deal of kindly patience towards his bad qualities, and 'much greater satisfaction with what he has done, and may 'yet be trained to do, as a free labourer, than one might be 'prepared to find.' Still there is much difficulty in organising and regulating negro labour under the new conditions of freedom. The plantation negroes are only slowly learning to take care of themselves. Their improvidence is beyond all check. The lower class of them are more like children than grown people; in fact, they are children, in all but years, even the old men 'whose woolly heads and beards are quite white as 'though they were all coming out at last in cotton.' They have passed their lives on the plantation; their old, disabled or feeble relations are living as pauper pensioners in the little huts they dwelt in when they were slaves, fed out of the produce of the farm, and still looking on the 'massa' as their lord. Their keep is part of their wages, paid in kind; and it often happens that when they have a week's rations served to them they eat it all in the first three days, and have to starve, or hang on the employer's charity for the other four. Such people can only be expected to attain, very slowly, anything like personal independence or self-respect; but they are gradually coming to it. The better-taught even of these 'field hands,' who have never seen a town and have no idea of a world beyond their plantations, are beginning to enjoy the sense of ownership. Under slavery the negro quarters, the huts into which they crept for shelter and sleep, were usually concentrated near the homestead. The slaves could be more under supervision when they were all kept together, and if they had to march in gangs a long way to their work in the morning and a long way home in the evening, their time was not of so much consequence as the risk of losing them. But now that the negro is a freeman and can take his labour whither he pleases, now that he has for wages a share of the crop, and therefore a near personal interest in it, it is desirable that he should live near the fields on which he works. He loves to have a mule on which to ride about on Sundays and holidays, and is proud to own a hog; and the master therefore finds it convenient to let him have a little homestead of his own. Hence Mr. Somers says that in passing over the large estates an observer notes how 'the negro "quarters" begin to appear 'in rows of cabins, usually placed along the edge of the wood

'forming the boundary of the plantation, and under the system 'of free labour rapidly becoming little farm steadings, with 'corn cribs and hog and mule pens of their own.' The sense of ownership thus engendered will soon become a most effectual teacher of the independence and self-respect which belongs to free men.

It is already abundantly evident that the prophecies which abounded during the war of the speedy extinction of the negro race are not likely to be fulfilled. In the change from slavery to freedom the slaves suffered less than their masters. In 1860 the slave population was 3,953,760, and the free coloured population numbered 488,070; a total of 4,441,830. In 1870 the free coloured population was 4,880,009, an increase of nearly ten per cent. in a population which is not fed by any immigration, and which can only increase by actual natural growth. Mr. Somers says that it is admitted in all classes of Southern society that the negroes are rising to comfort, and that even a mere transient wayfarer could not help being struck by the evidence given him in the great number of coloured men of the labouring class, and of happy coloured families, that are everywhere met. But some statistics of savings prove this fact more conclusively than any observation. The Freedmen's Bureau founded a National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. This company has branches, or rather independent offshoots, planted in every town in the South, and the whole are under government supervision. These savings' banks have already in charge more than two millions of dollars, which are almost entirely the property of freedmen. In the office of the Charleston bank there may be seen in any forenoon a crowd of negroes paying in small sums, or withdrawing little amounts, or sending small remittances to distant relations or creditors. There were in this Charleston bank a year and a half ago 2,790 deposit accounts, of which nine-tenths were kept by negroes; and the average sum to the credit of each depositor was about sixty dollars. These men usually have an object in saving. They desire to own a mule and cart, or a house, or a strip of land, or a shop, or in some way to get a sense of independence, even if it is only by the provision of a small fund to fall back on in case of sickness, old age, or accident, or to leave to their families in case of death. In the annual message which Governor Alcorn addressed to the legislature of the State of Mississippi last year he gave some important statistics illustrating the condition of the coloured people in that State. In thirty-one counties the number of marriage licenses issued to coloured people was 564

in the year 1865—the first year of freedom. In the following year the number rose to 3,679; in the year 1870 it was 3,427. Mr. Alcorn considers that this large number of negro marriages, which of course includes some ratifications of unions previously contracted under slavery, is a sign of the facility with which the coloured people are exchanging a condition of outlawry for a condition of civilisation. The negro marriages are somewhat more prolific than those of white persons, but more of their children die young, and even the adults are not as hardy as the whites. There is a most encouraging increase in other indications of progress. The churches for a coloured population of 179,677 have increased from 105 in 1865 to 283 in 1870; the number of schools open to a coloured population of 180,527 has increased from 19 in 1865 to 148 in 1870, while the number of teachers has increased in much larger proportion. There are also signs of the gradual rise of a class of negro tenant farmers and negro owners. Mr. Alcorn notes with regret that freedom allows many negroes to yield to drunken and dissolute habits; but over against this fact he puts another. In twenty-three counties of the State of Mississippi 40,551 bales of cotton were grown in 1869 by coloured tenant farmers; and in 1870 the produce reached 50,978 bales. In twenty counties 6,141 bales of cotton were produced in 1870 by coloured owners of the soil. Small landed-proprietors, tenant farmers, shopkeepers, teachers, preachers, are thus constituting a negro middle class, who will be the natural protectors of the vast mass below them.

The mass of the coloured people must of course remain agricultural labourers. At present no definite arrangement has been come to as to the relation in which these field-hands shall stand to the owners or tenants of the fields. It is doubtful whether the future agriculture of the South will be carried on under the system of *petite culture*, or whether by the old method of large farms. We have already spoken of the tendency there is to break up the large estates; but at present the main produce of cotton is from the large farms. So long therefore as cotton can be profitably produced at a price which will give the American producer a monopoly, or even a partial monopoly, of the European market, the large-farm system will probably last. The increase of capital, the progressive education and improvement of the black labourers, and the application to the culture of the soil of steam machinery, will all tend to give the large farmers an advantage. Their disadvantage is that cotton is and must be their chief crop. The small farmer grows his corn and vegetables, his fruit and milk and butter,

and in fact lives on his own produce, and raises a small supplementary crop of cotton rather as an element of profit than as a means of subsistence. The large planter can only plant that which he can sell, and cotton is almost the only thing he can grow with the certainty of a market if not of a profit. He must therefore cover his land with cotton, and employ negroes to cultivate it. The large planter thus depends almost entirely on negro labour, while the small farmer only hires a few extra hands when he needs them; and if, as very often happens, he cannot get them, does without them by buckling to extra work himself. The large planter cannot do without negroes. He must especially have the hands at picking time or the open cotton balls will shed their valuable product on the soil. His difficulty therefore is to find means of inducing his hands to work. He no longer has the lash, and men who have been accustomed to be kept in order by it have 'no spur to prick 'the sides of their intent.' The system generally adopted is that of partnership between master and workman in the products of the soil. The labourer receives as his wages half the cotton he picks, or the corn he grows. The negro finds his own rations, but as the crop does not come in till December, the planter has to go on supplying him with them on credit for the year. If the crop turns out badly the loss is the planter's—the labourer never loses; he only stands to win. But in addition to his half the crop, the negro field hand has his cottage free, abundance of wood from the estate for fuel and for building his corn cribs and outhouses, with teams to draw it from the forest; he is allowed to keep hogs and milch cows and young cattle, which roam and feed with the same right as those of the planter, and free of charge; he hunts and shoots, and very often has his dogs and guns; and though he has half the crop he pays for none of the seed and bears none of the taxes. For all work not done on the growing crops, even if it is done on his own plantation, he is paid a dollar a day. 'It may be clearing 'ditches, or splitting rails, or anything that is just as essential 'to the crop as the two-inch ploughing and hoeing in which he 'shambles away his time; but for all this kind of work he must 'be paid a dollar a day.' This high rate of negro wages is, however, not universal. In Middle Georgia, the field-negroes get from eight to twelve and-a-half dollars a month, with rations, houses, and fire-wood; the women earn from five to eight dollars. The share system is everywhere much more prevalent than the wage system. It takes two forms: one-third of the crop with rations, one-half the crop without rations. One of the difficulties the planter has to contend with is, that

the novelty of possession has so aroused in the liberated slaves the desire to possess, that they have difficulty in distinguishing what is the planter's from what is their own. Theft is common, but is getting less common. 'The negroes,' said a very competent authority in Georgia to Mr. Somers, 'are working better 'and stealing less every year.' The same testimony was given everywhere. The half-communistic system under which the labour-system of the South is being reorganised is certainly adapted only to a state of transition, but it seems to be really preparing the way of the negro race to the self-dependence of a state of freedom.

Under this new social organisation the cotton culture is reviving. The produce in the last three years of slave labour is given in the report of Mr. Nourse, the United States Commissioner to the Paris Exposition, as follows:—

1858–59	4,019,000	bales
1859–60	4,861,000	„
1860–61	3,850,000	„

The report of the Department of Agriculture gives the produce for the first three years of free labour as follows:—

1866 . . .	1,900,000	bales
1867 . . .	2,340,000	„
1868 . . .	2,380,000	„

Mr. Wells gives the crop of 1869 as at least 2,700,000 bales, that of 1870 considerably exceeded 3,000,000 bales, while the yield in 1871, though the season was a bad one, reached 3,300,000 bales. The probable yield this year can, as yet, only be guessed. The United States Department of Agriculture has officially announced that there is an increase of the area under cotton culture to the extent of 13 per cent.; and that, in June, the condition of the plant was 'nearly equal to 'an average.' As the yield last year was far below an average, it is scarcely too much to hope that, should the autumn weather be favourable, this year's production may reach to very nearly 4,000,000 bales. The geographical limits in which cotton can be grown are tolerably well defined. The southern boundaries of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri run in almost a straight line along the northern limit of the cotton-belt. Some cotton is grown in Virginia, south of Richmond, but the culture hardly anywhere reaches the border-line which separates Tennessee from Kentucky or Arkansas from Missouri. About 35½° north is held to be, with some exceptional indentations, the limiting line. Beyond this line, short seasons and early frosts prevent the crop from attaining maturity with sufficient cer-

tainty to render it worth growing. The southern line is not much more rigidly defined. Cotton cannot compete with the sugar-cane, and does not greatly flourish on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. The growth of cotton in the southern counties of Texas is not considerable; very little is grown within a hundred miles of New Orleans, and though a good deal of sea-island cotton is grown in Florida, it is subject to such catastrophes as that of last year, when the disastrous storms which obliterated the latter portion of the summer nearly destroyed the crop. The United States Department of Agriculture publishes monthly reports from all parts of the Union. Some of these, published during last year's cotton harvest, throw light on the difficulties of the cotton culture. From East Baton Rouge parish, Louisiana, the report said:—'Much 'remains to be picked, and will be gathered, if labourers 'can be retained. Many, however, will be taken off to the 'sugar-plantations, where wages are higher. The probability is 'that much cotton will be left in the fields to waste.' From West Feliciana parish, the report says:—'Short crop. In 'spite of all drawbacks, small patches, highly manured and 'well cultivated, have produced splendid crops, showing that 'it pays to cultivate good land well.' From McLellan County, Texas, the report runs:—'The crop all gathered, ginned, and 'eight-tenths sold, at 12½ cents coin per pound; about two-'thirds of the cost of production. We cannot produce cotton, 'averaging five years, for less than 12 cents per pound coin, 'yet McLellan is the best cotton county in the State three 'years out of five. Worms have never damaged a crop here. 'The want of more thorough culture, and more reliable labour, 'is the difficulty.'

We have already quoted Mr. Wells's statement that the cotton grown under free labour is 'superior in cleanliness, 'strength, uniformity of fibre, and absence of waste to that 'grown under slavery.' The question is, can it be grown as cheaply? Mr. Wells thinks it can, since the system of slavery required that 'a large proportion of the net annual profit of 'the South should be spent in labour.' The old estimate of produce was that a bale an acre was an excellent crop, and two bales a very large crop, even on the richest lands; while in Georgia and the Carolinas half a bale, or two hundred and fifty pounds, an acre was considered satisfactory. This latter estimate still holds good. Mr. Somers says that the best crop of cotton he met with in Georgia was on the farm of a recent settler, who, by close attention and farmyard manuring, raised nine bales from thirteen acres. In New Orleans he found that

these small growers were believed to raise the best crops, and to deliver the cotton in the best condition; and the most conspicuous fact in the cotton culture at this moment, he says, is, 'that the larger proportion of the annual expansions of the 'cotton crop since the war is due to the energy, on small 'farms, in gardens, and in crops taken on waste and unoccu-'pied plantations, of white labour.' On the other hand, Mr. Somers gives, as a remarkable proof of the progress made towards better management under free labour, the fact that Mr. Gordon, the owner of a large estate in Mississippi, 'lost '24,000 dollars by his cotton crops the year after the war, 'when the price was high; but has been making it better 'every year since, under declining values.' He has probably made a handsome profit under the increasing values of the present year. What the South wants is the application of capital to the soil. Thorough culture, trustworthy labour, and such a price as will remunerate the labourer, are the needs of the cotton culture. The question of price is, however, even more a matter for the English buyer than for the American seller. A few cents a pound may make all the difference between the stoppage of a hundred thousand Lancashire looms and the building of a hundred new factories. We can find markets for cotton goods somewhat in proportion to the cheapness with which we can procure the raw material. Our spinners prefer American cotton to any other. During the cotton famine much machinery was adapted to the shorter staple of the Surat cotton; but since the close of the war in America only one-half of the cotton sent from India to this country is manufactured here. In 1868 there was an importation of Surat amounting to 1,038,925 bales, of which 821,000 bales were sold for home manufacture, and 720,000 bales were sent abroad. In the same year 1,262,060 bales of American cotton were imported, of which only 197,000 bales were re-exported and more than a million were retained. The present embarrassed condition of the cotton manufacture is almost entirely due to a continuous rise in the price of the raw material. It is probable that we should scarcely hear of a glut in the market if cotton could be got sufficiently cheap for Manchester to clothe all mankind in cotton fabrics. The ideal of a Lancashire spinner is American cotton at sixpence a pound. Mr. Somers was told in North Carolina that 15 cents a pound at the gin is the lowest price at which cotton can be produced, as 15 cents now go in the United States. According to the report from Texas quoted above, the spinner's ideal of sixpence is just about what it costs to pro-

duce it in the best cotton-producing county of that State; and last year's crop, though it brought 12½ cents a pound, was, owing to an exceptionally bad yield, 'sold at about two-'thirds of the cost of production.' In looking over the reports of last year's crop, we find it continually stated that the acreage planted had decreased without any decrease in the yield; the largely increased area planted this year is therefore all the more hopeful as a sign of the restoration of prosperity. A bale of cotton weighs five hundred pounds, and many experiments have proved that it is possible to raise from one to two and even to four bales an acre. Yet the average production is only half a bale to the acre; and last year Travis County, Texas, reported an 'average yield of not more than 'forty pounds of lint to the acre;' Johnson County, Arkansas, reported an average of 175 pounds; while Uvalde County, Texas, reported 333 pounds of lint to the acre. The average yield over eleven States was only 160 pounds the acre. Yet even in last year's chequered crop most encouraging results were attained in many parts. In Cherokee County, Georgia, it was reported: 'A few farmers make 400 pounds of lint to 'the acre, but many acres yield at the rate of 100 or 200 'pounds only.' Much larger results were obtained in the Carolinas. In Kershaw County, South Carolina, it is said in the report: 'Notwithstanding the drought, thorough culture 'and a liberal, not excessive, use of fertilisers, even on lands 'most susceptible to the drought, have secured 400, 500, and 'even 600 pounds of lint to the acre. Such treatment has 'been exceptional.' In Beaufort County, North Carolina, the report is that 'good farmers will average 300 or 400 pounds; 'general average, 200 pounds.' From Hartford County it is reported: 'Many farmers in this county will produce 1,000 'pounds of seed cotton per acre.' One thousand pounds of seed cotton is about equivalent to from 300 to 400 pounds of lint; and it must be remembered that this produce was raised in the most unfavourable season there has been for thirty years.

The first effort of the cotton-growers is, therefore, to increase their yield by improving their systems of culture; and the diminished size of estates has greatly promoted this effort. An extensive experiment was made last year in the introduction of Egyptian cotton; but of four-and-twenty reports from various parts of the South only two or three were favourable. It requires rather a longer season than the American climate will give it. The experiment is regarded as having failed, though in one or two exceptional counties it showed sufficient promise

to be tried again this year. An attempt was made to grow Chinese cotton in Harrison County, Indiana; but it failed. Some experiments in the growth of cotton in Merced County, California, proved so successful, that the California Cotton Growers' Association has bought 20,000 acres of land near Bakersfield, Kern County, which will be planted with cotton this year. The yield last year was 375 pounds of ginned cotton to the acre; and it was believed that had the crop been irrigated, or had there been anything like an average rainfall, 750 pounds to the acre would have been raised. Mr. Somers points out that loss is sustained by the bad ginning of the cotton, and by the absence of any means on the plantations of compressing the bales. As the cotton arrives at the seaport the bulk is three times what it is when it leaves the port; and there would be considerable saving in packing material were the compression done where the bale is first packed. Another saving will be made when the planter is no longer under any necessity of mortgaging his crop. Firms in New York send down agents who sell goods at a profit of from 100 to 200 per cent. to the more needy class of farmers and planters, and advance cash at high interest on a mortgage of the cotton crop. A single firm in New York is said to make half a million dollars a year by this business. The necessity of sending the cotton to New York or to some other port, and selling it there to exporters, is being superseded by a system of through bills of lading. When Mr. Somers was at Memphis, in Tennessee, he found that cotton could be sent through to Liverpool at seven-eighths of a penny a pound for freight and carriage, and three-quarters per cent. for insurance, for the whole distance. An English merchant or spinner may, therefore, buy his cotton direct from the grower or the grower's agent in Memphis and get it delivered at Liverpool at less than a penny a pound more than the grower received for it. If even now it can be grown for 12 cents a pound, may we not say that, with improved culture, larger yield, developed means of carriage, and all the savings and improvements we have indicated, it may even yet be delivered in Liverpool at the ideal price of the Lancashire spinner? The prospect of a larger production of cotton in the South, and of something very nearly approaching its old monopoly of the English market, may at least be said to lie open before us. The South has every natural advantage in its favour.

Its disadvantages are chiefly political; but being political they are capable of removal, and are actually being removed. When the war was over, it left the whole mass of Southern

society tossing and seething like the sea after a storm. The negroes were wild in their new freedom, half believing that the social order had been inverted, and that it was their turn to own and rule. The white population were enraged at their defeat, and doubly angry because the North was resolved to push its victory home by conferring the franchise on the blacks. In this political and social struggle which succeeded to the war, the country suffered almost as much as it did in the actual conflict of arms. It was justly boasted that there were no proscriptions, no exiles, no executions after the suppression of one of the greatest rebellions in history; but there were at least most extensive and vindictive disfranchisements. A Congress in which the Southern States were denied representation enfranchised the freedmen and disfranchised their masters. Seven years have passed since the rebellion was suppressed, but a large portion of the white population of the eleven rebellious States is suffering the penalty of rebellion in the loss of political rights. The consequence of this disfranchisement has been that the leadership of the enfranchised freedmen has fallen into the hands of 'carpet-baggers'—political adventurers from the Northern States who go south, not as permanent residents, but as mere seekers of fortune. In nearly every Southern State these adventurers have succeeded in getting into office by securing the negro vote. They control the local legislatures, and enrich themselves out of the State funds. In all the rebel States except Virginia and Tennessee the State debts have greatly increased since the war. Alabama owed five million dollars in 1866; it owes twenty-four millions in 1872. North Carolina was 'reconstructed' in 1868. Its debt was then twenty-four millions, ten millions more than it had been in 1860; its debt is now thirty-four millions. A Mississippi planter told a Committee of Congress that it took his whole crop of cotton last year to pay his taxes. In Kershaw County, S. Carolina, with a population of 11,000, tax executions were issued in 3,600 cases. It is officially stated that in two years nearly a million and a quarter dollars have been paid out of the State treasury, for which no vouchers can be found; while the expenditure on 'offices and salaries,' which was 123,800 dollars in 1860, had become 581,640 dollars in 1871. A minority report of a Committee of Congress which has been inquiring into the condition of the South states that at this moment the disbursements of the South Carolina treasury exceed the appropriations by 170,683 dollars. The coloured representatives, who form a large majority of the House of Representatives in the State though they are a minority in the Senate, are repre-

sented as having fitted up their private apartments with money voted to fit up committee rooms. Brussels carpets, sofas, mirrors, and 'seventy-five imported porcelain spittoons bought 'for the State House' adorned their residences. But the 'New York Nation,' in commenting on this fact, shrewdly says, 'We suspect the truth to be that in the distribution of spoils 'the poor African gets the gilt and plush—the porcelain spit-'toons and the barbaric upholstery, while the astuter Caucasian 'clings to the solider and more durable advantages.' There is only one cure for these evils, and there are indications that the North may adopt it. The main 'plank' in the 'platform' of the Liberal Republican Convention, which met at Cincinnati on the first of May, and blundered into the adoption of Mr. Horace Greeley as its Presidential candidate, was 'the imme-'diate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on 'account of the rebellion.' Mr. Greeley has always proclaimed as the motto of his Southern policy 'Universal suffrage and 'universal amnesty.' Congress has adopted universal suffrage, and universal amnesty will follow at no distant time. All the best minds in United States politics recognise it as the only possible means of restoring free and pure governments in the Southern States.

The exceptional legislation under which the South has so long suffered and still suffers, is unquestionably the fault of the Southern whites themselves. They never accepted their defeat, and they have constantly hindered reconstruction instead of helping it. Disfranchisement probably rendered them powerless to help, and drove them into violence. The chief organised form of protest against the new conditions of Southern society was in a conspiracy which will occupy a prominent place in American history. All the world has heard of the Ku-Klux-Khlan and its doings. Mr. Somers gives the following admirable account of this secret society:—

'A secret organisation under this name spread with amazing rapidity over the South soon after the close of the war; and for a time, by moving in considerable bodies at night, in a peculiar costume, and executing a wild justice, spread alarm both among Federal soldiers and negroes. For a time the Ku-Klux enjoyed the respect if not the confidence of the conquered population; but nearly all trace of this mysterious league has now disappeared from the country, or, where still extant in any form, its *rôle* has been taken up by mere marauders, betwixt whom and the white people there is no manner of sympathy. One day lately three rough men sat round the stove of a lager beer saloon in one of the towns of East Tennessee. By and by a man came in, dressed in fine broad cloth and with an air of briskness about him. He was a member of the legal profession, and his talk with the three

rough men, while most familiar and cordial, was all about the extent to which, in certain crises, he would serve a client. It appeared that the legal gentleman was prepared to be very loyal in getting off a thief, and his views of professional honour gave general satisfaction. "But "what is the Ku-Klux-Khlan," asked one of the trio. "The Ku-Klux," said the man of law, "are the three K's of Greece." From which profound explanation the inquirer did not seem to derive much edification, and he asked again, "What are they? Who are they?" The lawyer, dropping his voice into a whisper, replied, "They are Confederate "soldiers killed in the war, who cannot rest in their graves." The secret society was, in point of fact, a kind of ghost of the Confederate armies. Its uniform, made of black calico, was called a "shroud." The stuff was sent round to private houses with a request that it should be made into a garment; and fair fingers sewed it up, and had it ready for the secret messenger when he returned and gave his tap at the door. The women and girls had faith in the honour of the "Khlan," and on its will and ability to protect them. The Ku-Klux, when out on their missions, also wore a long tapering hat, and a black veil over the face completed their disguise. The secret of the membership was kept with remarkable fidelity. In no instance, I believe, has a member of the Ku-Klux been successfully arraigned or punished, though their acts often flew in the face of the reconstructed authorities and were not in any sense legal. When they had a long ride at night they made requisitions for horses at the farmhouses, and the horses were often supplied under a prevailing feeling of assurance that they would be returned on the night following without injury. If a company of Federal soldiers stationed in a small town vapoured as to what they would do with the Ku-Klux, the men in shrouds paraded in the evening before the guardhouse in numbers so overwhelming as at once reduced the little garrison to silence. The overt acts of the Ku-Klux consisted for the most part of the disarming of dangerous negroes, the infliction of Lynch law on notorious offenders, and above all in the creation of one feeling of terror as a counterpoise to another. . . . A real terror reigned for a time among the white people, and in this situation the Ku-Klux started into being. It was one of those secret organisations which spring up in disordered states of society, when the bonds of law and government are almost dissolved, and when no confidence is felt in the regular administration of justice. But the power with which the Ku-Klux moved in many parts of the South, the knowledge it displayed of all that was going on, the fidelity with which its secret was kept, and the complacency with which it was regarded by the general community, gave this mysterious body a prominence and an importance seldom attained by such illegal and deplorable associations.'

The Ku-Klux has unquestionably become in its latter days a mere engine of robbery and violence. The traces of it which still remain consist of bands of robbers, such as the 'Lowery gang,' who infest the swamps and forests of North Carolina, who are more like the bandits of Oropos than the secret society thus described. The violence and terrorism of which

the Ku-Klux was the organised expression are, however, still rampant in Southern society. The South has never returned to the full enjoyment of order and freedom. A Ku-Klux Act has long been in force, and a Ku-Klux Committee has sat and reported to the present Congress. The object of the Ku-Klux Act is to enable the Federal Government to keep order in the South independently of the action of the State governments. Its most obnoxious feature was borrowed from our own Irish Coercion Acts, and gave the President power, in certain cases, to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus. This part of the Act expires with the Session of Congress, which closed on the tenth of June, and the Senate passed a Bill continuing this power until the close of the next regular Session of Congress, or, in other words, till the fourth of March next. This Bill went down to the House of Representatives too late to be considered in its proper order; and a vote of two-thirds to suspend the rules was needful, in order that it should be considered and voted on. A large section of the Republican party were so anxious that this Bill, and another which was in the same position should be passed, that the Session was extended from the first to the tenth of June. But the House steadily refused to suspend its rules and the Bill dropped. The other measure was of a milder character, but it was mainly directed against the South. An Act was passed some time since to prevent election frauds in the great cities. It provides that any ten electors in any Congress district may, by addressing a letter to the district judge, cause the election to be held under the supervision of deputy marshals and supervisors of the United States instead of the local authorities. The Act is chiefly useful in New York, and is limited in its operation to cities of 20,000 inhabitants and upwards. The Senate passed and sent to the House a Bill making the Act apply universally; and the special defence of the Bill was that it was absolutely necessary if order was to be preserved in the South at the Presidential election. In this case, too, the House refused to suspend its rules, though the Bill had a clear majority in its favour. These closing manifestations of a more conciliatory spirit towards the South may be attributed to the desire of the Grant republicans to get the Southern vote. But taken in connexion with the declaration of the Convention at Cincinnati, they indicate a new tendency in the severed and still hostile sections of the country to draw nearer to each other.

The violence and disorder which have produced, and for years have almost justified, this exceptional political

legislation, have had even more lasting social results. The effect of the Ku-Klux organisation has been to keep the tide of emigration from setting southwards. Northern men found themselves endangered, and went back home, taking their capital with them. They are still chary of returning, and the world is almost equally chary of sending its capital to a land where law is still so weak and violence so strong. But it is not the Ku-Klux only which has kept emigrants away from the South. There is no Ku-Klux in Virginia, there is almost everything that can attract emigrants, yet every effort to induce them to go and to stay has failed. The Virginia Legislature established a State Board of Immigration, but refused to supply it with State funds, and it broke down. General Richardson, the President of the Board, reported that just before its extinction seven hundred emigrants from Copenhagen were on their way to New York, and wished to settle in Virginia, if lands could be bought for them in farms of fifty or a hundred acres each. General Richardson says: 'A gentleman of high character came to Richmond, 'and, after conference with the Board, endeavoured to pur- 'chase lands for settling these emigrants; but, owing to the 'high price demanded, failed to make the purchase, and the 'opportunity was lost. I am credibly informed that this com- 'pany brought more than two hundred and eighty thousand 'dollars in gold.' Virginia has committed the error which all the South has committed. It has not known what it wanted; and it has treated the very immigrants it needed with a scorn and avoidance which has driven them away. The South does not need labour, and it is useless to send thither any of the hordes which these great European countries are perpetually sending westward in search of work. What it needs is capital; and only the immigrant who has a few hundreds of dollars in his pocket has any chance of benefiting the country or establishing himself. A colony of Norwegian labourers was recently established in Amelia county. They probably went thither in response to the Virginian advertisement for white labourers to supplant the negro. After a few months their want of capital caused the experiment to fail; and the colony broke up, some going to the poor-house, others wandering off as beggars. The Southerners do not know how to treat white labourers. A Virginian gentleman lately imported some German labourers for his farm. When the first night came they asked where they were to sleep. The gentleman—kind and humane, as our informant testifies—had only provided for them the deserted huts and cabins, with mud floors,

where the negroes had aforetime been content to live. He had no idea that what had done for the negro would not do for the European labourer. But the labourers were horrified. They had not crossed the ocean to sleep in log cabins and on mud floors. When morning came, not one of them was to be found. They had fled the district in dismay.

But there are worse difficulties in the way of a complete restoration of prosperity to these Southern States than even those which political passions and social ignorance inflict. The groundswell of the great tempest will gradually die away; but the political power which the earthquake shook down in ruin will not be so quickly rebuilt. The Southerners were never really freetraders; but during the period of their predominance in the Union they kept the tariff comparatively low. 'From '1837 to 1857 there was not a single fiscal year in which,' says Mr. Wells,* 'the unexpended balance in the National 'Treasury—derived from various sources—at the end of the 'year was not in excess of one half of the expenditure of the 'preceding year; while in not a few years the unexpended 'balance was absolutely greater than the sum of the entire 'expenditure for the twelve months preceding.' In 1836 a surplus of 28 millions of dollars was actually divided among the States; and in 1854 the United States Treasury bought up its own six per cent. Mexican bonds, which had been issued in 1848, and paid a coin premium of 20 per cent. in excess of their value. There was a Protectionist tariff in 1842, but in 1846 the principle of taxation only for revenue was established, and a tariff was adopted which imposed an average of about 24 per cent. on imports. In 1858 this percentage was still further reduced, and for three years the taxation on importations averaged from 18 to 20 per cent. The war changed all this. The Northern victory has been made use of to establish a prohibitory tariff, which is the last bitter drop in the cup of Southern humiliation and defeat. Mr. Wells anticipates that 'with the settlement and passing away of the questions grow-'ing out of the war and the extinction of slavery, the atten-'tion of the people of the United States will soon be given—'as never before—to questions of economic interest and cha-'racter;' and he predicts that 'ten years will not elapse before 'every vestige of restrictive and discriminating legislation will 'be stricken from the national statute-book.' Meanwhile, as he says, the United States are learning Free Trade in the hard and costly school of experience; and it is the South which

* Cobden Club Essays. Second Series. A Chapter in Politico-Economic History.

really feels the hardship and bears the larger portion of the cost. Mr. Somers says that 'while cotton can be bought at 'Liverpool at three or four cents. per lb. above its price on the 'plantations, anything from Liverpool can only be bought on 'the plantations at 200 or 300 per cent. above its value there.' One planter complains that the protected cotton manufacturers of the United States have been struggling hard, since the war, to use a million bales of cotton a year and cannot do it; and meanwhile there is not a negro on his cotton-growing estate who can afford to wear a cotton shirt, so expensive a luxury does Protection make such an article of clothing. 'A pair of 'coarse negro boots—one of the cheapest articles in the stores '—is charged five dollars.' Part of this excessive dearness of clothing is due to the system of trade in the South; but even that system is an indirect result of Protection. The planter has to pay dearly for everything; for his clothes, his tools, his household goods, his manures, his coal, his very means of communication with the outer world, in order that a few 'interests,' which have the ear of Congress and the country, may flourish. Not only does he pay high prices but he gets bad goods, as must inevitably be the case where wholesome competition is quite shut out. Yet, while thus paying high prices for all he buys, he has to compete with new rivals in the market of the one commodity he sells. Laden with a heavy taxation, itself the enormous cost of suppressing their own effort after independence, the Southern States are doubly burdened and discouraged. They have to sell their cotton cheap and to buy everything dear; yet out of the small margin of profit thus left there is a vast taxation to pay. Mr. Somers takes the case of a New Orleans merchant with a capital of 10,000 dollars, a house worth 6,000, and furniture worth 2,000. He pays license duty to the State for liberty to pursue his avocation 100 dollars; another to the city of about the same amount. He pays direct taxes on his business capital and on the value of his house, furniture, and personal effects above 500 dollars' worth, to the amount of $4\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. If he has money invested in ships, sailing craft, or railway stocks, he is taxed on that; and when all these taxes have been paid, he must pay United States income tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There are, besides these taxes, stamp duties on all kinds of bills, cheques, and deeds; so that altogether, if he makes a profit of 6,000 dollars a year, which is assuming him to be very prosperous, he pays in direct taxes alone at least 1,500 dollars a year, or one-fourth of his income. In these circumstances it is no wonder that Mr. Somers everywhere found discontent.

'The dissatisfaction of the country folks of South Carolina' (and it was the same elsewhere), 'with the present state of the Government of the United States is palpable enough. They exclaim bitterly against the corruption which prevails in public life. They are utterly opposed to the high tariff on European goods, looking on it simply as a means of plundering the cultivators of the soil in the South and West for the benefit of Northern manufacturers, overgrown, they say, in wealth, and adepts in bribery and lobby-rolling. They point to the enormous prices of goods sold in the Southern towns, and long for the growth of manufactures among themselves and the direct importation of foreign goods into their own seaports. They express disappointment that more direct trade has not sprung up with the South since the close of the war, the high tariff notwithstanding. They declare American statesmen of the present day to be dwarfs and nobodies compared with those of former times; and when the whole gamut of political discontent has been sounded, one often hears the remark, so startling to any European admirer of American independence, that it would have been better for the country to have remained under the rule of England.'

The antagonism which is thus being produced is naturally perpetuating that other cause of discord which might else have passed away into history. The North instead of conciliating the South is actually irritating it. Instead of taking back the prodigal States into equal brotherhood, it is making them feel their inferior condition. Nor can anything be done to compensate the South by giving it 'Protection' as a counterpoise to the Protection in the North. Of all the interests which are thus taxing the country for their support only one belongs to the South. The sugar of Louisiana is protected to the extent of from two to four cents a pound; and may, curiously enough, be said to be the only Southern interest to which peace has brought no signs of prosperity. The cotton culture cannot be protected; it can only be burdened, and the fact that it is not only burdened but weighted down is the worst omen for the future of the Southern States. It is, indeed, of evil omen even for the future of the Union itself. The South is not a Poland, but it is at least an Ireland. An active discontent prevails everywhere; and the Federal Government knows that it has a vulnerable point along its southern line. During the discussions on the Case which the statesmen of Washington thought it to be consistent with their honour and their statesmanship to present to the Geneva arbitrators, the representative Southern papers expressed, not only their disgust at the procedure, but their hope that it might meet with the frustration it deserved. No part of the American press has more firmly deprecated war with England than the Southern press; and there have not been wanting indications, if not threats, that

the South would not consent to bear the crushing burden such a war would impose. Constantly, and to some extent justly, as the Federal Government, through its Department of Agriculture, is urging on the South to vary and multiply its agricultural products, the Southern people still rely more and more on the cotton trade with England for all their prosperity. In the event of a war between this country and the United States the cotton famine would be reversed. While we were actively pushing hostilities the Southern planters would be standing still with their cotton unsaleable and valueless, and their negro labourers everywhere asking for the wages that can only be paid when the cotton is sold. We do not believe that General Grant is reckless as a statesman; it is certain that he knows how great a weakness the discontented and starving South would be in the event of war; and therefore we conclude that he has never even contemplated the necessity of resorting to that terrible alternative. His supporters may think of Canada; but he at least thinks of the South; and to the South war with England would be desolation and death, or insurrection and independence.

It is not with any thought that our relations are in real danger of assuming this portentous form that we have referred to this aspect of Southern politics, but merely because no view of the political situation in the United States can be complete without it. The probable course of the domestic politics of the Union is one which will not depend for its solution on foreign war. By the inevitable operation of the Constitution, the power of electing members of the House of Representatives must go with population. Under slavery, the Southern States had representatives in numbers proportioned to the numbers of their free population and three-fifths of the slaves. The article in the Constitution still holds good, but the slaves are now free, and the whole Southern population is therefore counted. The re-apportionment of representatives has been made by the now existing Congress on the basis of the census of 1870; and the House of Representatives which will be elected in the autumn, and which will assemble on the 4th of March next, will represent the States in very different proportions from the present one. In order probably to mask in some degree the evident shifting of power westwards, and to prevent any States from greatly losing in the number of their representatives, Congress increased the number of members of the House of Representatives from 243 to 283. Of the forty new members thus gained, twelve Southern States got seventeen, six North-western States got fourteen, three far Western States five; while only four

of the Eastern States had any gains at all, and those gains amounted only to four, two for Pennsylvania, and two for New Jersey; while a gain of one each in New York and Massachussets was counterbalanced by a loss of one each by New Hampshire and Vermont. The gain to the States whose condition and prospects we have been considering was eleven; and in their dislike of the prohibitory tariff, nearly all the States in which the most marked gains have taken place either are or will be with them. We shall therefore most certainly see before long a very marked progress in the Free-trade movement in the United States. The inevitable shifting of power has, however, been still further slightly masked by a supplementary bill, which has added nine more members to the House of Representatives, raising its numbers from 283 to 292. Of these nine new members, four go to the Southern States of Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, and Florida, and five to the Northern States of New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. This new addition may have but little influence on the Free-trade question; it is, however, so much reduction of the growing influence of the West. Mr. Wells, basing his opinion solely on the political capacity of the people, and on their ability to understand any problem which is really forced upon their attention, gives Protection less than ten years to live. The shifting of power from States which are interested in high tariffs to those States which are peculiarly the victims of such tariffs must expedite the process of its extinction, while it will assure the permanence of a beneficent change.

What the Southern States really want as the guarantee of their prosperity is a more direct trade with the outside world. Their products are wanted in Europe, and European manufactures are needed by them. Shut in behind the Chinese wall of a prohibitory tariff, they cannot derive the profit from foreign intercourse which the world is ready to pour upon them. They have great ports which were formed by nature to be the outlets of their agriculture and the inlets of the conveniences and the luxuries their agricultural products will buy. Their hope of prosperity depends upon the balance of mutual advantage they can strike between their own products and those of other lands. They cannot sell to the world without buying of the world. The monopoly of the cotton market is not given them; it is only put within the reach of their earnest effort. They cannot have it under existing conditions. The falling price of cotton has ever since the close of the war clouded their prospects; but the disastrous effect of the recent rise on their

best and surest customers must have entirely convinced them that the problem of cheap production is the problem of Southern prosperity. We believe that problem will be solved. We have not been able to make this review of the condition and prospects of the Southern States without complete renewal of hope. They have lost much; but they cannot lose their splendid country, their glorious sky, their noble rivers, or their teeming soil. They have not altogether lost their political sagacity; and now that they are fast emerging from their eclipse, they will gradually recover their legitimate influence, if not even their lost ascendency, in Federal politics. Our wish for them is that they may succeed in throwing off the burden of a fiscal policy which is ruinous to their welfare and will be fatal to their future; that they may so far recover their monopoly of the cotton trade as to be able to supply all our looms and spindles with the raw material and to take our products in exchange. The bonds thus woven across the sea will be stronger than those of either race or sympathy; they will be bonds of mutual interest and of a common prosperity, and will be an effectual assurance that between us two there shall be always peace.

ART. VI.—1. *Mémoires de Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho et Mélo, Comte d'Oeyras, Marquis de Pombal, Secrétaire d'État et Premier Ministre du Roi de Portugal, Joseph I.* 4 vols. 12mo. 1784.

2. *Memoirs of the Marquis de Pombal.* By JOHN SMITH, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1843.

3. *Historia do Reinado de El-Rei D. José e da Administração do Marquez de Pombal.* Por SIMÃO JOSÉ DA LUZ SORIANO. 2 vols. 8vo. Lisboa: 1867.

4. *Étude historique sur le Marquis de Pombal.* Par le Baron ÉDOUARD DE SEPTENVILLE. Bruxelles: 1868.

5. *Le Marquis de Pombal, Esquisse de sa Vie publique.* Par FRANCISCO LUIZ GOMÈS, Député aux Cortès de Portugal. Lisbonne: 1869.

6. *The Marquis of Pombal.* By the COUNT OF CARNOTA. 2nd Edition, 8vo. London: 1871.

A NATURAL sentiment prompts the Portuguese of the present generation to revive the history of the remarkable man whose name gives a title to this article. Citizens of a

state which, shorn of those vast continental possessions that alone gave it the consideration it once enjoyed, they may well turn with complacent admiration to the period when the affairs of their country were administered by a statesman who arrested its course down the easy slope of national decline, and who instituted an important policy which was imitated by the ministers of far greater and more powerful nations. The present, too, is the most favourable moment that has yet occurred for a calm and impartial consideration of the public life of this great Minister. Party-spirit in the physical and political atmosphere of Portugal is apt to engender a degree of heat almost unknown to our colder latitude and calmer manners. Hitherto Pombal has been the victim of two opposite sets of biographers and historians. By the one he has been so overpraised as to render his name ridiculous; by the other he has been so fiercely attacked that he is sometimes almost denied the name of a human being. A man who in a nation of devotees made a successful attack upon a powerful religious fraternity, will readily be believed to have drawn upon himself a vast amount of pious hostility; and it is chiefly as the destroyer of the Jesuits that his name escapes the oblivion which completely hides the long array of his predecessors and successors in office.

Before beginning our examination of the public life of Pombal, we have a word to say concerning the several works the titles of which stand at the head of this paper. Some of these need not detain us long. The first upon our list, the 'Mémoires de S. J. Carvalho,' published in French in 1784, not long after the Minister's death, has generally—and with every appearance of probability—been attributed to the Jesuits. From a remark in one of the notes to the first volume (p. 19), it appears that the work had originally been published in Italian, and we possess a copy of it in that language which bears the date of 1781. Though by no means without value as an historical sketch, it is yet so bitterly hostile to the Minister whose career it recounts, that the statements it contains must invariably be received with the greatest caution. The only measures of Pombal which it does not denounce—which, indeed, it heartily commends as 'just and wise'—are those of his extraordinary commercial and economical policy—which, at the present day, are almost unanimously condemned as vicious in principle and disastrous in result. The bitterness with which the subject of the 'Mémoires' is assailed is sustained throughout, and, such is the weakness of human nature, on that account perhaps the book will be found to be—

by no means unpleasant reading. Mr. Smith's 'Memoirs of 'the Marquis of Pombal,' and the Count of Carnota's 'Mar-'quis of Pombal,' are two editions of the same work, the author having received a Portuguese title of nobility in the interval between the publication of the first and second editions. The work is in reality an undiscriminating defence of the Marquis; and though it contains some interesting documents, both public and private, not printed elsewhere, it has no real historical value. Of the work of the Baron de Septenville, the most favourable thing that can be said is that it is printed in very clear type upon excellent paper, and that it contains a good photograph of a well-known portrait of Pombal at the beginning, and an approximately correct * genealogy of the Carvalho family at the end. It throws no light whatever upon the history of Pombal. The remaining works upon our list are of a very different character. That of Senhor da Luz Soriano is, as he tells us in his preface, a kind of preliminary to another work, relating the history of the establishment of the present form of parliamentary government in Portugal. Rightly judging that the efforts of Pombal to break the power of the nobles and destroy the influence of the Church, as well as his attempts, mistaken though they unquestionably were, to improve the commerce of his country, were causes more or less direct of the growth of liberal feeling in Portugal, he considered that the history of Portuguese parliamentary institutions would be incomplete without an account of his administration. His principal authorities were a work called 'L'Administration du Marquis de Pombal,' a reply to the 'Mémoires' noticed above, and an anonymous and unpublished life of the statesman written in Portuguese. He has besides made considerable use of hitherto unpublished documents existing in the archives of the various ministries at Lisbon. The work is composed in a painstaking and conscientious manner, but its style is dry and laboured. It is filled with sentences of almost interminable length (not, by the way, an unusual feature of modern Portuguese literature), and as the author is a permanent official in the civil service of his country, it would appear that his literary style had been developed in the frequent composition of abstracts and State papers. He is great upon all questions of historical upholstery, and relates with the zealous accuracy of an anti-

* In it he places the Marquis's birth in January instead of in May, and there is a discrepancy of three days between the date of his death as stated in the genealogy and in the text.

quary or a herald the details of state ceremonials, such as took place on the death of a sovereign or the inauguration of a statue. He usually takes a just view of Pombal's measures, though he does not appear to us to estimate at its true value his economical policy, some of the worst features of which he almost commends. On the whole we are inclined to believe that Senhor Soriano's work is of sufficient value to gain a place amid the honourable obscurity of the upper shelves, amongst those valuable but uninteresting works 'which no '(Portuguese) gentleman's library should be without.'

The volume of Senhor Gomès is undoubtedly the most valuable addition to the literature of the subject which has yet appeared. Written in French, it is accessible to a far larger class of readers than if it had appeared in Portuguese. It is not so much a history, as a critical examination, of the different portions of Pombal's administration. It boldly denounces, and in many cases clearly points out the disastrous effects of, his mischievous meddling with trade, and his general ignorance of the true principles of political economy. Not satisfied with what was to be found in any existing work on the subject, the author has drawn his information from hitherto almost unnoticed sources. He has searched the correspondence of the foreign ministers at Lisbon, the archives of the different departments of the government, and the documents in the library at Evora, for authority for all the statements which he advances. The consequence is that he has thrown a flood of light upon many important, and previously imperfectly understood, events: particularly the negotiations with Rome for the suppression of the Jesuits, the rehabilitation of the persons accused of conspiring against the life of King Joseph, and the judicial interrogation to which Pombal was subjected towards the close of his life. It will be seen that we have largely availed ourselves of his labours in these particulars, which have certainly resulted in presenting those events under a totally different aspect from what they had borne before. He strikes us as having formed a somewhat erroneous estimate of the state of his country during the reign of John V., which is at variance with that of every writer whom we have consulted, and even with his own admissions in several parts of his work. The book unfortunately has been very carelessly printed, especially as to dates. But these blemishes do not take away from its value—its very great value we will venture to call it —as an examination of Pombal's career. To this examination we shall ourselves now proceed.

A knowledge of the condition of Portugal during the reign

of John V., from 1708 to 1750, is necessary to a right understanding of the political history of Pombal. The story of that reign, too, is full of striking lessons. It is a record of squandered treasures, of ruined commerce, of crushed enterprise, of voluntary and unconditional surrenders to superstition. The character of the King seemed made up of an odd combination of affectations. He affected the magnificence of the earlier, and the piety of the later, years of Louis XIV., and the scandalous debauchery of Louis XV. at the same time. He built Mafra, the Portuguese Versailles. He covered the country with monasteries and introduced priests into his government, whilst in the convent of Odivellas he had a copy of the infamous Parc-aux-Cerfs. He was always making costly vows when anything he desired seemed beyond his reach. Mafra was the result of a vow made in the hope of having an heir. He aspired to raise Lisbon to be a sort of second Rome. Its archbishop was elevated to the rank of Patriarch. Its chapter became a kind of Sacred College, of which every member held the rank of bishop, and wore the scarlet robes of a cardinal; an extravagant folly which cost eighty thousand pounds sterling a year. He built the gorgeous Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Church of San Roque in Lisbon, which, though only seventeen feet long by twelve broad, cost a sum equal to two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. Its beautiful mosaics having escaped the ravages of the earthquake, the great fire, and the French under Junot, still remain the delight of every visitor. The apparently inexhaustible treasures of Brazil did not suffice to meet his spendthrift extravagance. It is calculated that during the first half of the eighteenth century a hundred millions sterling were drawn from that rich country in diamonds and precious metals alone. At John's death he left his country three millions sterling in debt. New palaces, new churches, new convents, enormous presents to Rome, had dissipated the wealth brought over in fleets of galleons. It is declared that his gifts to the Church and to the Court of Rome exceeded sixteen millions sterling. The exchequer became so impoverished that some members of the Royal Family actually received their allowances in copper. The financial administration of the country fell into the most complete disorder. An early act of Pombal as minister was the reduction of twenty-two thousand tax-gatherers. Manufactures, even of ruder fabrics, scarcely existed in the country. In the early part of the reign the war with Spain had rendered it necessary to look to the national defences. As soon it was over they

were neglected. The peaceful and luxurious disposition of the King prevented attention being paid to military affairs. The army became disorganised. Even in Lisbon its sentinels begged openly in the streets. Men holding the rank of captain were actually seen waiting at the tables of the grandees. Guns honeycombed from age fell from their carriages in the crumbling fortresses. The treasure-fleets became almost the sole representatives of the Portuguese navy. The successors of Bartoloméo Diaz, of Vasco da Gama, and of Magalhaens had descended to the ignoble duty of escorting cargoes of gold and silver. Literature had sunk to the lowest level. Books of devotion and legendary lives of saints formed the greater part of the works which issued from the press. In the country of Camoëns and Antonio Ferreira poetry had degenerated into mere translations from French and Italian authors. John, to be sure, founded an academy of history, but it chiefly tended to promote a taste for French historical literature. Eight hundred convents covered the surface of the small country of Portugal. It is asserted that one-tenth of the whole population prayed and idled within their walls. A spirit of contempt for honest industry spread amongst the people and took deep root. Their 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' then were, and still are, aliens from Galicia. To impute the frugal industry of a Gallego to a Portuguese would be to insult him grossly. Almost all commerce fell into foreign, chiefly English, hands. Patriotic writers declare that the gold of Brazil was the true foundation of British prosperity. These reasoners omit the important factors, industry and thrift, from their computation. The King prayed and begat bastards with edifying impartiality. The entire education of youth was monopolised by the Jesuits. The ancient university of Coïmbra had so degenerated that it became customary for hundreds of students to merely inscribe their names in its books in order to receive its diplomas. In one year, out of six thousand whose names were thus inscribed, but seven actually attended the Greek class.

The decorations of the various orders of knighthood were lavished on unworthy individuals with a prodigality which was indeed extraordinary. The richest commanderies, as well as the finest of the crown domains, were scattered broadcast amongst an ignorant and turbulent nobility. The King's ministers became the panders to his pleasures. Members of his cabinet were known to knock at the gates of convents or the doors of private houses and announce that some fair inmate would be honoured, on such and such a night, by the

visit of a great personage. Extravagance under such a monarch and such tutelage became a fashionable virtue. Portuguese authors declare that many families of grandees were ruined by the spendthrift extravagance of the times. Cooks, coiffeurs, and modistes came in crowds from Paris to pick up their share of the good things that were going in Portugal. It is related that a shipload of Italian singers came to Lisbon to exchange their talents for Brazilian gold. The nobles vied with each other in rearing stately palaces:—

'Jam pauca aratro jugera regiæ
Moles relinquent.'

Agriculture became altogether neglected. The quality of the wines, the true wealth of Portugal, declined. The King, his ministers, and the nobility had no time to think of the condition of the country or of the people. Pleasure and devotion divided the moments of the day. The Government, which during the progress of the last reign had become an absolutism, John V. soon 'converted into a kind of monkish 'theocracy, stained with all the vices and evils of fanaticism, 'hidden under the cloak of religion and sanctity.'* The King's first appointment to the ministry was that of the Grand Chaplain, the Bishop Nuno da Cunha Athayde, who was also Grand Inquisitor. Cardinal da Motta long ruled the Cabinet. At his death the Friar Gaspar da Encarnaçao became minister, and soon real governor of the kingdom. Though a man of considerable talent, he was totally ignorant of politics, and considered it wicked to have his mind enlightened on such earthly matters. His appointments to embassies, vice-royalties, and other high charges of the State, were of persons who were, or who professed to be, of the same type as himself. Every form of civil authority was set at nought. The streets of the capital were the scenes of nightly brawls and assassinations. The feuds of the Montagues and Capulets were realised in Lisbon by hostile noble families. The deeds of our London Mohocks were outdone by those of bands of dissipated youths of illustrious birth. Organised detachments of these disturbers of the peace roamed about the city under the guidance of Dom Francisco, the King's brother, of the Duke of Cadaval, a connexion of the Royal Family, of the Marquises of Marialva and Cascaes, and of the Counts of Aveiras and Obidos. A prominent member of the band was a young man of great daring, lofty stature, and handsome

* Soriano, tom. i. p. 120.

features, destined to become celebrated as the Marquis of Pombal.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, afterwards Count of Oeyras and Marquis of Pombal, was born at Lisbon on the 13th of May 1699. His father belonged to the class of small landowners, or untitled *noblesse*, called in Portugal *fidalgos de provincia*. An uncle of the future Minister was in holy orders and became arch-priest of the Patriarchal Church. Under John V.'s government, the fortunes of a family which possessed a member so placed might be considered as made; and it was probably owing to this uncle's influence that Carvalho, about whose earlier years there is much obscurity, was brought to the notice of the Cardinal de Motta, and through him of the King. His endeavours to obtain public employment were unsuccessful, and having married a widow lady of good family, Dona Theresa de Noronha, he withdrew to his country residence at Soure, near the town of Pombal. He soon grew tired of the dulness of a country life and became again a candidate for office. This time he was more successful. He is supposed to have caught the eye of the Queen and to have pleased her by his appearance. Her influence and that of the Cardinal de Motta soon obtained for him an important appointment. The commerce of Portugal had so manifestly declined that the priests and favourites of the court at length became frightened. The whole trade of Lisbon seemed to have fallen into the hands of the English, who enjoyed what in those days were considered great commercial advantages. The few Portuguese who were engaged in trade in England were, on the other hand, held by their countrymen to be treated with undue rigour and want of consideration. This and the lawless behaviour of some English naval officers in Portuguese ports induced John V. to send a special envoy to London. The court and capital were astonished by the announcement that Carvalho was to be the new envoy. The keen tongues of disappointed applicants soon took their revenge. Every story that could be told to his discredit was sedulously circulated in society in Lisbon. Carvalho was not the only person whose character was aspersed. The name of the Queen was mentioned in connexion with his own in a manner which there is every reason to believe was altogether unjust. Having proceeded to London, he remained there in his capacity of envoy six years. Having in 1745 accompanied George II. on his visit to Hanover, he was whilst there directed to proceed to Vienna to represent his Sovereign as arbitrator in a question that had arisen betwen the Imperial

and the Papal Governments. The extinction of the patriarchate of Aquileia, and some disputes as to the right of nomination to vacant bishoprics, had caused between the courts of Rome and Vienna one of those long series of negotiations in which the diplomatists of a bygone age loved to engage. The affair had gone on so long that it promised to degenerate into a quarrel. John V.'s Queen was an Austrian archduchess, a sister of that Archduke Charles on whose account the Spanish war of succession had been undertaken. The King of Portugal's marriage and his well-known sympathies with the cause of the Church seemed to doubly fit him for the part of peace-maker. The Pope, who had so often applied to him with success upon other occasions, requested his co-operation in smoothing over the difficulties of the case. The Queen added her influence. Carvalho, whose mission to London had been regarded as successful, befriended both by the Austrian Queen and the clerical party, headed by the Cardinal de Motta, was pitched upon as the right person to be sent to offer the good offices of his Sovereign. He accordingly proceeded to Vienna, and whilst there conducted the affair, which certainly was a somewhat delicate one, with such dexterity as apparently to satisfy both parties. Whilst in London he had lost his wife, the Dona Theresa before mentioned, and at Vienna he was married a second time to a niece of the celebrated Field Marshal Daun. In spite of his long residence in England it is certain that Carvalho never acquired our language, and if he did study our institutions he seems to have found in them little worthy of copying in his own country. It was to France that he chiefly looked for authorities on government and economics. In after years he frequently compared himself, with decent self-depreciation, to Sully. That Minister in finance and Colbert in commercial affairs were the guides which he determined to follow. Indeed, he even outdid the latter Minister in his unfortunate violations of the simplest laws of political economy. The Empress Queen retained a lively recollection of, and gratitude for, Carvalho's services in the Aquileia matter, and afterwards when he had long returned to Portugal she addressed frequent letters couched in the most affectionate terms to his Austrian wife.

In the following year he returned to Portugal. The health of the King had, owing to his luxurious mode of life, gradually become so bad, that he had almost ceased to exercise the functions of royalty. The priestly clique by which he was surrounded was headed by the Friar Gaspar da Encarnaçao.

This ecclesiastic was then at the summit of his power; the only sharer in it was the Queen, who exercised a kind of regency. The course of Carvalho's studies in French philosophical literature had probably reached the friar's ears. The influence of the Queen, quickened as it was by her friendship for her countrywoman his wife, was not sufficient to obtain for Carvalho any post in the Government; he therefore continued unemployed during the remainder of the king's reign, and it is a remarkable circumstance that a minister who fills so great a place in the annals of his country, and who held office for nearly thirty years, was more than fifty years old before he attained to it, at least in the domestic administration of the kingdom.

His eventual accession to office was due to an odd series of circumstances. The Government being virtually in the hands of ecclesiastics, it seems not to have been thought necessary to appoint the usual Secretaries of State. A single one of those great officers, Pedro de Motta, a brother of the cardinal, now sometime deceased, was in office. The great burden of the routine work of the Government fell upon him, and seriously affected his health. At last at the King's death in 1750 there actually was not a single Secretary of State in a condition to attest the burial of the Sovereign as the laws of Portugal required. Carvalho lost no time in seizing so favourable an opportunity of obtaining place. He sent his wife to beg the good offices of the Queen. The latter so effectually solicited her son, the new King, Dom Joseph, on his behalf, that he was immediately made Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs.* The Abbé Diogo de Mendonça was at the same time nominated to the vacant portfolio of Marine and the Colonies. Once having entered the Government, Carvalho continued to hold office uninterruptedly throughout the reign of Dom Joseph, which lasted nearly twenty-seven years. No one was better aware than he of the extreme difficulties of his position. Knowing well that his comparatively sudden rise had created for him a host of enemies, he began his ministerial career in a modest and unassuming manner. Though entering the Cabinet simultaneously and on equal terms with one Minister, and finding the chief of it oppressed with age and infirmities, he was too adroit to aim at supreme power at once.

He quickly discerned the character of the new monarch. Dom Joseph was one of those irresolute vacillating men who find it impossible to stand alone. Of an amiable disposition

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* Soriano, tom. i. p. 195.

and agreeable manners, he seems to have been impressed with a sincere desire to promote the good of his subjects. His education, as might have been expected from what has been said above concerning the late reign, had been much neglected. He undoubtedly had a certain amount of ambition, and a considerable desire for glory, but his passion was the chase. His amiability prompted him to agree with everyone. The last proposal was always the one which he was inclined to follow. Each minister was in favour in turn. Carvalho saw how this disposition of the Sovereign might be turned to his advantage. During his earlier sittings at the council-board he maintained a discreet reserve. He proposed nothing, but confined himself to pointing out the difficulties in the way of carrying out the suggestions of his colleagues. His criticisms generally proved to have been just. Joseph formed a high opinion of his sagacity. This opinion was strengthened by the representations of the Queen-Mother, who never ceased to point out the good qualities of the new minister. A more powerful auxiliary was found in the person of the King's confessor, the Jesuit Joseph Moreira, with whom he had contrived to ingratiate himself. His detractors assert that when Carvalho was hanging about the court looking eagerly for place, he sedulously cultivated the society of the Jesuits. He is even said to have adopted, in token of his admiration for the order and the closeness of his intimacy with the members (with a pedantic affectation of the customs of antiquity), the surname of *Jesuiticus*.* The manner in which he repaid the fraternity is a matter of history. Moreira languished out his days in the prisons of the Junquiera. He was more grateful to another of the monkish favourites of the King, the Father Antony Joseph da Cruz, whose good offices are supposed to have assisted in his advancement. When the great Marquis became omnipotent in Portugal, he extended to the father and his brothers an unvarying protection. Though sons of a poor joiner, and almost totally uneducated, he advanced them to high posts and honours, and their descendants are at the present day holders of a title.

He worked sedulously in his department of war and foreign affairs. A sum of money was devoted to restoring the ruined fortresses of the kingdom, which before the close of the reign were in so poor a condition that the Barbary corsairs cruized with impunity within range of their guns. A national establishment for the manufacture of gunpowder was also erected.

* Mémoires de S. J. Carvalho, vol. i.

But it was to the improvement of commerce and the rectification of the finances that he principally turned his attention. Though not specially under his direction, he quietly assumed charge of these matters. He began now to make his influence in the Cabinet supreme. The enormous expenditure of the royal household was contracted. The number of servants in the palace kitchen was reduced to one-fourth. Various decrees appeared regulating the mode of imposing and collecting taxes. The vast amount which had hitherto been swallowed up in the collection was greatly lessened. The corps of tax-gatherers was entirely remodelled. It might be supposed that the great credit of these reforms would be due to the minister whose special business it was to superintend the finances; but it rests on the respectable authority of both the French and English diplomatic despatches that it was due to Carvalho.

The means taken by him to render his ascendency over his colleagues complete were most effectual. Every branch of the Government began to show signs of his directing spirit. In 1751, the year after he entered the ministry, the power of the Inquisition received a serious blow. It was enacted by decree that in future no *auto-da-fé* should take place, and no execution be carried into effect, without the consent of the Government; and appeals were allowed from, and inquiries made into, the sentences of the Holy Office. To restore the respect due to authority, he appointed a special commission for the trial of person accused of highway robberies and other acts of violence in the southern portion of the kingdom. A host of decrees appeared on various subjects: some to restrain 'the prevalent custom of taking private revenge;' others to encourage the fisheries, the manufacture of sugar, and the cultivation of the silkworm. To persons engaged in the latter occupation the privileges of nobility, which alone entitled the possessor to hold certain offices, were extended. As in finance he aspired to be the Sully, so in commercial matters he hoped to be the Colbert, of Portugal. The extension of her commerce and the development of her resources and those of her dependencies were the great objects of his whole political life. The means which he took to bring about this great end were indeed, judging now by the light of our present knowledge of economical science, erroneous and improper; but that he should have considered that end the fitting one of all his schemes is of itself sufficient, considering the country in which he lived, to bring some credit on his name.

The condition of the country during the preceding reign

has already been sketched in rapid outline. What it was at the beginning of his ministry we may give in his own words: 'I found,' said he, 'a monarchy destitute of money, weakened 'by numerous revolutions, disturbed by various secret sects, 'and impoverished by its very riches. A people subject to 'the grossest superstition, a nation whose manners might be 'likened to those of barbarians, a State governed by almost 'Asiatic customs, European only in name, with but the form 'of kingly government and but the shadow of power.' He goes on to say that the vast quantities of gold and silver and precious stones brought from Brazil at once found their way to England; that the ease with which the Portuguese acquired them prevented them from turning their attention to the production of useful articles at home, and rendered them entirely dependent for the supply of every want upon English industry. Hence his early determination to enrich his country, as he thought, by keeping the precious metals which poured in from abroad within its limits. As in many other countries, an ancient law existed in Portugal which prohibited the exportation of coin. On his strong representation the King re-enforced this decree. Of the effects of such a decree, if it could have been strictly carried out, it is not necessary here to speak. As might have been expected, it failed in execution. The export of coin continued, though under difficulties.

The decree had been levelled at the English. They at once took the alarm. The Government of George II. despatched Lord Tyrawley on a special mission to Lisbon to protest against the measure. In spite of flatteries, entreaties, and threats, Dom Joseph and his minister decided to uphold the decree. The fears of the English, whatever they were, were not verified; as we have seen, it was found impossible to prevent the coin from being sent out of the country. Like many statesmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Carvalho was possessed by the idea that the true secret of commercial prosperity lay in the foundation of monopolist companies. His strong will, too, and imperious disposition probably inclined him to adopt that system in which he might have most power of direction. Had he understood the laws of political economy better, had he even understood them at all, he would have been content to leave trade without those guiding regulations which years ago were considered necessary to its wellbeing. He had a strong predilection for that commercial system which allowed him to draw up elaborate rules for its government. To be able to say that certain people

should trade to such and such places, and that certain other people should not, was to him a highly pleasing matter.

The vast and fertile provinces of Grand Para and Maranham had been amongst the most productive of the Portuguese dominions beyond the sea. But, for more than a century, their prosperity had declined. The causes of this decline had been the inattention of the authorities at home, and the ignorant rapacity of the Portuguese settlers. The former had so neglected the defences of the colonies that they were left unprotected from the invasions of hostile powers and buccaneers. The latter had checked the willing industry of the native Indians by making them slaves. Carvalho decreed that thenceforward the Indians should be free. Garrisons of considerable strength were despatched not only to Grand Para and Maranham, but to the neighbouring province of Pernambuco as well. The commerce of these countries was to be restored by the foundation of one of the Minister's favourite companies. On March 7th, 1755, out came a decree constituting the General Company of Grand Para and Maranham, and containing numerous regulations for its government. The monopoly of the Company was to be complete, its privileges extensive. The capital was fixed at two millions of *cruzades* (about 200,000*l.* sterling), in shares of about 90*l.* each. The Company was to have the exclusive right of trading to the ports of the colonies named in its title. No one else might either buy or sell within their limits. The monopoly was pushed to the farthest extreme. The factors in the employ of the Company fixed the price not only of what they sold, but of what they bought. Nothing was too small or insignificant to come within the scope of its operations. Little tokens of affection sent by a mother to her son, or by a lover to his mistress, were held to be articles of merchandise, and the transmission of them, as injurious to the interests of the Company, entirely stopped. Eleven years after its formation a decree enacted that its shares should be received in discharge of its debts at par; and it was further decreed that its scrip should pass current on an equal footing with the coinage of the realm. The provisions of this unjust decree had to be relaxed by the issue of another two years later.

The establishment of this Company gave an earnest of the high-handed way in which the Minister was determined to carry out his schemes. The shares at first did not sell with sufficient rapidity. Bribes, threats, and entreaties were freely employed to cause its capital to be subscribed for. Even in Portugal there existed a body of men sufficiently sagacious to

foresee the disastrous effects of this pernicious monopoly. The Board of Common Weal (*A Mesa do Bem Commun*), composed of men of business, and a species of commercial tribunal, proceeded in a body to the palace to petition the King against the establishment of the new Company, and point out its inevitable effects. This was a piece of presumption which the Minister was determined to put a stop to at once. Another decree was issued. It declared those who had joined in the representation guilty of disrespect to their lawful Sovereign. The Board was abolished, and a Junta of Commerce, with greater powers, was established in its stead. The petitioners were degraded from their offices and banished for various periods. Their advocate and mouth-piece, the Doctor Negreiros, was banished to Mazagon, and was kept waiting in the common prison of the Limoeiro till a ship should be ready to convey him to his destination. His sentence was never carried into effect. A month or two later he was buried beneath the walls of his prison-house in the terrible earthquake which nearly destroyed the city.

The great earthquake of Lisbon has been often described. Like many other such catastrophes its effects have been greatly exaggerated; still in the loss of life and destruction of property which it caused it was fearfully disastrous. The year 1755 seems to have been unusually prolific in earthquakes. Shocks of great severity had been felt in South America, in Greenland, in Iceland, in Spain, and some too in Portugal itself. We have not space to describe in detail that by which Lisbon was so nearly erased from the list of cities; but one of its immediate effects was so undoubtedly the ministerial omnipotence of Carvalho, that it is necessary to do something more than merely allude to it.

On the morning of November 1st, 1755, which had opened with the usual calm serenity of the Portuguese autumn, the inhabitants had assembled in great numbers in the churches of the city to do honour to the festival of All Saints. Shortly after a quarter to 10 A.M., a slight trembling of the earth was noticed. This was deemed to be the effect of a passing waggon. Those who thought so were soon terribly undeceived. The tremulous motion so increased that the whole surface of the ground seemed to undulate like a sea. The steeples shook so that the bells were rung, tiles came tumbling down from the roofs of houses, furniture was thrown down, and walls began to split and buildings to fall. Whilst the shock lasted, the unfortunate inhabitants of the city were terrified at hearing a loud rumbling noise like distant thunder, which

seemed to proceed from the very bowels of the earth. As the earth cracked and opened in various directions, it exhaled a sulphureous vapour which, with the clouds of dust from the falling buildings, so obscured the sun that day was almost turned into night—

> 'Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
> Explicet? aut possit lacrymis æquare labores?
> Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos.'

These clouds soon settled, and then the waters of the Tagus were seen to retire farther than had been known in the lowest tides. Soon, formed in a mountainous wave, they returned and burst upon the city. Ships, boats, the magnificent quays just constructed at an enormous cost, were swallowed up, and with them thousands of people who had sought safety on, or near, the water from the tumbling edifices of the city. The falling churches overwhelmed crowds of worshippers. Monks and nuns were swallowed up by hundreds in their convents. The first shock had lasted, with occasional intervals of less intensity, for about seven minutes. There were several other shocks both on that 1st of November and on subsequent days, but the great destruction had been wrought within about twenty minutes. It would require a volume to detail the effects of that calamity. Sixty-one churches and convents, thirty-two palaces of the nobility, besides many other public buildings, such as the Royal Palace, the Inquisition, the Castle of St. George, were either completely destroyed or seriously injured. Scholars deplored the loss of three splendid libraries —that formed by John V., and those of the Dominican Convent and of the Marquis of Louriçal. The destruction of private property was enormous. The rich ornaments of the churches, the pictures, the gold, the precious stones, were all buried beneath the ruins. The total is calculated at over twenty millions sterling. The loss of life had been fearful. It is estimated on the best data that over 12,000 human beings perished. Among them were many persons of distinction. The Royal Family fortunately escaped, being at the Palace of Belem, in the suburbs. The Spanish Ambassador, on attempting to leave his palace, was crushed by its fall, with nine of his attendants. Carvalho's wife, though she nearly met her death, escaped without injury.

The earthquake was over, but the destruction was not yet complete. Numerous fires, caused probably by the lighted candles in the churches and the fires in the kitchens of the houses, burst out in different parts of the city, and spread

beyond the area visited by the earthquake. It seemed as though the city had really ceased to exist. Every imaginable horror was present. Bodies of the dead, and the mangled remains of the fearfully mutilated but still living, strewed the ground. Prisoners escaped from the gaols, and bands of other wretches went about the ruins robbing, murdering, and insulting those whom the terrible visitation of the morning had spared. The survivors were at the mercy of the banditti and in danger of starving for want of food. The hope of rebuilding Lisbon was almost abandoned. It was suggested to the King to remove the court to the ancient capital, Coïmbra. He was at first inclined to listen to these timid counsels; but Carvalho interposed.

His zeal, devotion, and activity were apparent to all. The weak-minded King began to look upon him as a supernatural being. He even remarked, that the fact of his house being spared was a sign of the Divine protection. The Count of Obidos, to whom the remark was addressed, replied drily, 'True, Sire; but the same protection has been extended to the 'dwellers in the Rua Suja'—the most infamous street in Lisbon. Carvalho remembered the remark, and is said to have repaid the utterer by a long imprisonment in the fort of the Junquiera. A fellow-prisoner of the Count's afterwards was the Marquis of Alorna, to whom belongs the credit of a speech often attributed to Carvalho, in reply to a question of the King's as to what was to be done—'That their duty was to 'bury the dead and to feed the living.' Measures were at once taken to bury the dead, and thus remove all fears of a pestilence from the presence of the numerous putrifying bodies. The wounded were rescued from the ruins. Bakers were set to bake bread for the starving citizens. The Patriarch issued a mandate enjoining processions in every parish to induce the inhabitants who had fled to return and take part in them. A happy spirit of rivalry in doing good sprang up. Grandees and high ecclesiastics carried succour to the unfortunate, and even buried hundreds of dead with their own hands. Hospitals were established, and surgeons and medicines brought in from different parts of the country. Guards were stationed in every part of the city. Stringent edicts against robbery were issued. Gibbets were erected in various quarters, on which marauders were hung without form of trial. Over 350 wretches were thus executed before order was completely restored. The good effects of these measures bore rapid fruit. Carvalho was the soul of everything. He worked with untiring energy, passing over fourteen hours a day in his carriage or on horse-

back superintending the works. Messages requesting succour were sent to foreign countries. Spain and England in particular nobly responded to this appeal. By the latter country goods and money to the amount of 100,000*l.* were at once despatched to the Tagus.

No time was lost in rebuilding the city. Plans were drawn by which it was proposed to make Lisbon the best laid out capital in Europe. The spacious Praça do Commercio, called by the English 'Black Horse Square,' and the numerous straight and well-built streets which lead from it, were traced out. Houses were ordered to be constructed in a way decided on by the architects and engineers of the Government which would render them less liable to be injured by earthquakes. A temporary residence of wood was built for the Royal Family on the site of the present huge fragment of the Ajuda Palace.

To meet the expense of restoring the capital, Carvalho, whose recent services had made him the real head of affairs, imposed an import duty of 4 per cent. on all foreign goods. The English Minister deemed it his duty to protest against this impost; but Carvalho was not to be shaken in his purpose, and the duty was levied. The terrible visitation which had befallen the country was an immediate benefit to the Minister. The ruin had been so great that it seemed necessary that the nation should start afresh. That he looked upon it as an advantage we have his own words to prove. A paper written by him is extant, in which he declares that 'in 'order to re-establish a state, it is necessary that it should be 'partly destroyed.' And he exclaims, 'What then cannot be 'done by a reformer?' Fortune again favoured him. Pedro da Motta, the senior Secretary of State, whose failing health had long prevented his taking an active part in affairs, died six months after the earthquake. Carvalho was advanced officially to the premiership which he had in reality long held. Luiz da Cunha of the Patriarchal Chapter, and formerly Minister in London, took his place at the War and Foreign Offices. The chief merit of the new Secretary of State was his obsequious deference to the First Minister's wishes. His colleague and contemporary, Diogo de Mendonça, had exhibited an inconvenient independence, which rendered his presence at the Council Board so obnoxious to Carvalho that he was determined to remove him. His manner of doing so was highly characteristic. The new Secretary, Luiz da Cunha, and a judicial officer one afternoon entered De Mendonça's house, and showed him a royal decree by which

he was dismissed from the King's service, and ordered to withdraw within three hours from the capital; within a fortnight he was to remove to a distance of forty leagues, and never come within it. The pretext for this high-handed proceeding was a supposed intention on the part of the fallen Minister to bring about a marriage of the Crown Princess of Portugal and a Spanish Prince, and thus form a party favourable to his own interests.

The rebuilding of Lisbon and the reconstruction of the Cabinet were not allowed to interfere with the Minister's cherished object of improving Portuguese commerce. The almost complete neglect of commercial affairs by a large portion of the nation had caused a business career to be looked upon as scarcely worth following. The business of the few Portuguese engaged in trade was principally managed by foreigners. Carvalho established a commercial academy in which young men were educated so as to enable them to take clerkships in merchants' offices. Both the King and himself watched the progress of this institution with unvarying solicitude, and were frequently present at the examination of the pupils. So convinced was Carvalho of the efficacy of monopolist companies in restoring the prosperity of the country that he created several new ones. The principal of these was the *General Company of the Vineyards of the Upper Douro*, well known in England as the *Oporto Wine Company*. The English demand for the wines of Northern Portugal was so great that their production was almost the sole agricultural pursuit of the country. The prices paid for them were large enough to stimulate the dishonest to fill the market with all kinds of counterfeits. The spurious liquor so increased in quantity that the prices fell considerably, and some action seemed really necessary. The immediate object of the Company was, however, clearly, and even avowedly, to take the trade from the hands of the English, who had almost entirely monopolised it. The regulations under which the Company was formed were remarkably minute. It was to have both the right and the obligation of buying at fixed prices all the wines produced in the Douro vineyards. The wines were to be divided into classes according to quality; for the first a higher price was to be paid than for the others. No allowance was made for years of scarcity or years of abundance, the same price was to be paid in all. The Company was also to have the entire monopoly of retailing wine in Oporto and the neighbourhood. The early operations of the Company were more successful than those of most of the others founded by

Carvalho, and its existence, though in an altered form, did not terminate till about thirty years ago.

The knowledge that that which formed so important a portion of their daily sustenance was to be retailed to them by a single firm of dealers caused such a ferment amongst the inhabitants of Oporto that a riot ensued. An excited crowd rushed to the house of the magistrate called the Judge of the People, clamouring for the free sale of wine. The magistrate, who was ill in bed, was forced to rise and accompany the mob to the civil governor's. That officer, to pacify the people, at the judge's request took it on himself to promise that the trade should be free. Some further disturbance took place, but the arrival of the military governor with a party of soldiers soon restored quiet, and by the evening the streets of the city had resumed their usual appearance. The opportunity of giving a severe lesson to the opponents of his measures was too good for Carvalho to lose. He affected to consider the outbreak at Oporto as a formidable insurrection. A considerable body of infantry and cavalry was despatched to reinforce the garrison of the city. The first measures of the commanding officers were to draw a cordon round the place, and prevent any of the inhabitants leaving it. The troops then marched in, and were billeted on the citizens, with whom they lived at free quarters. A special court was then organised for the trial of the rioters. The unfortunate Judge of the People was the first victim. His compliance with the demands of the mob which had beset his house was punished by his public degradation from office and his subsequent execution. The case of the rioters was then gone into. How they were punished will appear from the following extract from a despatch of the British Minister to his Government:—'The 'persons concerned in the riots last summer at Oporto,' he writes, 'have received their sentences. Thirteen men and 'four women were executed on the 4th instant. Five-and-'twenty persons are condemned to the galleys, some for life 'and others for a term of years. Eighty-six are banished to 'different parts, and fifty-eight condemned in a fine and six 'months' imprisonment. Thirty-six persons were released.' The severity of these proceedings will be better understood when it is stated that the mob of rioters scarcely exceeded in all four hundred persons. Before the country had recovered from the horror inspired by these measures, Carvalho issued what may be taken as a formal declaration of despotic government. An edict was published declaring guilty of *lèse-majesté* all those who disobeyed the orders of the sovereign. This was

amongst a people which had long and justly prided itself on the power of its ancient Cortes and the limits it had set to the prerogative of its monarchs.

It will be readily understood with what bitter feelings the rise of a man like Carvalho had been regarded by the Portuguese nobility. The numerous revolutions and changes of dynasty, which impart such interest to the history of Portugal, had either greatly added to, or preserved, the power of the noble families. Besides, the connexion between the Royal Family and the higher nobility was close and extended. The ducal houses of Aveiro, Cadaval, and Lafoens were all more or less closely connected by blood or marriage with the reigning dynasty. In Portugal, therefore, the nobles had not completely descended to the position of mere hangers-on of a court, dignified by sounding titles of servility. Much of the power, and many of the privileges, of the Feudal Age remained in the hands of men who besides possessed all the influence usually attributed to those who filled the high offices of a court, which was ruled by an exaggerated copy of the pompous and laborious etiquette given to the world by the Grand Monarque.

We have already seen that, granted by the generosity or extorted from the fears of the Portuguese kings, the richest of the Crown domains had come into the possession of the nobles. The alienation of so much valuable property when the influx of Brazilian gold into the royal coffers began to fall off became a serious inconvenience. Either as a fiscal measure, or to show in unmistakeable colours what his policy was to be, no sooner had Carvalho found himself secure in office than he ordered a rigid inquiry into the titles by which these ceded domains were held. In many cases the Government professed itself not satisfied with the validity of the titles, and the properties held under them were resumed by the Crown. The despoiled grandees received the act as a declaration of war against their order, and their hostility to the Minister was greatly increased. As the King placed himself more and more in the hands of his Minister the right of audience, long the most cherished, and latterly the most useful, privilege of the Portuguese nobles, became of less value. Decree after decree pared down the privilege till it scarcely existed even in name. Mutterings of discontent soon became frequent amongst them. Their palaces and *quintas* were turned into centres of disaffection, and, as Carvalho professed to believe, nurseries of plots. He quickly discerned the dangers to which his rule was thus exposed; and determined to make a terrible example

of those from whom he dreaded them. The result was the horrible tragedy known in Portuguese history as the 'Con-'spiracy of the Tavoras.'

This name, which was eventually erased from the list of Portuguese surnames and no longer permitted to exist even in the geographical nomenclature of the country,* was borne by a noble family which possessed two marquisates, both the father and his eldest son being dignified with that title. The elder marquis, who was a general officer, had served with considerable distinction in Portuguese India, of which dependency he had been viceroy. The younger had the misfortune to be the husband of a beautiful wife who was generally credited with the dishonourable distinction of being a royal favourite. The elder marchioness was a strong-minded imperious woman who, having tasted the sweetness of the position of vice-queen, never subsided contentedly into that of a simple subject. On her return from India she was anxious that her husband's services should be rewarded by a dukedom. The Minister's refusal to grant this honour incensed her deeply, and she soon became a leader amongst the malcontent nobles. A relative of the Tavoras was the Duke of Aveiro, a man of illustrious lineage and a connexion of the Royal Family. The duke, who was a hot-tempered, out-spoken man, had been in the habit of giving loud utterance to his dislike of Carvalho. Those attacks on the Jesuits which have rendered the Marquis of Pombal so famous had already commenced. Pedro Moreira, the King's confessor, and those of the other members of the Royal Family, had been expelled the court. It was observed that the duke, formerly a noted enemy of the order, had become reconciled to the Jesuits, and met them frequently at his own house or at that of the Tavoras.

In common with the rest of her family the duke highly resented the alleged intimacy of the King with the young marchioness. His resentment was heightened into exasperation by an incident which occurred at the palace. In the official hierarchy of the Portuguese court there were two posts which were equally indispensable—those of the King's confessor and of the pander to the King's pleasures. The expulsion of the former personage had added so greatly to the peculiar influence and dignity of the latter, that the head of this Portuguese Chiffinch was almost turned. Upon one occasion the confidential valet (that was his official title), having

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* 'A river so named was henceforward ordered to be called "The '"River of Death."' (*Smith*, vol. i. p. 198.)

received an order from the Duke Aveiro in his capacity as grand master of the household, made an insolent reply. This so incensed the hot-tempered noble that he drew his sword and would have made short work of the utterer; but remembering where he was, he sheathed his weapon and threatened the fleeing valet with punishment at a more suitable time. Whether the attempt which the duke was afterwards accused of making was against the life of this man or against that of his royal master, has never been satisfactorily settled. But that an attempt of the kind was made, and that the duke was more or less implicated in it, seems tolerably certain. The crime was carried into execution as follows:

On the night of Sunday, September 3, 1758, the King was returning from visiting one of his mistresses. Like all other proceedings of the Portuguese monarch, this was conducted in strict compliance with the rules of court etiquette. It was necessary that there should be two carriages, one of which should bear the royal lover and the other the confidential valet. This time, however, the King had called the valet into his own carriage, and as it was turning a corner it was met by a knot of mounted men, one of whom snapped a musquetoon, which missed fire, at the driver. The latter urged on his horses in order to escape any further attempts, and the speed at which he drove was probably the cause of two shots, which were fired at the rapidly-retreating vehicle, having no other effect than that of wounding the King in the right arm. The wound was found to be so slight that he was able to go about, simply keeping his arm in a sling. The cause of his doing so was carefully concealed. The British Minister wrote to say that he was informed that the King had been bled; but he was careful to add in cypher that he knew better. For three months, Carvalho indicated by no sign whatever so much as a suspicion that a crime had been committed. His bearing towards those whom he subsequently punished was particularly affable and conciliatory. At length on December 13, or three months after the King had been fired at, numerous arrests were made. The Duke of Aveiro, the whole family of the Tavoras, and various other nobles (amongst them the Marquis of Alorna and the Count of Obidos, whose remarks at the time of the earthquake are said to have rankled in the mind of the Minister), together with eight Jesuit priests, were included in the list of prisoners. The papers of all were seized and examined, and some letters containing expressions of a highly damaging character were certainly found amongst those of the duke and the elder Tavora. A tribunal, called *Inconfidençia*, was

especially instituted to try the prisoners. For the crime of regicide the Portuguese code, like the Roman for that of parricide, had assigned no punishment. An edict of the Spanish usurper, Philip II., alone alluded to it to declare that it should be cruel. We shall see how well the behest of the royal bigot who laughed at the news of St. Bartholomew was obeyed.

The tribunal specially convened to condemn did its work; and all the accused were condemned. The sentences passed on the duke, on the elder marquis and marchioness, on their two sons, on the Count of Atouguia, and on several servants of these nobles, were capital. The mode of carrying them out was frightfully barbarous. The elder marchioness was the first person put to death. Her sentence had declared that, 'in 'consideration of her age and rank,' she should only be beheaded. But Carvalho's vindictiveness followed her to the very jaws of death. She was led round the scaffold and shown one by one the instruments with which her husband and sons were to be executed; the manner in which each was to be used being explained to her with barbarous minuteness. Her sons were the next victims. Their unhappy father was exposed to the unspeakable barbarity of being shown the mangled forms of his wife and children before being broken alive upon the wheel. The Duke of Aveiro suffered the same fate. A servant of the duke was burned alive. The bodies of all, the scaffold and the instruments of death, were then burned and the ashes cast into the Tagus. This appalling butchery lasted nearly seven hours, having commenced at eight o'clock in the morning and not being finished till past two in the afternoon. In the subsequent reign a commission was appointed specially to determine whether or not the sentences should be reversed. This commission declared that the Duke of Aveiro, but not the Tavoras, had been implicated in a conspiracy against the life of Dom Joseph. For his services as Minister generally, and especially for his zeal during the late events, Carvalho was ennobled by the title of Count of Oeyras, where he had an estate. He was also granted the feudal rights over the town of Pombal and a rich commandery of the order of Christ.

This celebrated conspiracy, and the sanguinary punishment of it, which leaves so dark a stain on the memory of Pombal, has remained one of the problems of history. But Senhor Gomès, who is the last and best-informed writer who has examined the evidence, arrives at the conclusion that the attempt on the life of the King was actually made on the 3rd of September, and that the Duke d'Aveiro was concerned in it. The evidence

against the Tavoras is much weaker; and against some of the minor victims of the affair, including the Jesuit fathers, it is altogether wanting. The procedure against the prisoners was secret and scandalously unjust; the execution of the sentence was atrociously cruel; and the whole transaction is tainted by its evident connexion with Pombal's political designs and personal animosities.*

The abolition of the Board of Common Weal, and the severe punishment of the Oporto rioters, had stifled any feelings of independence which the long despotism of John V. may have left in the breasts of the middle and lower orders of the Portuguese people. The recent barbarous execution of so many members of the nobility, *eâdem strage tot consularium cædes*, had completely placed at the feet of the Count of Oeyras the whole body of nobles. He had however not yet conquered all opposition; there still remained the clergy, and especially the Order of the Jesuits, to be dealt with. In no country in Europe had the Order obtained greater power than in Portugal. It early established itself there and rapidly increased its numbers beyond those specified in the Papal Bull constituting the Portuguese branch of the Fraternity. Its brethren soon became the confessors of every member of the Royal Family. Their influence, under the late king, we have already seen. The Count of Oeyras had early perceived that the Jesuits stood in his way. His hostility had already declared itself; and his eventual triumph over the Order is a piece of well-known history. The position of the Jesuits had long before excited the distrust and suspicion of the governors of the Portuguese dominions beyond the sea. As is generally known, the efforts of the Order had been early directed to the conversion of the Indians both in the East and West. The zeal of the Society in winning converts appears to have been fully equalled by the skill which some of its members exhibited in commercial transactions. As far back as 1575 a Governor of Brazil complains of the injury caused to the revenue by paying the Jesuits their stipends in sugar estimated at a price

* It was in 1760, soon after this tragical event, that Lord Kinnoul's mission proceeded to Lisbon, which is now only remembered because Philip Francis was that minister's secretary and all the despatches were written by his hand. Francis conceived a Junius-like aversion to Pombal, and describes him in the following terms:—'His preserving his authority over the king, and his making the most violent use of absolute power, are but equivocal proofs of his understanding and courage; cunning, obstinacy, and revenge *usque ad internecionem* are qualities willingly allowed.' (*Merivale's Life of Francis*, vol. i. p. 33.)

which had long ceased to be real. A Governor of Angola in the seventeenth century accuses the Fathers of undertaking missions with the avowed object of propagating the faith, but in reality for the sake of trading in slaves. Moved by such representations, the Portuguese Government had endeavoured to restrain these alleged proceedings. In order therefore to withdraw themselves from the thwarting interference of both the Spanish and Portuguese viceroys, the Jesuits had removed, beyond the very confines of civilisation, to the almost unknown country of Paraguay. They had succeeded to a remarkable degree in civilising the inhabitants of those wilds, and eventually established a curious kind of dominion which rendered them the virtual sovereigns of a considerable tract of country and of many thousands of subjects. It is strange that the circumstance which redounds most to their credit—their withdrawal to the remote region of Paraguay to evangelise the inhabitants—should have been the almost direct cause of the misfortunes and temporary extinction of the Jesuits.

There had been an old dispute between the Spanish and Portuguese Governments about the ownership of a district in South America called Nova Colonia. After repeated negotiations it was agreed, towards the end of John V.'s reign, that the disputed territory should be exchanged for that portion of Paraguay which was under the sway of the Jesuit Fathers. Both the contracting parties congratulated themselves on having done a somewhat smart stroke of business. The Portuguese Government had been led by the representations of an adventurer to believe that the country about to become theirs was rich in mines, and might prove a second Brazil. The Spanish Government naturally rejoiced in an arrangement by which it exchanged a country that scarcely belonged to it for one that had been some time settled and was admirably situated. But the Portuguese had had quite enough of Jesuits in their colonies: so it was arranged that the territories should exchange masters, but not the inhabitants. The natives resisted this arrangement by force; and an expensive warfare ensued. Dom Joseph, on his accession to the throne, refused to confirm the recent arrangement, and the disturbances in Paraguay ceased. The Indians of some parts of Brazil had in the meantime revolted, and their insurrection was attributed to the Jesuits. The injudicious opposition of some members of the Order to the establishment of his favourite companies had greatly exasperated Carvalho. One father had declared from the pulpit that the vengeance of Heaven would overtake those who took shares in the Grand Para and Maranham Company; another had

asserted that the wines of the Alta Douro Company were not fitted to supply the cup at the Sacrifice of the Mass; whilst a third had been unwise enough to perceive in the great earthquake of Lisbon the Divine punishment inflicted upon a country which was ruled by such a minister. Carvalho commenced his attack on the Order with much adroitness, and by it he masked an even greater scheme than the destruction of the Society, and that was the crippling of the power of the Church. The pre-eminence of the Jesuits in Portugal had stirred the envy of the other religious orders and of the secular clergy. With a correct appreciation of the customary spirit of ecclesiastical parties, Carvalho counted upon the support, or at least the contemptuous neutrality, of the remaining orders whilst attempting to crush a rival fraternity. Once having disposed of the Jesuits, dealing with the others would be comparatively easy. His first step was to publish the papal brief, *Immensa Pastorum Principis*, which had attempted to restrain the excessive participation of the Jesuits in secular affairs and especially commerce. He next, as we have seen, persuaded the King to expel from the court all the confessors of the Royal Family who belonged to the Company of Jesus. He then proceeded to draw up a detailed report of all the offences committed by the Fathers in the Portuguese Colonies down to the month of October, 1757. This report was forwarded to the Portuguese Minister at Rome, to be laid before the Pope, accompanied by a letter, in which Carvalho recalled the history and fate of the Templars, with whose conduct that of the Jesuits was unfavourably compared. The Pope was to be respectfully implored to put an end to their excesses. The Minister of Portugal at the Papal Court, Almada, was a cousin of Carvalho's, and warmly seconded him in his negotiations with the Holy See. He succeeded in persuading the wise and excellent Pontiff, Benedict XIV., who then filled the chair of St. Peter, of the truth of the complaints made against the Jesuits, and in getting him to issue a brief constituting the Cardinal Saldanha Visitor and Reformer-General of the Order in Portugal and its dominions. Dreading the influence of the Jesuits over the Cardinal-Secretary of State, Almada begged the Pope to entrust the duty of drawing up the brief not to the Cardinal-Secretary, but to a friend of his own, the Cardinal Pacionci. So ready was the Holy Father to meet the wishes of the Portuguese Government that he acceded to this request, and the brief was actually drafted by Almada's own secretary.

The new Cardinal-Visitor began operations forthwith. He ordered the Jesuits to at once desist from all banking and other

commercial pursuits, the participators in which he likened to the money-changers whom the Redeemer had expelled from the Temple. This order was immediately followed by mandates of the Patriarch and other Portuguese prelates interdicting the members of the Fraternity from preaching and confessing in their dioceses. The dismay of the Jesuits at these proceedings was naturally great, but hopes of better times were inspired by the accession of a new Pontiff, Clement XIII., who was believed to be friendly to the Order. The general and the superiors of the Company at Rome lost no time in addressing him, praying, amongst other things, for the immediate revocation of the brief constituting Saldanha Visitor. As a compromise between these demands and those of Portugal, it was determined to desire the Papal Nuncio at Lisbon to counsel the Cardinal-Visitor to exhibit the greatest moderation in the discharge of his duty. Such was the condition of affairs when the attempt on the King's life was made in September, 1758. Amongst the prisoners tried by the tribunal of *Inconfidençia* were three Jesuit priests, Malagrida, Mattos, and Alexander, who were declared to be ringleaders in the conspiracy, and as such imprisoned in the fort of Junquiera. A decree was issued by virtue of which the Jesuits of the capital were confined in a *quinta* belonging to the Duke of Aveiro and those of the other parts of the kingdom in their principal establishments, and their goods seized as those of enemies of the Crown. Carvalho then, in the name of the Crown-Procurator, requested the Pope to permit the tribunal called the Board of Conscience to deliver up to the secular arm all ecclesiastics convicted of complicity in the crime of September 3rd, and all who in future should be guilty of like crimes. He also persuaded his sovereign to write with his own hand to the Holy Father declaring his fixed determination to expel the Jesuits from his dominions. Aware of the difficulties which would probably beset his attempts to obtain the permission he desired, the Minister wrote to his relative, Almada, to suggest that a judicious distribution of presents amongst the members of the Sacred College might render the course of negotiations more smooth. He was prepared, he said, to forward numerous diamonds in the rough which might be used to adorn the crosses which their Eminences were in the habit of displaying upon their breasts. Some rings which he sent were valuable enough, he believed, to facilitate at least the first steps towards gaining useful friends. Rich as the gems were, it would be better, he added, to present them uncut, as mere specimens of the productions of a country which the Jesuits professed to love so well.

Up to this period Carvalho's public demeanour towards the Holy See had been respectful in the extreme. But now, fearing that the Cardinal-Secretary, who was related to the General of the Jesuits and most friendly to the Society, would either prevent or unnecessarily delay the fulfilment of his schemes, he changed his mode of action. On June 28, 1759, he issued a decree depriving the Jesuits of their rights as citizens, and expelling them for ever from the Portuguese dominions. Without delay nearly 600 were conducted on board ship and transported, under circumstances of much hardship, to the States of the Church. Before the news of this act had reached Rome, the Pope had despatched a brief to the Board of Conscience, counselling moderation in its dealings with the Jesuit prisoners; and a letter to the King imploring his clemency for Malagrida and his companions. The Nuncio made repeated efforts to deliver both the brief and the letter to the King in person, without giving copies to the Portuguese Foreign Secretary. His efforts were strenuously and even insultingly opposed by Carvalho, and in the end the copies were given. Upon seeing their contents, Carvalho exhibited the greatest indignation. He indited a furious letter to the Nuncio denouncing in unmeasured terms the brief addressed to the Board of Conscience, and declaring that his master could not consent to receive it. At the same time he addressed an energetic note to the Holy Father in which he bade His Holiness to choose between sending such a brief as he demanded, or a definite rupture; the latter alternative being clearly the one on which he himself had determined. We have seen that the Portuguese envoy, Almada, had already transacted diplomatic business without the intervention of the Cardinal-Secretary, the proper official. The peculiar constitution of the Papal Government seemed to render this mode of proceeding convenient and advantageous; and it is not unlikely that Carvalho's judicious additions to the jewelry of the Cardinals would facilitate these semi-authorised negotiations. Almada therefore sent to His Holiness by the hands of two cardinals a memorandum which was so worded as to excuse his principal's conduct and obtain from the Pope what had been demanded. Unfortunately the Cardinal-Secretary, who had been kept in ignorance of these proceedings, in pursuance of the negotiations on his part forwarded to Almada a note declaring that the Holy Father's sentiments towards the Jesuits could undergo no alteration. Meanwhile the underhand negotiations went on, and Almada actually succeeded in getting His Holiness to consent to replace the brief which Carvalho had refused to receive

by another which the envoy had himself drafted, and by which the Pope agreed to permit all ecclesiastics convicted of conspiracy or of overt acts of treason to be delivered for punishment to the secular arm. This, in substance, was all that the Portuguese Minister had professed to ask for. But the Cardinal-Secretary was still proceeding with his own set of negotiations, and when Almada, in haste to forward the new brief to Portugal, applied for the necessary horses for his couriers, he received as sole answer to his application the draft of a proposed brief which he had already declined to receive. Believing that the Pope was playing him false, he at once broke off all negotiations of either sort. One thing is evident from these proceedings, and that is the desire of the Pope to avoid a rupture with Portugal. Carvalho's determination to force one on soon became unmistakeably manifest. Directly Almada's report of what had taken place reached him, he addressed a long memoir to the Papal Government, filled with complaints of its conduct, and declaring his resolve to take serious measures to vindicate his master's dignity, which he asserted had been specially offended by the manner in which the Holy Father had received a proposal to fill a vacancy in the Archbishopric of Bahia. But as yet he had failed to pronounce the word 'Rupture.'

When he did so it was in a fashion which the Court of Rome could have but little expected, and which must have deeply outraged the polite diplomacy of the time. The Nuncio at Lisbon was not, in common with the other foreign ministers, informed officially of the approaching marriage of the Crown-Princess of Portugal. The papal envoys still retained sufficient of the spirit of former times to resent at all events a breach of ordinary diplomatic etiquette. Amidst the general illumination in honour of the marriage, the palace of the Nuncio remained in profound darkness. This appeared to the Count of Oeyras the proper moment for vigorous action. Two officials waited on the Nuncio to inform him that a boat was in waiting to convey him immediately to the other side of the Tagus, and that in four days he was to quit the Portuguese dominions. The astonished Nuncio begged for time to address the Foreign Secretary. It was not granted him. A short time only was allowed him to hurry on his clothes, and hear mass, and he was conducted across the river, and then sent under an escort of dragoons beyond the frontier into Spain. In July the Portuguese envoy quitted Rome, and in the following month decrees were issued by Dom Joseph, enjoining the subjects of both governments to return to their own countries,

and ordering all intercourse of every description between them to cease. Thus the threatened rupture had become final and complete. Master of the situation, the Count of Oeyras now put into execution the remainder of his schemes against the Jesuits. The goods of the Fraternity, moveable and immoveable, were confiscated to the Crown. The unfortunate Malagrida, who in spite of the consideration he had obtained in Portugal appears to have been a half-crazed fanatic, was sentenced to death, not for complicity in the attempted assassination of the King, of which he had been declared guilty, but for *heresy*. He was accordingly burned, not alive,* as is generally believed, but after being strangled. Still the Count of Oeyras was not satisfied, and he strenuously directed his efforts to bring about the complete destruction of the Company of Jesus. Negotiations to insure joint action towards that object were set on foot by him with the ministers of France and Spain. Many years passed before these negotiations were crowned with success, and not till Clement XIII. had been succeeded by another Pontiff. As soon as the new Pope, the celebrated Ganganelli, had ascended the papal throne, the negotiations were renewed with fresh vigour. Advantage was taken of the new pontificate to heal the rupture between the Courts of Rome and Lisbon, and diplomatic relations were re-established, but on terms which showed beyond the possibility of mistake that the days when John V.'s subserviency to the Papal authority had earned him the empty title of 'Most Faithful' had indeed passed away. Still it was not till 1773 that Clement XIV., by the publication of the celebrated bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, decreed the dissolution of the Society of the Jesuits.

We can now do scarcely more than glance at the various other acts of the Minister, who, in 1770, was advanced to the rank of Marquis of Pombal, the title by which he is best known. He founded the College of Nobles for the instruction of the upper classes of the Portuguese. He established, in 1768, the Royal Printing-press of Lisbon. He took great interest in the reformation of the ancient University of Coïmbra, which he completely reorganised. His bold method of dealing with Foreign Powers was not confined to his proceedings with the Holy See. He remonstrated so strongly with the British Government upon Boscawen's pursuit of M. de La Clue into the Tagus that he received ample satisfaction. In the war with Spain, in 1762, he showed the greatest activity

* Soriano, tom. i. p. 434. Mémoires, vol. iii. p. 37; ibid. p. 39. Gomez, however, says (p. 211) 'brûlé vif.'

and skill in placing the defences of the kingdom on a proper footing. His internal administration was characterised by many startling acts. Viceroys, Ambassadors, Ministers of State, even members of the Royal Family itself, were not unfrequently hurried off into arrest or banishment without any warning whatever. But interesting as such events may be as episodes in a long ministerial career, or as indications of character and disposition, it is Pombal's attempts to improve, as he believed, the commerce of his country that should claim our principal attention. Though in some cases—most certainly not in all—his remarkable commercial schemes, as schemes so introduced and so fostered occasionally may, obtained at first some transient success, they ended on the whole ruinously for those who took part in them. It would have been well had this been the extent of their mischief. But who can regard the state of Portugal now and not see plainly how disastrous have been their effects? Portugal, the pioneer of constitutional government on the Continent, where a liberal and rational form of monarchy has already attained a respectable longevity amongst recent constitutional states, has by no means attained a degree of prosperity commensurate with her liberties or with the ancient splendour of her crown. An embarrassed government, an impoverished nobility, and a failing trade, bear witness to the fatal results of that disastrous intermeddling with the commerce of his country which was the favourite occupation of Pombal. His mischievous interference left no branch of human industry untouched. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, all experienced the misfortune of suffering from the vicious economical opinions of a minister who could glibly enunciate the smoothest maxims upon freedom of trade. Vines were rooted up that corn might be grown. Certain lands were to produce bread-stuffs alone—such were some of the methods by which Pombal sought to make his country prosperous. Having once grasped the idea that wealth consisted only in gold and silver, he never shook himself clear of it, and his constant effort was to keep those metals from leaving the country. Though it is impossible to deny him the credit of great vigour and very considerable ability, and of his having really made his country, when already on the decline, assume a position of some importance amongst the States of Europe, it would be false to the truth, both of history and political philosophy, to conceal that his long tenure of power has hastened the ruin which he seemed for a time to arrest. So destructive to true prosperity were the childish economical fancies—more suited to the political

darkness of the sixteenth century than the enlightenment of the eighteenth—which vitiated all the acts of his government. No country has, on the contrary, more to gain than Portugal from the most extended and complete freedom of foreign trade.

His career closed with the reign of the monarch who had so long entrusted him with supreme power. Dom Joseph died in 1777, and Pombal was soon made to perceive that the new Sovereign, Donna Maria I., was under the influence of a party hostile to him. One of the Queen's earliest acts was the release of the still surviving prisoners who had been accused of complicity in the 'Tavora conspiracy.' The miserable appearance of these unhappy victims of his tyranny on quitting the dungeons in which they had been immured for eighteen years, caused a great reaction against Pombal. Of the prisoners, the Marquis of Alorna and the surviving Tavoras refused to accept their release unless accompanied by a legal acquittal. Pombal now more than once sent in his resignation, but it was not accepted. At length the Queen proceeded to dismiss him from the various offices which he had so long held. His final dismissal from the Interior was conveyed in a decree the terms of which were almost complimentary. The case of Alorna and the Tavoras was submitted to a tribunal which completely exonerated them from their alleged guilt. The Jesuits, in spite of the recent abolition of their Society, began to again raise their heads. A subscription of Donna Maria to the support of those who had been sent to Rome, encouraged some of them to take the bold resolution of returning to Lisbon. The combined efforts of these returned Jesuits and the released prisoners were directed to obtaining the complete revision and annulling of the sentence passed in the Tavora case. These efforts were so far successful that a special tribunal convoked to examine the sentence gave judgment to the effect that the Duke of Aveiro and his servants only were guilty of the crime committed on the 3rd September, 1758. But this hardly satisfied the enemies of the Marquis of Pombal, and the cry for justice was followed by one for vengeance. A former victim of the late minister's arbitrary measures, named Caldeira, on his return from exile, attempted to regain some property of which he had been deprived, and which had come into the hands of Pombal; and with that object published a pamphlet attacking both the public and the private character of the Marquis. The latter issued a reply, which was in reality a long and even tedious vindication of his whole career. The contents of this reply so irritated the Queen that she ordered the pamphlet itself to be burned, and

at length decided upon instituting an inquiry into the conduct of the fallen Minister. His papers were seized, and a commission proceeded, towards the end of 1779, to Pombal, whither he had retired, to interrogate him personally. The aged Marquis (he was now in his eighty-first year) exhibited a painful spectacle during this examination. He appears to have lost himself in a maze of quibbles, contradictions, and equivocations, caused partly, perhaps, by fear of the results of the inquiry, and partly by physical weakness, which occasionally cut short his replies. On receipt of the final report of the commissioners, the Queen issued, on the 15th August, 1781, a decree, declaring Pombal guilty of great crimes and deserving of exemplary punishment; but that in consideration of his age and infirmities, and his humble prayers for pardon, he was only to be banished, until further orders, to a distance of twenty leagues from the Court. The publication of this decree inspired the aged statesman with the courage which he had failed to exhibit when in the presence of his judges, and he drew up and published a long memoir, under the title of 'A 'Petition to the Queen,' in which he attempted to vindicate himself from the charges made against him, and especially from that of having enriched himself at the expense of his country. The petition was not listened to, and indeed attracted little notice, and the fallen Minister survived its publication only a few months. He breathed his last on May 8, 1782, having almost completed his eighty-third year, in a small and squalid room, which may still be seen, on the market-place of Pombal.

In person Pombal was tall, with a handsome countenance, regular features, and bright and piercing eyes. His voice is said to have been remarkably pleasing. His imperious disposition was tempered by much bonhommie and an occasional rough jocularity. This latter characteristic is testified by several anecdotes, one of which is worth relating. Dom Joseph had proposed that all persons of Jewish extraction should be made to wear, as a mark of distinction, white hats. Few families in Portugal were free from some intermixture of Jewish blood. Pombal one day appeared at the palace with two white hats under his arm, and on being questioned by the King, informed him, that in consequence of the proposed edict, he had provided one for His Majesty and one for himself. The joke had the effect of keeping back the decree. The despatches of the foreign envoys to the Court of Lisbon establish the fact that Pombal was not devoid of that almost cynical frankness which is not an unknown characteristic of eminent ministers and

imperious negotiators in our own day. He has been accused of having greatly enriched himself whilst in office, and his friends have endeavoured to prove that he received nothing beyond the regular income of his various employments. But it is not the less true that he who, as we have seen, began life in but indifferent circumstances, left a wealthy family and considerable estates. It can scarcely be said that his memory is revered in Portugal; true views on political science are making their way there as in other countries, and though his name is not now pursued with the hatred which it once evoked, his claims to be considered a great Minister are looked upon as at least an open question.

We shall conclude this article by producing a literary curiosity, unknown to all but a very small number of our readers—a character of Pombal by the author (as we hold him to be) of the 'Letters of Junius.' In 1773, Mr. Francis (who had just left the War Office) employed his leisure in translating an Essay on Circulation and Credit, by M. de Pinto, a philosophical economist living at Amsterdam. The book was published in London in the following year, under the name of his friend, Stephen Baggs. But the translation and the copious notes added to the text are the work of Francis, written, it will be observed, between the cessation of the 'Letters of Junius' and his departure for India. At the end of the volume a note is added of nearly ten quarto pages, on the relations of Portugal and Great Britain, in which Francis has evidently introduced the result of his experience and observation, when he formed part of Lord Kinnoul's mission to Lisbon, several years before. The whole passage is extremely curious, but we must content ourselves with extracting the following notice of the Marquis of Pombal:—

'All the commercial ideas of the minister are founded upon one general maxim, that trade, in order to be prosperous, should not be free. Accordingly, he has heaped project upon project. and regulation upon regulation; and destroyed a healthy constitution, by confining it to a sickly regimen, and by loading it with prescriptions. He has made it his study to distress foreign merchants, and to drive them out of the kingdom. He has put the vineyards and their produce, the only internal source of wealth to Portugal, under the check and control of a monopoly; and he has confined a considerable part of the Brazil trade to two exclusive companies, the principle and spirit of which is, to make the greatest profits upon the smallest outset or venture. If the Pernambuco and Maranham companies had succeeded, it was his intention to have taken the same care of the Bahia and Rio trade. But the first subscriptions were completed with so much difficulty, that it would have been in vain to attempt new ones. One would think that he meant to contract the commerce of his countr

and to stifle industry at its birth. The event has corresponded with the design. In the year 1759, the fleet from Pernambuco consisted of forty-five ships. In the year 1772, the trade to that settlement employed only eighteen. To support the credit of the new companies, he thought it advisable to issue an edict, which ordered that their actions should be a legal tender, and be accepted, at an arbitrary valuation fixed by the directors, as so much specie; that is, in other words, that the natives, who are constantly the debtors, should remove the burthen from themselves, and impose it upon their foreign creditors. This, however, was an attempt too extravagant to be supported. Such are the general plans, and such the temporary expedients, from which we are to collect an opinion of the minister's capacity. The facts I refer to are notorious. In a country, where the true principles of trade are understood, it is unnecessary to prove that, in theory, no better consequences were to be expected from a system so false and anti-commercial. The Portuguese must be taught by experience.

'To form a judgment of his political measures, we should compare the defenceless state of Portugal with the general plan of ambition of the united house of Bourbon, and the particular claims and enmity of the crown of Spain. The independence of Portugal can only be maintained by cultivating the friendship of the other powers of Europe, particularly by confirming the ancient alliance with the only nation that ever has, or ever can engage effectually in her defence. These are essential objects, not to be compared with any temporary advantages, and from which a wise minister will not suffer his attention to be diverted. It is needless to say how little they have been regarded in the political system of the Marquis of Pombal. Upon the whole, it must be admitted, that the proofs of his ministerial abilities are of an extraordinary nature. His commercial experience and information have led him to divide the trade of his country into monopolies. His policy has taught him to provoke the natural enemies, and to alienate the natural allies, of the crown. His two systems correspond and co-operate with each other. In consequence of receiving all foreigners upon the same footing in Portugal, and of laying all foreign trade under equal restraint, it ceases to be a great natural interest to any one nation to maintain the independence of the kingdom. A union of inferior states, in favour of a court with whom they have no solid foundation of alliance, is not to be expected, nor would it be effectual. His country then, with a small internal force, and destitute of all alliance, is left exposed to the invasion of a superior enemy, whose claims are not absolute, and who do not always wait for just or decent pretences to act against Portugal; nor is there a power in Europe, to which his Most Faithful Majesty can say with truth, "It is *your* interest to protect me."

'The last question to be considered is, whether he has made the Portuguese a richer or a happier people than he found them? If he has, it must be confessed, that the means he makes use of would hardly have produced that effect in any other country. If he has not, his maxim, *that sovereigns are not to be restrained by treaties from consulting the internal welfare of their subjects*, leaves him without the possibility of a defence. If the measures, which he calls expedient,

fail of success, he is precluded from pleading any obstructions that might arise from the engagements of the crown with foreign nations. The conclusion reverts, with accumulated force, against the wisdom and mildness of his administration. Hitherto it has been only marked by the blood of the principal nobility, and universal oppression of the people. There can be no increase of wealth in a country where industry is effectually discouraged, and no man's property secure. There can be no domestic content or happiness among a people, one half of which are spies upon the other. Racks, gibbets, and dungeons are the emblems and resources of his government. It is but the natural consequence of such a government that the Portuguese, with many advantages of personal character and local situation, are the meanest and most degraded people, and the crown of Portugal the least respected, of any in Europe.

'Sir Benjamin Keene, who knew the Marquis of Pombal early in life, emphatically describes him as a *conceited and puzzled head.* How far the intrepidity of his spirit may deserve the opinion conceived of it, can only be determined by experiment. He may have penetration enough to see into the genius of the people he treats with, and may proportion his own firmness to their apparent want of it. But this part of his character has never been fairly put to the proof, at least by Great Britain. If any farther presumption in favour of his abilities should be drawn from his having raised himself to an absolute dominion over his country, and maintained it so long, it may be weakened by considering, that the government of Portugal is despotic, and that the talents and intrigues which ingratiate a servant with his master are sometimes the least likely to qualify him for the government of a kingdom. He is sagacious; but having seldom the good fortune to reason upon right principles, his sagacity, in many important instances, serves only to mislead him. He has had experience; but ill-considered facts, without principles or instruction, have perplexed his understanding. Of this we see a signal instance in the conclusions he drew from the establishment of one or two great exclusive trading companies in England and Holland. If his zeal for the good of his country be ardent, it certainly is not luminous. He is industrious beyond measure; but his industry, supported by a jealousy of all competition with him, has this dangerous effect, that while he engrosses more of the executive branch than he can possibly support, no one office of the state is executed as it should be, and business stands still. It is also to be apprehended, that, by his excluding the inferior ministers from confidence and information, the kingdom at his death will probably be left without a man in office, in any way qualified to succeed him. This is the common policy of favourites; but it presents no idea of a great, superior mind. Considering his uniform plan of conduct towards the natural allies and natural enemies of Portugal, we may allow him a degree of personal intrepidity, which does no great honour to his discretion. The proofs of it, in his internal government, are more equivocal. It does not seem to require much firmness or resolution to employ an armed force in the oppression of a poor, spiritless, unresisting people. Tyrants, who have trembled on their thrones, have done it with success.'

ART. VII.—1. *Protoplasm: or Life, Matter, and Mind.* By LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S. London: 1870.

2. *Disease Germs: their Real Nature.* An original investigation by LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S. London: 1870.

3. *Pulmonary Consumption: its Nature, Varieties, and Treatment.* By C. J. B. WILLIAMS, M.D., F.R.S., and C. T. WILLIAMS, M.A., M.D. Oxon. London: 1871.

NOT the least wonderful of the many marvels that have been, more or less perfectly, brought into clear light by the persevering and ceaseless labours of human intelligence, is the composition of the blood, the thick crimson liquid which sustains the powers of the living animal, and which courses for that purpose, in never-stopping stream, through all parts of the frame so long as its vital activity lasts.

The problem which has been worked out in the composition of the blood of the living animal is the production of a substance containing within itself all that is required for the maintenance and renovation of the various fabrics of the body and for the support of their especial offices, in a form convenient for the circumstances in which the work has to be done. It is liquid because it has to be distributed to the several fabrics that it has to nourish, through a service of branching tubes; and it is complex because it has to contain all the ingredients that are needed for the constitution of those fabrics in their vast diversity,—flesh, membrane, fat, gristle, bone, nerve, and brain.

The blood of the living animal is essentially food which has been compounded by vital elaboration, and in that elaborated state thrown into the actual channels of the living frame, where its work of sustenance has to be accomplished. But not only this. The blood is also, itself, in strict accuracy, an integral part of that 'living frame.' In the blood, the complex substance has received its ultimate perfection and finish in the impress which endows it with vital condition and power, and has become in the physiological sense a 'living thing.' Of the fact of this endowment with potential life there is no question anywhere; but there is question and dispute as to what the exact process and method of transformation are. A contest is yet waged between antagonistic schools of physiologists, who each assume that they are at least on the road to the inner shrine and explanation of the mystery. The one of these schools insists that life is but a more complicated manifestation and development of molecular and material forces—a property

of material substance when it has been raised into the sphere of sufficiently advanced and matured complexity. The other affirms that life is a superadded and altogether independent Power, which acts through the instrumentality of elaborately perfected material, but is altogether apart and distinct from the intrinsic properties of material substance. In looking from without upon the strategy of this contest, the non-combatant easily perceives that both parties in the conflict are dealing with what some German thinkers of the day call the 'Aber-'glaube' of the matter; the essentially inexplicable and undemonstrable portion of the subject. Both the materialists and the vitalists may entrench themselves on the opposite heights of the field to which they have betaken themselves; but from their entrenched fortifications each has to admit that one common fact of philosophy underlies both their positions, namely, an utter inability to reach the real heart of the mystery.

The blood, or perhaps in more strict accuracy the chyle, which is incipient blood—the sublimed and liquefied food on its way to be mingled with the stream of the circulation—is, then, the seat of the first manifestation of vital endowment. In it the subtle change, whatever that change may be, which converts nutritious material into living substance, takes place. It is, at any rate, the immediate penetralium in which the mystery that is still the aspiration, if not the reproach, of physiological science lies concealed, and in which the work of further investigation has to be mainly carried on.

But the blood, which is thus the seat of the first development and manifestation of life, is not, it should be remarked, altogether alive. It consists of living parts and dead parts, intimately mingled with each other. Eight pounds and a half of every ten pounds of healthy human blood consist of an almost clear liquid spoken of as the serous part, or serum, the remaining pound and a half being an infinite number of very minute bodies, partly colourless and partly red, and individually so small that their existence in the liquid is only discovered when very powerful microscopes are employed in the observation. The colourless serum, and the microscopically granular or corpuscular constituent, are properly the dead, and the living, portions of the blood.

The serous liquid is simply the perfected extract of the digested food rendered mobile and fluid by the addition of a very large proportion of water. Of the eight pounds and a half which have been spoken of, no less than eight pounds are water, and could be distilled off as water alone. The remain-

ing half-pound, which gives serosity to the water, is indeed almost entirely albumen derived from the food—a complex substance all but identical with the white of eggs, and capable like it of being coagulated by heat. Thus constituted it is the great pabulum or plastic base out of which the organised substance of the living body is constructed. In the egg of the oviparous animal the deposit of albumen is arranged round the germinal yolk to be ready there when the first work of fabrication is entered upon in building up the chicken. In the blood the albumen is provided for exactly the same purpose: it is food in the ultimate state of preparedness for conversion into textures of the widest range of diversity. The water of the serum is merely the vehicle furnished to keep the albumen moveable and thin, and in that way ready for its proper office—ready to be poured along the system of pipes laid down for its conveyance through all, and to all, parts of the frame, and to be in that way thrown into close and intimate relation with all the films, fibres, and textures that have to be continually refreshed and renewed by its plastic agency.

But the serous liquid of living blood is viscid from the presence of something yet more tenacious and plastic than albumen. The serum of the blood coagulates of its own accord when the blood is caused to flow out from the warm vessels of the living body into cooler air. It separates into a clear thin liquid, which does then consist of pure albumen and saline principles mingled with water, and into a clot composed of a dense, fibrous, sticky substance, which is albumen pushed one step farther towards the living condition. The albumen, thus rendered coagulable and capable of solidifying into a fibrous clot without the aid of a high temperature, is not chemically changed in any appreciable way from that which still remains liquid in the thin serous residue. The chemist is not able to discover any intrinsic atomic or molecular difference between the two; and the physiologist, in his turn, is able to say nothing more about the matter than this—that the albuminous principle derived from the food, without any appreciable or discoverable change of material composition, without the addition or subtraction of any material ingredient, has, in the blood-stream of the living body, been made more plastic and organisable, more adhesive and ready to be converted into fibre, and membrane, and texture.

It is a notable fact that a singularly small quantity of this fibrinous principle is sufficient to make the blood thick and adhesive enough for all practical purposes. In the fifteen pounds of blood that are contained in the body of a man of or-

dinary stature there is not more than half an ounce of adhesive fibrin at any one time. But it must be understood that the fibrin which is there is being continually expended in practical service, and at the same time as continually formed anew out of the relatively large store of albumen contained in the serum. The fully matured fibrinous principle is absolutely essential for the plastic work which is involved in organisation. But too large an amount of it at any one time in the channels of the circulation would be of necessity fatal to the orderly accomplishment of the process. A very slight increase over the ordinary allowance of standard health would render the entire mass of the blood so thick and unruly in its adhesiveness, that it would be ever prone to stagnate in the minute channels and passages it has to permeate. This is abundantly shown in certain disorders of the inflammatory and rheumatic class, where the derangement is primarily due to the too rapid and abundant conversion of albumen into fibrin. In the arrangements which are incident to the condition of perfect health an ample reserve of albuminous material is kept constantly in store, and fresh portions of this reserve are worked up into the more elaborate and quasi-vital condition of adhesive fibrin exactly as this is needed for the construction of the more fibrous textures of the frame.

Thus much of the nature of the blood is made out by very simple observation, unaided by any of the more refined instruments of philosophical research. But the other, and living, portion of the blood can only be studied by the skilful employment of very powerful microscopes. When a minute droplet of freshly drawn blood is placed on a slip of glass, and is there pressed out into a thin film and then highly magnified, it is at once seen that a countless myriad of minute, round bodies are floating about in the liquid, the greater proportion of them being of a yellowish-red hue, and therefore very conspicuous in the clear serum, from the effect of contrast, but a smaller proportion of them being almost without colour. These, in default of any better name, are called the 'little bodies,' or '*corpuscles*,' of the blood. Various attempts have been made to give some clear idea of the surpassingly minute dimensions of these blood-corpuscles. But it must be confessed that both observation and description are alike inadequate to do so. It does not accomplish very much to say, as is often done, that ten millions of them could lie tessellated together as a pavement upon the surface of a square inch, and that from twenty-five to thirty-two hundred of them could be ranked in single file within the linear extent of an inch.

Perhaps not very much more is effected when the further statement is added that, in a single human body, there are six thousand times as many of these microscopic blood-corpuscles as there are living human creatures inhabiting the world. Allowing fifteen pounds of blood for the quantity contained in the body of a man of fair stature, and reckoning that of this blood one-seventh part, or two pounds and two ounces, is made up of corpuscles, and that there are seventy thousand millions of corpuscles in each cubic inch of the two pounds and two ounces, the sum total for the whole array of corpuscles comes out nearly two and a half millions of millions. It is to be feared that the only notion that can be realised from this computation is the very inadequate and crude one, that the minuteness and number of these most wonderful little objects are far beyond all clear apprehension.

The individual corpuscles of the blood are just visible, as exquisitely minute *rings*, when looked at through a good microscopic object-glass of one inch focus, which magnifies forty diameters. With an eighth of an inch object-glass, used with an eye-power that qualifies it for magnifying 1,200 diameters, each corpuscle appears as if nearly half an inch wide. The most expert histologists now accomplish even more than this, and successfully employ in their examination microscopic powers that magnify even 2,800 diameters.

When the circulating blood is observed in the small vessels of the web of the frog's foot, it is seen that the coloured corpuscles are hurried on in a thickly serried phalanx in the clear stream which flows through the channel of each little vessel, with a tendency to crowd themselves up into the middle of the passage as much as they can. The colourless corpuscles are observed for the most part loitering along in the outskirts of the stream, often in actual contact with the sides of the vessel, and on that account advancing in the current with less resolute and impetuous pace. Under ordinary circumstances there are but few colourless corpuscles in comparison with the coloured ones—not more than a single one to every two or three hundred. To cursory observation the colourless corpuscle looks like a translucent ball, knobbed over by boss-like projections, and rolling over and over as it moves. More exact and careful scrutiny, however, shows that the little sphere is incessantly changing its form—protruding now one part and now another of its outer surface, and twisting and contorting itself into all sorts of indescribable shapes. The entire substance, indeed, of which the corpuscle is made is in perpetual unsettlement, flowing and rolling about in all conceivable

directions. By some trained and competent observers the corpuscle is described as insinuating itself into and through the finest slits and pores, by first pushing forward the minutest perceivable finger or feeler of its substance into the available chink, and then bringing after the feeler all the rest of the corpuscular mass in the same attenuated way, until the opening is passed, when the corpuscle forthwith expands to its larger dimensions in the less restricted space beyond. This power of insinuating itself into the narrower openings and cavities by its own inherent movement and moulding of its shape is very remarkable. Very commonly, when specks of superior activity and increased condensation are seen to appear here and there in the mass of the corpuscle, it augments in size, and finally splits asunder into fragments; thus creating a brood of young corpuscles, each endowed with the same power of inherent activity and growth.

There is no shadow of doubt that the pale corpuscle of the blood is formed out of the fully prepared and most finished albuminous material; that it is, so to speak, the consummation of the first act of vital organisation. It is, in fact, a living creature fashioned, in some way or other, out of the richly elaborated material of the liquid in which it appears. In the colourless corpuscle life is contemplated in its most rudimentary condition; it is life seen at its dawn.

The most striking, and, on the whole, most characteristic peculiarity of this remarkable body, which distinguishes it from the unvitalised plastic matter that lies around, and that has been so immediately and so intimately concerned in its formation—the great stamp, as it were, of the new-born vitality with which the constituent material has become endowed—is its marvellous inherent power of spontaneous motion. The constituent spherules and molecules of which its mass is built up are, not firmly compacted together, but incessantly dancing hither and thither, and rolling over and over among themselves.

A second stamp-mark of the vital condition, which for the first time appears in the colourless corpuscle, is individual enlargement, or growth. The living corpuscle increases its own substance out of the molecular contributions which it receives from the surrounding nutrient material.

A third distinctive mark of the living state is that the substance of the life-endowed corpuscle has the power of constructing a peculiarly complex material which is no longer alive, although it has been so directly produced by living operation, and which furthermore is quite unproducible in any other way. This is what is known technically as 'formed

'substance.' There is not unreasonable ground for the notion which is entertained by some physiologists, that the highly plastic fibrin of the blood is itself 'formed substance' of this character, which has been made by the elaborating energy of the corpuscles.

By these various observations and considerations physiologists arrive at the conclusion that there are three altogether distinct states of complex material with which they have to deal in considering the first steps of vital organisation:—1st. that which is known as food-substance, or formative material. 2nd. living substance—formative material, which has been endowed with absolute vitality. And, 3rd. formed substance, the final result of vital operation, not itself alive, but which has been formed by the process of living elaboration, and which can only be formed in that way. Formative material and living substance are seen respectively in the albuminous principle and in the corpuscles of the blood. More particular allusion will have to be made presently to the formed material. In the meantime it should be understood that the most intelligent modern physiologists seem to be pretty well satisfied that it is a fundamental law of living economy that 'formative material' must pass through the ordeal of becoming itself 'living substance' before it can by any possibility be 'formed substance;' and that this virtually is the reason why the 'formed substance' of organised structures cannot be produced by any unliving agency. Hence, also, all the three distinct states of organic material are of necessity present in living bodies. For some time the actual living substance of an organised structure was spoken of as its 'protoplasm,' or first organised base. The more expressive and more philosophic term, 'Bioplasm' (Life Plasm, or Living Plasm), has now been accepted, in its stead.

Exquisitely and almost inconceivably small as these living corpuscles of the blood are found to be, in comparison with the grosser objects that form the 'unmicroscopic' sphere of ordinary observation, they are nevertheless, it must be remembered, themselves gross masses, if they, in their turn, are compared with the literally immeasurable masslets which are used in their fabrication. Each separate corpuscle is, itself, individually made up of parts, or particles, that can just be discerned under the highest powers of the microscope performing the peculiar vital movements that have been described; and these parts, or particles, are themselves made of yet other constituent parts also unquestionably of complex constitution; that is, of material which has had, at least, several different kinds of elemen-

tary substance brought together to accomplish its formation. Indeed, it may be unreservedly stated, as an axiom of physiological science, that the ultimate spherules, or molecules, of which food-substance is composed, and of which living texture is built, are so very small that they are removed quite beyond the sphere of visibility, even when this is extended to its utmost range by the greatest powers of the microscope. The material substance in which the special changes are brought about that convert dead matter into living matter cannot be seen by human eyes. They occur in a region of material existence that is altogether beyond the reach of the visual powers which have been accorded to man. They cannot, therefore, be made the object of the direct observation of human philosophers. This, no doubt, is one reason why human intelligence has failed hitherto to unveil this particular mystery, and to demonstrate what life is.

The 'formed substance' made by the agency of living 'bioplasm' is necessarily placed, in the first instance, immediately outside of the vital and generating mass; it is thrown off, so to speak, to its outer surface. In the case of small isolated aggregations of living substance, such as are the blood-corpuscles now under consideration, the substance, thus generated and thrown back to the outer surface of the corpuscle, may be scattered at once into the general current of the blood, as most probably happens with the great part of the fibrin that is thus fabricated. But, in other instances, the formed substance is retained around the aggregation of bioplasm and condensed into a kind of investing film. In other words, the little living body encloses itself in an outer coat of its own making; and so becomes what is termed, in physiological language, a 'vesicle,' or 'cell.' When the outer case, or cell-wall, of formed substance has once been framed in this way, all further supply of formative food for the interior living mass is drawn in through the actual substance of the investing film, being filtered through its invisible and almost inappreciable pores. The imbibed food is appropriated, in the first instance, to the enlargement and renewal of the aggregation of living molecules within the cell, and then to the construction of further additions of formed substance, which are returned to the outer surface of the living corpuscle, and are there plastered round the interior of the cell-wall, thickening and strengthening it, and otherwise changing and modifying its character. All the various textures of the living animal body—bone, cartilage, membrane, flesh, and brain—are, indeed, constructed in this way. Whenever such a proceeding is requisite, a considerable number of the com-

pleted vesicles are fitted and fixed together to fabricate continuous texture, and the fabricated mass is then permeated by delicate channels and tubes so contrived as to enable them to bring in fresh supplies of the nourishment that is still needed for the support and perfection of the vesicles. As the development of the building-up vesicle proceeds the living internal germ becomes continually less and less, and so dwindles away, while the outer-formed investment becomes thicker and more pronounced in its structural character, until at length the living germ disappears altogether, and a formed, but no longer living, 'cell' remains as the final result of the operation. Cells, or vesicles, are so commonly formed under the constructive energy of corpuscular aggregations of bioplasm, that for a considerable time it was believed the cell was the elementary and basal form of life—the structural condition of formed substance which was indispensable to the reception of vitality,—and the wasting enclosed germ, under the specific denomination of nucleus, was held to be, not the residue and remainder of the earlier and more actively vital state, but the 'seed-germ' which was to lead up to matured vitality. It is now, however, understood that it is exactly those aggregations of bioplasm which have the least trace of an external investment of formed substance that are endowed with the most energetically vital, and especially reproductive, power; and that it is those which have most effectually shut themselves up in an outer case of their own formation that are, on the other hand, the least energetically vital.

The colourless blood-corpuscle of the living animal is essentially the representative and typical form of primary bioplastic aggregation which is employed in the economy of animal organisation, both for reproduction and multiplication of like aggregations, and for the construction of the various fabrics that are finally made for the building up of the body. A very casual reconsideration of the especial character of this little typical workman in the labours of organisation will serve to suggest how marvellously it is fitted for the office it has to fulfil. In the first place, there is its convenient habit of incessant rolling of itself in every possible direction and into every possible shape, and of instinctively insinuating itself wherever it is possible for material substance to find entrance and lodgment; and then, in the next place, there is its no less remarkable habit of incessantly absorbing spherules of organic substance into the restless vortices of its own mass, and of there changing them into 'formed substance,' the material base of organised textures. Comparatively few colourless corpuscles are seen, at any one

moment, in any part of the great current of the circulation, simply because they are taken up, and used, in the work of conversion and construction almost as rapidly as they are supplied. If they were the final issues, instead of being the material means of the constructive operation, as it will be presently seen their associates the coloured blood-corpuscles are, they would be as numerous as those little crimson bodies. Wherever the hurrying blood gets into channels that retard its onward flow the colourless corpuscles become immensely more abundant, because then their multiplication is continued while their expenditure is arrested. In the extreme capillary channels of the circulation, where the constructive energies of the colourless corpuscles have to be mainly exerted, the motion of the blood-stream is of necessity slow, because the actual area of this terminal network is of some four or five hundred times larger capacity than the area of the main vessel which furnishes the supply. The current of the blood waxes slower and slower as it passes on into the larger space that is laid out for its conveyance. It will be at once perceived how admirably this retardation of the movement of the blood in the minute channels of the circulation, where it is virtually brought into close contact and connexion with the fabrics that are to be operated upon, favours the proceedings of these subtle little fabricators, the colourless corpuscles.

The coloured corpuscles of the blood are, however, of a very different nature to their colourless allies and associates. So long as they are engaged in the work of energetic and rapid multiplication the colourless corpuscles are without any trace of external investment of formed substance. They are merely corpuscular aggregations of bioplasm, and in no sense vesicles, or cells. They only put on the external investment of formed substance, and assume the true vesicular condition, when they are passing on from the state of active life into the state of formed texture—when they are ceasing to be constructing agents, and are getting to be constructed material. The coloured blood-corpuscles, on the other hand, are more of the nature of vesicles from the very first. The molecules of coloured liquid, of which they chiefly consist, are at all times enclosed within a delicate investment of formed substance. Most probably the small mass of bioplasm, that sets to work to construct this investing coat for itself, is but a variety of the young colourless corpuscle. Colourless corpuscles, formed out of living bioplasm, grow, multiply, and pass on into the developed state of coloured corpuscles.

The coloured corpuscle is not only of a somewhat smaller

size than its pale companion and ally, it is also of an altogether different form and aspect, and is entirely devoid of capacity of intrinsic vital movement. It is swept along in the general current of the blood-stream, and is sometimes a trifle more distended, and at other times a trifle more pressed in. But it exhibits none of the internal unfixedness and restless change of shape that have been spoken of as the leading characteristic of the colourless corpuscle. It is, indeed, an already fixed and fully-developed vesicle-like body, fashioned for particular work, and on that account left with a lower endowment of vital energy. The general shape of the outer envelope is not spherical, but lenticular, compressed in one direction from side to side. As it is rolled along in the channels of the circulation it presents itself sometimes sideways, and sometimes edgeways, to the eye. The sides are not smoothly and evenly curved, but slightly dimpled in the middle, so that they look as if they consisted of a central darker spot and a surrounding ring of lighter hue. The investing coat is soft, flexible, and elastic, and capable of yielding readily to the impression of external force, although destitute of all power of independent movement. The substance contained within is a thick crimson fluid somewhat of the nature of highly plastic fibrin, but most probably of still more elaborate and finished character, and is strongly impregnated with iron.

The question of the actual character and parentage of the red corpuscle, and of the early relationship and affinities of the two corpuscles—the colourless and the coloured—is perhaps not yet absolutely settled. There are, for instance, experienced and accomplished physiologists who believe that the red corpuscle is formed in the interior of the colourless corpuscle by the development and maturation of a 'nucleus,' and that the colourless corpuscle is invested by a cell-film, which is burst when the young red corpuscles are thrown loose into the blood-stream. Yet others maintain that the red corpuscle is a porous mass of dead formed structure, containing in its pores coloured living pulp (*oecoid* and *zooid* of Professor Brucke), and that the living pulp can be caused to move bodily out of the containing pores by certain physical influences. Making all due allowance for the 'aberglaube' complexities of this subtle department of physiological investigation, there remains, however, safe ground for the conclusion that the colourless blood-corpuscle is a formative body of high vital endowment and activity, and that the red blood-corpuscle is a formed body, fabricated from aggregations of bioplasm by development and transformation. Day by day, the notion that bioplasm accomplishes most of the broadest functions of organisation, and that

it is seen so performing them in the case of the colourless corpuscles of the blood independently of vesicular construction of any kind, and that vesicular formation is altogether a secondary, independent, and ulterior result, is gaining stronger acceptance among physiologists.

The enormous abundance of the coloured blood-corpuscles—the countless millions of them which are contained in the streaming circulation of a single individual, and which are being reproduced generation after generation in unceasing succession, from the period of birth to that of final dissolution at the end of the natural term of existence—sufficiently indicates what important agents these bodies are in the economy and operations of animal life. In all probability they contribute, in some degree, to the actual formation of organised structure. But this is not their chief business and purpose; they clearly have a more direct and special commission of usefulness in the living scheme. The coloured corpuscles act specially as carriers of influence, and as equalizers and regulators of condition. They rouse and sustain vital energy and power, and they keep the blood in the precise state in which it is required to be for the manifold offices it has to accomplish. They convey from the lungs the aerial influence—the oxygen—which enters there in the act of respiration, and bear it to the minute capillary channels of the circulation, where its chemical influence has to be exerted in the evolution of animal warmth, or blood-heat, and in sundry other transforming operations connected with the presence of impulse and effort. The particular powers of muscle, nerve, and brain—the most highly endowed parts of the living apparatus—are unquestionably stimulated and maintained in their fullest energy and perfection by the instrumentality of the red corpuscles.

A considerable portion both of the oxygen gas acquired in the lungs, and of the carbonic acid gas generated in the capillary extremities of the circulation, is at all times mingled with the blood in the disengaged gaseous state. The blood contains as much as half its own volume of free gas. In 100 cubic inches of blood there are 50 cubic inches of gas, of which one-third is oxygen on its way to the structural penetralia of the frame, to perform there its office of resolution and reduction of complex principles; and two-thirds are carbonic acid gas on its way from these penetralia, where it has been generated by the resolving power of oxygen, to the pulmonary and other outlets, whence it has to be discharged at once, not only from the blood, but also from the body. About one-tenth of the free gas in the blood is nitrogen, an element whose presence is less perfectly

understood. It is a remarkable fact that the blood holds suspended in its liquid substance a very much larger proportion of uncombined oxygen than pure water can contain. This is mainly due to the action of the coloured blood-corpuscles. The red liquid of these little bodies has the power of holding comparatively large quantities of gaseous oxygen in a grasp so close that it nearly resembles the strong embrace of chemical affinity, and yet so light that the chemical integrity and individuality of the agent are not placed in abeyance or interfered with. Some highly oxydisable principles, which are readily corroded by oxygen in other circumstances, pass unscathed with it through the blood in its progress through the frame, on account of the stronger hold exerted upon it by the ferruginous liquid of the corpuscle.

Oil, derived from the digestion of the fatty ingredients of the food, is always present in the blood in considerable quantity. There is nearly half an ounce of oil in fifteen pounds of blood. A portion of this oil is mingled with the serous liquid. Other portions are mingled very closely and intimately with the crimson liquid of the red corpuscle, and, therefore, belong to the corpuscular rather than to the serous part. The oil-spherules of the serum are used up as fuel in the production and maintenance of animal heat. The oil of the blood-corpuscles, on the other hand, is devoted to constructive, and not destructive, work. It is largely used in the fabrication of nerve and brain, and more moderately in that of some other textures.

The constitution of the blood, which has thus been passed in review, is a subject of deep and absorbing interest when looked upon merely as a matter of intelligent inquiry. Upon that ground alone the somewhat elaborate discussion of the subject which has been hazarded might almost be excused and justified. But there is a very much stronger reason for the procedure, which has now to be developed and urged. The observation and study, and the intelligent apprehension of the composition, of the blood is not only a piece of piquant intellectual enjoyment, it is also a matter of practical wisdom, and, it may perhaps also be added, of responsible duty, for every individual who forms part of the great scheme of social human existence. For it is in the derangements of the adjustments which have been spoken of in the preceding pages that the cause of the vast array of physical evils, which bear the collective name of Disease, has to be looked for; and it is by a rational apprehension on the part of the general community of the light which science has been able to throw upon their insidious ope-

rations that their fell agency in shortening the appointed span of life can be most surely counteracted and deprived of its baneful power.

That a considerable number of what are termed zymotic, or infectious, diseases are communicable from person to person, and that these diseases are, in fact, continually developed and spread in this very way, is a matter of familiar knowledge. Now, one hundred and eleven thousand people, speaking in round numbers, out of a population of twenty-two millions contained in England and Wales, die of disorders of that class every year. The deaths from all causes in the same population are less than five hundred thousand in the year. Therefore, nearly twenty-three per cent. of the current death-rate is due to a class of influences which at least is capable of being affected by human intelligence dealing with it as a broad question of sanitary regulation and management.

These communicable diseases, to say nothing for the present of other kinds of morbid derangement, are, certainly, all engendered in the blood. They are due to some injurious change brought about in the material, or adjustment, that has been described. The living blood is the seat both of the disorder that is set up in the individual system, or frame, and of the erratic influence which then carries a similar state of disorder to other systems and individuals, and in that living blood must be sought the potential cause of the baneful result. So much at least is now unquestioned by anyone.

It has been shown that the general constitution of the blood is so ordered that the plastic fluid can flow readily through the delicate capillary channels of the frame where the work of nutrition and renovation of the substance of the living organs has to be carried on. The most frequent form of disease to which the human body is amenable is undoubtedly due to such a change in this particular state of the blood as prevents it from flowing in a free and easy way through the minute channels laid down for its conveyance. The plastic material of the blood, instead of generating life-plasm (bioplasm) in the exact proportion and amount in which it is required for the working needs and capacities of the system, generates it in an over-abundant quantity, or in excess; and the colourless blood-corpuscles, instead of being regularly formed, and moving off in an orderly way as they are produced, to be used up in the formation of fresh ranks of red corpuscles, and in the building up of structure in the various recesses of the body, are irregularly formed and agglomerated into unwieldy aggregations of bioplasm, which quickly choke up and plug the finer channels of the circulation,

and cause stagnation in the movements of the vital liquid. This common derangement in the blood is continually observed by the employment of the microscope. It can, indeed, be artificially brought about at any time in the transparent membrane of the frog's foot, where it can be watched in its progress. What is termed inflammation, in whatever form, is in the first instance simply over-abundant generation and deposit of agglomerations of bioplasm, and the consequent stagnation and arrest of the blood-flow through the capillary extensions of the vessels. As the stagnation in the affected part becomes more decided and more pronounced, the heart augments the force of its stroke in its endeavour to overcome the abnormal resistance, and under this increase of injecting force the fine walls of the delicate vessels yield, so that their internal channels become enlarged and dilated. In cases of extreme mischief they even give way, and the rapidly growing aggregations of clotted bioplasm gather outside and around the proper channels of the blood-flow as well as within them. There is then swelling in the affected part, in consequence of the stagnation and unnatural engorgement; and there is pain, in consequence of the way in which the unnatural aggregations and engorgements press upon the nerves. There is also increased heat, or burning (*inflammatio*), which for a long time was conceived to be actual combustion of the texture of the part under the influence of more rapid oxidation, but which is now known to be something very different. In all derangements of this character there is less, rather than more, oxydation and reduction of the complex principles of the textures of the body. The excessive heat is really due to the over-abundant and too rapid formation of aggregations of plastic bioplasm. When the less elaborated material of blood is converted into life-plasm heat is set free, which was previously operative as latent force in holding together its constituents. The movement of the blood having become either sluggish or stagnant, the abnormally increased supply of heat is not carried away, but remains accumulating in the part and giving rise to the 'burning' temperature which provides the derangement with a name.

A similar condition of too rapid increase of bioplasm, and too lingering motion of the blood-streams, with a tendency to stagnation in the capillary channels of the circulation, when it occurs everywhere throughout the body, instead of being confined to one particular organ, or narrow spot, constitutes the disorder which is known as 'fever.' In ordinary fevers the derangement is brought about mainly by mere incidental depravity in the formation of the blood; too much of certain

adhesive and plastic principles are thrown into it from the food, and too little of certain effete and contaminating principles are removed from it by the agency of the red blood-corpuscles and of the various organs of elimination, such as the lungs, the liver, and the kidneys, which are properly the scavenger department of the animal economy. But in 'infectious fevers' the same depraved and disordered condition is set up in individuals who would not otherwise have experienced it, by their having been incidentally placed under the infecting influence of blood already affected by this kind of contamination. What, then, is the precise mode, and effective cause, of the communication of the disorder from the blood of the affected individual to that of the previously unaffected one? Do the researches of the physiologist into the nature of blood-constitution, and life-plasm, throw any material light upon this important consideration?

In the first place, physiological science does show that, in the vaccine lymph, which reproduces the vaccine form of variolar disease when introduced into previously healthy blood, a myriad of minute aggregations of living matter, obviously of very similar nature to corpuscular aggregations of bioplasm, are rapidly produced, and that the power of the lymph to communicate the disease is almost certainly due to these minute aggregations. If they are removed from the lymph by filtering it, the remaining liquid part is found to have lost entirely its vaccinating power; and, on the other hand, the aggregations left when the lymph is filtered away are potent as vaccinating agents, and continue to be so even when they have been approximately dried, and kept in that state for days and even weeks, provided they are replaced in the substance of warm living blood. These corpuscles of vaccine lymph have now been again and again examined by microscopic object-glasses that magnify them some 5,000 diameters, and with these high powers they look marvellously like white blood-corpuscles and exhibit the same inherent power of vital movement that has been described as belonging to those little bodies. There is, therefore, in this instance, actual demonstration of the production in the blood of visible and tangible disease-germs, capable of reproducing specific diseased action in other blood, and which are, to all appearance, living bodies in the sense in which blood-corpuscles are so.

And again, physiological science has been able amply to demonstrate that when mere simple and incidental inflammatory derangement is produced in a living body, some of the plastic material, which goes in more favourable and normal conditions

to constitute healthy texture, takes to producing little aggregations of life-plasm, which have thenceforth lost all power of performing constructive work in the system, but are able to reproduce generation after generation of other like aggregations, even after they have been removed to liquids not originally forming part of the organisation from which they are derived; and, what is of further importance to the argument, physiological science can show also that almost every kind of texture of which the organised structures of the living body is composed, is capable of having its vital energy diverted from the ordinary work of generating vesicles required for constructive purposes, to the extraordinary work of producing these rapidly-multiplying aggregations of bioplasm. The little bodies which are thus produced are what are termed 'pus-'corpuscles.' They are the indispensable base of what is known as purulent matter. When these products of disease, the pus-corpuscles, were first detected and observed, they were described as little 'vesicular' bodies of a spherical shape, surrounded by a filmy investment or cell-coat, and containing within the cell-wall granular substance. It is now, however, well known that the pus-corpuscles most ordinarily seen are merely the dead *débris* of the living and active pus-corpuscle. They are aggregations of granules, and of oil-globules resulting from the disintegration and destruction of living matter and enclosed in a kind of cerement of coagulated albumen that has formed around them. The actually living pus-corpuscle is, like the colourless blood-corpuscle, devoid of all vesicular investment, and a mere naked mass, or aggregation, of life-plasm. But it is an aggregation in which a notable change has been brought about. It is bioplasm which has lost its constructive capacity and energy, and which has acquired in its place a remarkable increase of a lower *reproductive* power. The constructive force which, in ordinary circumstances, is directed *to the development* of cells and to structural achievement, is turned to the generating of a countless myriad of incoherent and, so to speak, degraded though still living spherules.

It may perhaps be well to remark, in passing, that the object of the conversion of true bioplasm into the pus-globule is a beneficent one. It is principally by means of this degradation of the ordinary state that the hurtful stagnations and coagulations of inflammatory disorders are removed. Masses of adhesive bioplasm, that have clogged some important track of texture and plugged the channels of the blood-stream, are changed into loose and unadherent pus-corpuscles, which are

easily scattered and removed out of the way in consequence of their incoherency.

It is therefore, in this case, clear that the actual substance of the textures of the living frame can be changed into a degraded form of existence in which, although the proper powers of constructive activity are lost, a lower kind of vital activity is still retained. Now the most recent and perhaps, upon the whole, the most reasonable notion of the nature of the propagation-germs of infectious diseases is that they are in all the essential particulars of the same character as vaccine and pus-corpuscles; minute aggregations of life-plasm, primarily derived from the perversion of ordinary and healthy bioplasm, and transformed into a new state of vital existence in which restless impulse in self-reproduction takes the place of proper constructive work; where the same kind of action that is so beneficently brought into play for a reparative and remedial end in the case of the pus-corpuscle and purulent matter runs riot, and is enlisted in the work of destruction and death.

There is no difficulty whatever in understanding how disease-germs of this character can become the potential cause of the communication of specific disease, and can find their way from the interior of one living creature into the interior of others of like organisation. The inlets and outlets through which bodies of even such fineness as the corpuscular aggregations that have been actually seen by the microscope could pass, are practically infinite in number. Dr. Beale states that he has, in favourable circumstances when working with the fiftieth of an inch focus object-glass, distinctly seen corpuscular aggregations in pus with dimensions not exceeding in breadth the hundred thousandth part of an inch, presenting all the distinctive characters of bioplastic life, and throwing off continually subordinate spherules and corpuscular germs that were just, even with those advanced powers of the microscope, upon the margin of invisibility. Even the largest of these aggregations would have scarcely a fiftieth part of the breadth of the blood-corpuscle, and would float about in currents of air, a thousandfold more readily than the minute particles of dust that are carried by the same agency to every nook and cranny of dwelling-houses to be deposited there in constantly accumulating heaps. Dr. Beale, in pursuing the line of thought suggested by the observation of these minute objects, very strikingly remarks that there are most probably living creatures of such exquisite tenuity that they can actually *climb*, without muscles or limbs, not only through fluids, but even upon the

particles of air itself. Disease-germs, of even such tenuity as appear to have been traced in the researches of Dr. Beale, would ride with the utmost facility in the interior of the blood-corpuscles. One colourless blood-corpuscle could accommodate thousands of the pigmies in its comparatively vast sphere. Such disease-germs would be easily poured through the actual films of the ultimate capillary vessels of the blood-channels into surrounding textures, and also into open and external air-filled space, almost as freely as if they were not imprisoned in any way.

The capability of infectious disease to be communicated from an affected to a previously unaffected frame, by the direct passage of material substance from one to the other, is an affair of actual demonstration when the matter of the vaccine pustule, or of the pustule of small-pox, is taken upon the point of a lancet and passed by it through a puncture of the skin into the blood of a vaccinated, or innoculated, person. It is almost as manifest that cholera contagion can be introduced by the use, as a drink, of water containing the excreta of persons who have suffered from choleraic disease. The proof has been made quite as complete in the case of contaminated air by German physiologists, for they have been at the pains to communicate small-pox to sheep by making them breathe through a shirt that had been worn for twelve hours by a man ill with small-pox.

Very commonly a relaxed and weakened condition of the fine vessels of the organised textures, and a lowered power of healthy resistance, are coincident with just that depraved condition of the blood which inclines to congestion and stagnation in the capillary channels of the circulation, and to ready transudation through their walls. In such morbidly disposed blood there is nearly always a deficiency of coloured corpuscles, and consequently a defective fulfilment of the reducing and oxydising processes which are so necessary to the maintenance of blood at the proper standard of health. In all feverish diseases constituents of the blood, which under the more favourable circumstances of perfect health are rapidly oxydised and thrown out from the system through the eliminating outlets of the lungs, kidneys, digestive canal and skin, are retained in the channels of the circulation unoxydised, or are painfully and imperfectly removed from it in a too partially reduced and oxydised state. It is now clearly understood that in every form of grave disease there is a preparation for the outbreak of the more advanced and palpable phase of the disorder, through the slow, gradual, and insidious derangement of the condition of

the blood, and consequently also of the most important textures and organs of the frame; and that it is this early stage of threatening derangement which is most within the reach of, and which most calls for, the exercise of the physician's controlling power. On the other hand, it is the various methods by which disease-germs are preserved and perpetuated when they have once been generated in the bodies of people affected by specific blood-contamination; the means by which they are raised in mischievous power and virulence as they are in the act of dissemination; and the contrivances by which they may be caught the instant they issue from their source in diseased organisms and destroyed before they can further pursue their baneful career, which it belongs properly to the governing department of the State to deal with by well-considered sanitary regulations. It is certain that disease-germs continue to live for long periods of time in the natural secretions and moist exudations of living bodies; often almost hybernating for a season, and then reawakening into renewed activity when favourable conditions for their growth and multiplication occur. The contagion of the cattle-plague unquestionably lurks in this way in the milk of the cow. Many kinds of disease-germs even retain their potential vitality in water, and some, which have been thrown out from the diseased body in a subdued state of activity for evil, are roused by external conditions and accidental influences into most deadly energy and power. This certainly occurs with the germs of some kinds of infectious fever. But the most remarkable illustration of the fact has just been furnished by Dr. Burdon Sanderson in a direct experiment. He has taken purulent matter from an abscess in the spleen, and in the first instance innoculated the peritoneal cavity of a guinea-pig, and shown that the animal suffers no material harm from the innoculation. He has then inserted other portions of the same matter in the peritoneal cavity of a dog, and after forty-eight hours has taken fluid from that cavity and used it for again innoculating another dog; and deadly disease, closely resembling the worst collapse of cholera and malignant fever, is then found to be produced within six hours. The comparatively harmless matter is seen to be converted into a most virulent and energetic poison by the influence of an inflamed living organ exerted upon it during a couple of days. In seven distinct experiments Dr. Sanderson found identically the same results. In every case the dog made subject to the secondary innoculation was dying in collapse and with terrific spasms at the expiration of six hours. It is also beyond dispute that the contagion of cholera,

when received into water and exposed for a few hours to the hot sun, acquires intensely concentrated virulence, and that this condition of mischievous exaltation is only continued for a brief interval, perhaps such as two or three days, and that the distinct states, first of exalted morbific power, and then of comparative harmlessness, of the infection, are marked by the development in the water of different types of microscopic life, which can be at once distinguished from each other, and may therefore be taken as the distinctive symbols, on the one hand of imminent danger, and on the other of comparative safety.

It is a very remarkable and obviously an important and practical fact that many of the most deadly forms of infection-germs, which can remain alive and hurtfully influential in liquids extraneous to the living body, and which can even be rendered more banefully energetic in such extraneous menstrua, are nevertheless inert and powerless in *healthy* human blood, and only come into efficient activity when the blood loses its well-adjusted balance and full perfection. It is also a consideration of the utmost practical moment that most of the disease-germs can be at once and summarily destroyed by special antagonistic agencies, if caught and acted upon as they pass out from the source of their production. Indeed, the most energetic and most actively multiplying corpuscular aggregations of life-plasm are so much the more readily and easily destroyed by antagonistic agencies of this class for the very reason that constitutes their energetic vitality—namely, the absence of investment of formed material around them. The various substances which are termed disinfectants, and which are designedly employed for the destruction of embryo disease-germs, are mostly reagents that are endowed with very considerable powers of reduction and chemical affinity, and that operate all the more certainly when they have to deal with naked and unprotected masses, such as these little organised germs of mischief are held to be.

It may thus be accepted as a fact pretty well established by the investigations of physiological science that disease-germs, potential for infectious work, are living bodies in the sense in which the colourless blood-corpuscles are so; that is, that they are capable of being generated in the blood, and fed there out of its ordinary and normal constituents; and also of reproducing and multiplying themselves, and of carrying on this process of reproduction even when they pass from one living body to another. There is, indeed, a distinct school of physiologists with whom these leading facts weigh with such impressive force, that they incline to assert that wherever infectious disease of any

kind appears, there must have been its own specific germs already existent to produce its development. Dr. Beale's investigations, on the other hand, seem to have led him to the more comprehensive, and what we almost venture to term the more philosophic doctrine that disease-germs, of whatever kind, can at any time be generated *de novo* from healthy bioplasm by the mere influence of extraneous circumstances, and that infectious diseases may again and again break out with a fresh and independent start when specific organic and material conditions obtain. Towards the conclusion of his monograph on 'Disease-germs,' he says in reference to this point:—

'Without therefore venturing to state positively from what particular kinds of germinal or living matter of the body the germs of contagious disease are actually derived, or attempting to decide definitely whether they come from the very minute bioplasts' (aggregations of bioplasm), 'or from ordinary white blood-corpuscles, or mucus, or epithelial, or other particles, I think I am justified in advancing the doctrine that the germs originate in man's organism, and that they have descended from the normal bioplasm of the body.

'A careful study of the course and symptoms of the various fevers, which have been prevalent at different periods leads to the suggestion of the probability that from time to time new germs are produced, and that old ones deteriorate and disappear. The new forms may be closely allied to already existing forms and to forms which have existed previously, but nevertheless the results occasioned by their development are so peculiar that we cannot but suppose they are occasioned by a poison of a special kind. It is even possible to discern differences between cases of the same type of contagious fever, which are sufficient to justify us in arranging them as species of a genus or as varieties of a species.'

The notion, then, which seems to be gradually making way among physiologists and growing into wider acceptance in the physiological mind, is, that whenever a bioplastic constituent of the living body is transformed into what is termed a disease-germ—that is, into the material cause of the transmission of diseased action to otherwise healthy organisation, the power of inherent individual vitality is quickened and raised, but that the form of the resulting organic aggregation is degraded and lowered. Living portions of the organisation which, under the proper provisions of the health-rule, should concern themselves with the deliberate and orderly perfecting of their own construction for the accomplishment of some specific purpose, take in a mad way to multiplying a restless, unduly energetic, and disorderly progeny, which in no case attain to the intended state of perfection, and waste their vitality in mere reproduction of the lower structural form. Generation after generation of

fresh aggregations of living plastic substance is formed, each successive generation degrading in constructive skill, but quickening in mere reproductive activity more and more, and acquiring, in connexion with the change, the habit, so to speak, of preying upon and destroying the material substance which, under happier circumstances, it would have supported and renewed. This obviously is the exact description of what occurs when purulent matter is formed as a result of some inflammatory disorganisation of healthy texture. The healthy coherent life-plasm is loosened and dissolved into incoherent pus-corpuscles which rapidly multiply brood after brood. In some other kinds of transformation and disintegration of texture resulting from disease, as for instance in what are known as cancerous affections, the corpuscular aggregations reproduced in the process of the transformation hang more or less together in a continuous mass, as generation after generation is added to the morbid growth, instead of being scattered loosely asunder as they are formed. Dr. Beale is of opinion that in infectious fevers a similar perversion of vital and generative force is carried into yet farther development, the final products of the progressive degradation being aggregations of perfected life-plasm of infinite minuteness, but of proportionally exalted energy; and he believes that in some of the most grave and deadly forms of peritoneal inflammation, which are unquestionably communicated by substantial contact and material transmission, he has seen the process of organic degradation of the white blood-corpuscle actually occur, under the observation of the microscope, as it has been here described.

But there is another group of diseases which furnishes yet more telling proof of the influence of blood-degradation as an immediate cause of life-destroying disorder—namely, the group which is known under the generic term Consumption. This group is of scarcely inferior importance in a social and economic sense to the group of Infectious Fevers. It kills yearly in England and Wales nearly half as many people as all the great variety of infectious disorders taken together, including in the list typhus, scarlatina, measles, small-pox, cholera, diphtheria, and whooping-cough. For every 111,000 people who are carried away by infectious diseases, out of 488,000 who, in round numbers, die annually in England and Wales, 53,000 are carried away by consumption; 22·84 per cent. of the current death-rate is due to infectious diseases, and 12·5 per cent. to consumption. Infectious and consumptive diseases together claim 36 per cent. of those who die, and one death in every eight is due to consumption.

That consumption, in every form, is substantially a result of the living textures built up from the elaborated material contained in the blood being of low and depraved character, instead of having the finish of high perfection, is beyond dispute. The fact has been recognised for some considerable time, but it has, perhaps, never before been so clearly demonstrated and explained as now in a small volume recently printed by Dr. Charles J. B. Williams, and entitled 'The 'Nature, Varieties, and Treatment of Pulmonary Consump-'tion.' The book bears a very modest aspect, and is of small dimensions, but it is the crowning labour of a life-long work of nearly half a century. Dr. Williams began his investigations in this special branch of research under the guidance of Laennec, Andral, and Chomel. Thirty-two years ago he was teaching from the chair of the Professor of Medicine in University College, that lymph, pus, and tubercle differed only in the degree of their vitalisation, and that they are essentially the same principle and may be continually seen passing into each other. He now, with the strength which comes from a half century of close observation and study, re-affirms this statement, and supports it by an elaborate reference to the grounds of his own conviction. He holds that in consumptive disease, the corpuscular aggregations of bioplasm, which are used in the construction of the textures of the most important organs of the body, have not the power of free vital movement and plasticity which they ought to possess, and that they are, instead, hard, indolent, and dry. The bioplasm, or life-substance, becomes what Dr. Williams happily terms 'phthinoplasm,' that is 'bioplasm' in a state of premature waste and decay. It will be observed how aptly the term 'phthinoplasm,' or 'wasting-plasm,' expresses the state of the plastic textures of the body in the disease which is known as 'phthisis,' the 'wasting disease.' In consumption the textures which have been built up from the blood decay even while they live. The 'phthinoplasm' of Dr. Williams is, of course, identical with the tubercle of older pathologists.

Dr. Williams infers from a large series of considerations, which he discusses carefully and completely in the pages of his book, that the great primary cause of the particular blood-deterioration which engenders tubercle and leads to consumption, is the depressing and degrading influence of impure air, deficient and improper nourishment, and other debilitating and exhausting agencies. Accidental inflammation, especially of the respiratory organs, which are of necessity very amenable and open to the power of atmospheric chill in inclement seasons,

not unfrequently acts as the first step in the development of the disease, determining the commencement of the noxious deposit, and leading to its further dissemination and growth. But inflammation alone cannot produce the result unless the depraved blood-condition is there. The depraved blood-condition, on the other hand, can lead to rapid consumption without any kind of inflammatory complication. When inflammation occurs in the unconsumptive condition of the blood, the over plastic deposits issuing from the derangement pass into the state of pus-corpuscles which dissolve and destroy the clogged textures, but at the same time clear them away, and relieve the oppressed part of the embarrassment. But when inflammation occurs in the consumptive condition of blood, tubercle-deposit is formed out of the deranged plasma, instead of purulent matter, and the deposit continues to clog instead of tending to clear away, and so carries with it the habit of further and progressive destruction, filling and choking up the affected parts with decaying material, and involving them in prolonged, and frequently in fatal disorder.

The degraded bioplasm (phthinoplasm or tubercle), when consumption sets in, is sometimes widely diffused in the form of thousands of minute masses like millet seeds, and sometimes closely packed in definite spots, and hedged round by firm membrane which tends to shut up the deposit and to hinder its dispersion. In the one case acute and rapidly progressing consumption ensues. In the other the consumption is of chronic character and slow progress.

Considerable attention has been given by Dr. Williams, and his son Dr. Theodore Williams, to the question of whether consumption is contagious, in the sense in which infectious fevers are so. Some seven years ago a distinguished physiologist induced consumption in guinea pigs and rabbits by inserting consumptive tubercle beneath the skin through punctures made for the purpose. In these experiments true tubercle was found in the lungs, liver, and in other glandular organs, after a few months. Similar experiments have since been made, and with the same result, in France, Germany, and England, and physiologists of the Germ-Contagion school have claimed the results as proofs of the contagiousness of the disease. On the other hand, an analogous development of consumption has been also produced by using with the same animals for the inoculation diseased matter that is not consumptive tubercle; and from this it has been argued that the production of tubercle is in all the instances due to the setting up of a low form of inflammation which causes degradation of

blood-plasm, and not to the contagious communication of tubercle from body to body. Dr. Theodore Williams, who is steadily following in the track that has been marked out by his father's investigations, and who is formally associated with him in the production of this volume, and has taken especial pains with the statistical part, very pertinently remarks that if consumption were really contagious in the proper acceptance of that term, the fact would have been abundantly proved in the case of the Hospital for Consumption at Brompton, by the extension of the disease there to attendants; whereas, as an actual fact, it is found that the occurrence of consumption in persons connected with the hospital and its administration since its foundation in 1846, has been remarkably rare, and the deaths very few, in proportion vastly below the number of cases of infectious fever found in the staff of any of our fever hospitals, or indeed of any of the large general hospitals of the Metropolis. Dr. Williams himself concurs in his son's inference that consumption is not contagious like scarlatina, small-pox, or typhus; but he adds, 'both reason and experience indicate that a noxious influence 'may pass from a patient in advanced consumption to a healthy 'person in close communication, and may produce the same 'disease, just as foul matter or putrid flesh will produce tubercles 'in an inoculated animal; and I therefore always recommend 'that such patients should sleep alone,' and that special care should be taken to effect perfect ventilation. The non-contagiousness of consumption is, of course, the result which would be anticipated from the inert, dry, hardened character of the degraded texture. It is the soft, active, restless forms of bioplastic degeneration, and not the hard, indolent, and already half-dead conditions present in tubercle, that do the work of infectious dissemination.

The deductions which Dr. Williams has been led to give expression to in this volume are the results of a very large experience. He states in his preface that he has notes of more than 25,000 cases of the disorder, which have been under his observation and treatment in a course of something more than thirty years, and that he has selected from these cases one thousand, which are representative and typical, for more refined and careful examination and discussion. Much of the valuable remarks that he has drawn from this discussion, and printed in the pages of his book, are of too technical a character to be noticed in an article addressed to a circle of general readers. But there are some of his deductions that are of the widest application and interest.

When Dr. Williams commenced his investigations in this particular field of research, and when Laennec and Louis were still the great authorities on the subject, the duration of consumptive disease was held to be, on the average, two years. From Dr. Williams' selected cases it appears that the duration of the disease is now *eight years.* Of the one thousand cases selected for discussion 198 have ended fatally, while 802 relate to the history of persons still alive. Of the 802 living cases 34, or 4·5 per cent., have been apparently cured; 280 cases, or 38 per cent., have been benefited by medical and regiminal treatment; 102 cases, or 13·39 per cent., have remained for some time stationary; and 321 cases, or 43·53 per cent., are on the downward road, despite all that can be done for them by the physician's sagacity and art. Only 65 of the thousand selected cases prove to be unavailable for the objects of this classification.

The reason for the auspicious change in the duration of the disease, Dr. Williams remarks, is unquestionably the better understanding of the cause of the disorder, and the consequent improvement of its treatment by the physician. His testimony upon this point is very interesting and clear. He says that during the first ten years of his experience the beneficial results of treatment were small, and limited to the influence upon incipient cases of a sea-voyage and residence in mild climates. In the next ten years of his experience a marked advance was obvious, and attributable to the employment of a more liberal diet and the use of the iodide of potassium and of vegetable tonics as medicines. But in the last ten years the improvement was very considerable and marked, and in the main due to the general use of cod-liver oil in consumptive cases. His own words in regard to this royal medicine for consumption are:—'I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that cod-'liver oil has done more for the consumptive than all other 'means put together.' The curative influence of the remedy he believes to be chiefly due to its power of dissolving and removing the depraved deposit; but he is convinced that it also acts as an eminently nutritious principle, increasing the amount of healthy plasma and diminishing the fibrinous constituents in the blood. He says of it:—

'It is an oily matter well borne by the stomach; easily diffused by emulsion through the alimentary mass; readily absorbed by the lacteals, in which it contributes to form a rich molecular base in the chyle; apt to saponify with the basic salts of the blood; and, when diffused with this fluid through the capillaries of the body, capable of penetrating to all the textures and of exercising its solvent and softening action on the solid fats of old deposits, whilst it affords a rich pabulum for the sarco-

phytes (colourless blood-corpuscles) and bioplasm of the blood, tissue-cells, and lymphatics.'

The chief necessity, in regard to the remedial employment of cod-liver oil, seems to be that it shall be taken perseveringly and steadily for long periods of time, and that it shall be used immediately after a meal, so that it may mingle itself at once with the digesting food and take part in its sustaining offices. Dr. Williams states that, in a practice of twenty-five years, he has had occasion to prescribe cod-liver oil for between twenty and thirty thousand patients, and that of these 95 per cent. have been able to continue its use for the requisite time without material difficulty, and 90 per cent. have more or less benefited from its employment.

Dr. Williams speaks very graphically of the lymphatic system as the 'seed-bed of the flesh-germs—the lymph-corpuscles and 'blood-corpuscles,' and regards the scrofulous taint, the particular blood-state which leads to consumptive deposit and disorganisation, as a degradation of blood-plasm originating in that lymphatic system seed-bed. All measures of treatment and management, for those who are threatened with the consumptive taint in any form, resolve themselves: First, into the maintenance of the blood-plasm and flesh-plasm in their most vigorous and healthy condition; and secondly, into the careful avoidance or immediate arrest of inflammatory attacks on the respiratory organs, which are most prone to become the seat of the phthinoplastic deposit. The book treats very fully and clearly of the various expedients by which both ends may be most efficiently secured; and it does that in so simple and untechnical a way that its pages may be advantageously consulted by everyone who has a personal ground for interest in the information there conveyed. The more technical parts of the book, which deal with the various pathological details of the subject, and with the illustrations that have been found in special cases, are also of the highest value, as the gleanings of close and philosophic observation in a field of large experience; but they are addressed to a different circle of readers.

The main value of such monographs as those which it is the object of this article to bring into notice is the unconscious influence they exert in the creation of an intelligent public opinion upon a subject that is of great practical moment. No intellectual reform is more needed, and more ardently to be desired, than that every responsible head of a family in the social community should have clear views upon such matters as have here been dealt with. The problem of sanitary regulation by the State, which is already beginning to assert itself

in somewhat loud tones, must grow into ever-increasing importance and urgency where a still multiplying population, already numbering thirty millions of souls, is contained within the unelastic bounds of one hundred and twenty thousand square miles of sea-girt territory. It has been the reproach of civilised communities that the centres of aggregation are the haunts and strongholds of evil influences which leave the wild places of Nature more desirable homes for man than cities and towns. But it is the privilege of civilised communities that their great centres of aggregation may, by the application of knowledge and cultured intelligence, be made in every sense better homes for man, and more advantageous fields both for the exercise of the human faculties and the enjoyment of human existence, than the unimproved face of the wilderness. There will no longer be hesitation as to the means by which this desirable object may be most surely advanced in a land which aspires to be in the van of civilised progress, when the leaders of its intellectual life and thought have as clear an apprehension and as keen a perception for the teachings of physiological and physical science as they have for political and social relations and questions. The ultimate solution of the great public health problem rests with the enlightenment of the public mind regarding the broad issues upon which hang health and disease, and life and death.

ART. VIII.—*The Japanese in America.* By CHARLES LANMAN, American Secretary to the Japanese Legation in Washington. London: 1872.

AT opposite sides of the globe, separated from each other by the whole breadth of Europe and Asia, and fringing the great continent from which they are only parted by a narrow belt of sea, are two countries, each composed of a group of islands distinguished alike for the beauty of their scenery and the fertility of their soil, although not in the same parallels of latitude, for the Japanese islands lie between the 31° and 45° of North latitude, and the British between the 50° and 59°. The parallel of 40° North latitude, which cuts through the middle of Japan, also cuts through Sardinia, the Island of Minorca, and the centre of Spain and Portugal. Southern, not Northern Europe, therefore, might best claim affinity with Japan, its products and its people, if latitude were the sole guide to those marks of outward form and type which suggest or simulate natural relationship. Notwithstanding this

considerable difference in the latitude, so nearly allied are the climates of the two groups in some essential features, that a question arises how the near agreement in the conditions of vegetation is to be accounted for? The isothermal lines and the marine influences to which each belt of narrow islands is subject may go far to explain the resemblance in plants, and the power of transferring a considerable majority of the beautiful flowers and shrubs which are peculiar to Japan to our shores. In consequence of the narrowness of the islands, seldom presenting a width of more than a hundred miles, the vegetation may be considered wholly marine, and hence the plants which flourish there are peculiarly adapted for introduction into the southern and western districts of our sea-girt isles that have a mild climate and humid atmosphere. These facts, authenticated by contributors to the 'Gardener's Magazine,' indicate marvellous likeness in the midst of considerable diversity of outward form and volcanic soil. It strikes the imagination the more forcibly that this analogy is not without its counterpart in the social and political world. The contrasts and dissimilarities of course are many. Of different race, faith, language, and traditions,—the Japanese are placed as far apart, to all appearance, from ourselves as the actual space which separates the two countries. And yet if these two peoples of the rising and setting sun were brought in close comparison—not in the nineteenth, but in the tenth or twelfth centuries—numerous points of resemblance might be traced in their social, economic, and political institutions. In the feudal framework of our early government, the fiefs and military service, the knights in armour, with their pendants, cognizances, and men-at-arms; the monarchical form of authority, the cloisters and convents, the commercial guilds, and relations of classes towards each other, urban and rural, with serfdom and bondage to the soil,—in all these things there may be traced a parallelism of form which it is impossible to mark without interest, in countries utterly unknown to each other—and much too widely separated, before the discovery of America and the passage round the Cape, for any kind of communication to have taken place, if even their mutual existence had been suspected on either side. It is true that caravans from Europe traversed the whole breadth of Asia at an earlier period; and Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, had already roused the curiosity of his countrymen and the learned of other nations by the information he was able to give of an Eastern country called *Zipangri*, and of the great wealth of the island, particularly

in gold and pearls, and the multitude of smaller islands which encompassed it. From him his half-doubting audience, Genoese and Venetians, who gave him the sobriquet of 'Marco Millione,' undoubtedly derived their first knowledge of the existence of Japan. And it is one of the strange links in the chain of historical events, and the seemingly accidental connexion between cause and effect, that beyond all doubt it was the account brought to Europe by Marco Polo, at the close of the thirteenth century, which stimulated the imagination of Columbus in the fifteenth, and led him to the discovery, not of Japan, but of a new world in America, while searching for Zipangri. These are among the curiosities, not of literature but of history, and suggest many reflections as to the true nature of the laws and influences which govern the sequence and order of events.

When three Portuguese adventurers of doubtful antecedents, with Mendez Pinto among the number, made their appearance in the Japanese waters, in the middle of the sixteenth century, under the guidance of the Chinese captain of a corsair junk, they were the first representatives of Europe and a Western race who had ever reached those shores. Of Coreans, Chinese, Malays, and Siamese Japan had gained some knowledge, but it had never seen or heard of a Western race. What the Japanese were at that date as a nation, unspoiled by any foreign contact or influence, Mendez Pinto has himself related in the narrative of his own adventures, piratical and commercial—for they partook of both, as was the manner of the times. We are told that the Japanese, though vigilant and on their guard, manifested no reluctance to admit the strangers. This, which was the beginning of European intercourse and trade, carries us back to the year 1543. We get glimpses of the state of the country and people throughout the succeeding century from navigators—John Adams, the English pilot, not to be forgotten—English, Dutch, and Portuguese; and from missionaries, chiefly Portuguese and Spanish, with some Italians. But our most reliable data were supplied in the following century by Kœmpfer—physician, naturalist, philosopher, and the most painstaking and conscientious of chroniclers. When he came on the scene, in the suite of his Dutch trading patrons, in 1692, no foreigners were allowed free access to any port in Japan. All except the Dutch had been expelled, and these were only admitted to an island-prison at Decima, in Nagasaki harbour—spread out like a fan, and specially created for their safe custody by the most jealous and watchful of guardians.

We need not here go into the oft-told story, how little more than a century sufficed to convert the original friendly feeling and courtesy of the Japanese, rulers and people, towards their foreign visitors into one of implacable hatred mingled with a fierce spirit of religious intolerance. The first act of the drama had closed, after a civil and religious war, with the fall of Simabara, the last stronghold in the possession of the Christians, and the extermination of every man, woman, and child within its walls, or anywhere to be found, acknowledging the symbol of the Cross. An edict prohibiting, under penalty of death, the landing of any foreigner, except a few Dutch at Nagasaki,—sternly executed throughout the following centuries,—was the end of this first chapter. There is something very sad in this blurred and blotted page of Japanese history and of their first relations with the European race. What it might have been under other conditions, and if it had pleased Providence to send to their shores wise and honest men, imbued with Christian principles and moderate of counsel, instead of filibusters and overreaching traders on the one side, with fiery zealots and ultramontane priests and missionaries on the other—Jesuits and Dominicans grasping at both temporal power and spiritual supremacy—and the conversion of the heathen, chiefly as the means to such ends—who can say? But it was otherwise ordered, and we will not waste time in further speculation as to what might have been—'Of 'all sad words of tongue or pen' still the saddest. But if we would understand the future into which we are about to look, or even the present startling changes—of which the work now before us, and the Embassy of which it treats, are not the least wonderful evidences—we must not take leave of the past without a clear grasp of its leading features, and the legacy it bequeathed to all succeeding generations. History, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, has a tendency to repeat itself. China only a century later furnished a remarkable instance, for precisely the same drama, with all its tragic incidents and crowning catastrophe, was enacted there—only over a wider field and on a larger scale.

A few years after Mendez Pinto first led the way to Japan, Francis Xavier, fired by the accounts he received from a Japanese noble who had fled his country to Goa, landed with a fresh relay of missionaries and merchants, and we are told:—

'On arriving at Bungo they were received with open arms, and not the slightest opposition was made to the introduction of either trade or religion. No system of exclusion then existed; and such was the

spirit of toleration that the Government made no objection to the open preaching of Christianity. Indeed, the Portuguese were freely permitted to go where they pleased in the empire, and to travel from one end of it to the other. The people freely bought the goods of the traders, and listened gladly to the teaching of the missionaries.'

And it is added that

'If the feudal princes were ever at any time ready to quarrel with the merchant, it was because he would not come to their ports.'

Subsequently a Japanese embassy composed of three princes was sent to Pope Gregory XVIII. with letters and valuable presents. 'Their reception at Rome was not only magnificent, 'but their whole progress through Spain and Italy was one 'continued ovation. A nation of thirty millions of civilised and 'intelligent people had been won from the heathen!'

Now, as then, a Japanese embassy has been despatched to Europe, consisting of ministers and nobles—the most distinguished of their statesmen. Now again, after an interval of three centuries, we hear of joy and greeting, though the brazen-tongued plaudits come to us across the Atlantic this time. The shouts of rejoicing for a Japanese embassy proceed from the continent of a new world, not mapped in the chart when Japan sent her first envoys, and from the throats of a nation not then in existence. The times and the circumstances are different, and yet the burden seems like that of an old song—the same, with scarcely a variation in words or notes. 'A nation of thirty millions of an intelligent 'people has been won'—once more we are told—'to civilisa-'tion and the brotherhood of nations,' instead of 'from the 'heathen.' This latter variation alone marks the difference. Perhaps in this nineteenth century we do not feel so sure about conquests from the heathen—perhaps also are more careless about them. The writers of the earlier period tell us:—

'Great indeed was the joy and triumph, for this was the culminating point of the Church's success.'

While a later commentator adds:—

'And in that same hour, while the artillery of San Angelo was thundering a welcome to the Japanese Ambassadors, whose progress through Italy had been one continued ovation, an edict had gone forth from the Kubosama, the Sovereign Lord of Japan, banishing all Catholic missionaries, ordering all crosses to be thrown down, and all churches to be razed to the ground.'

Absit omen! Let us hope that we shall not have another such striking example of the instability of human affairs, nor see cause, some fifty years hence, to doubt the value of these

sudden conquests of Western civilisation, and the celebration of the banns between an ancient Eastern race and the newest of Western nationalities. We trust that the experience of the past has done its proper work, and need not be repeated. So without misgiving let us welcome the news received by the last mail of an edict repealing all prohibitions and penalties against the Christian religion, and proclaiming religious toleration in the widest sense. Among the many bewildering changes and reversals of national policy which the last few years have witnessed, this is the most unexpected. It is not many months ago since we heard that a great persecution of Christians had been begun. Then later came the intelligence that the Buddhist religion had been separated from the State, and disestablished. Disestablishment is apparently finding favour at opposite extremities of the globe, and commends itself to the rulers of the East as well as to those of the West. But what most tends to throw doubt on the stability of such changes, if not on the sincerity of those who adopt the measures in Japan, is the apparent contradiction in the grounds assigned for the two measures. The disestablishment of the Buddhist religion or Church—if it may be so spoken of—had for its alleged ground the determination to return to the ancient faith of their ancestors—the Sinto religion derived from their own gods,—whereas the Buddhist religion, borrowed from the Chinese, was essentially foreign though it had been established in the country for more than twelve centuries. The Christian religion, on the other hand, is to be tolerated, though admittedly foreign. The first act appears to have been a concession to the national feeling of the old Nipon party, which is still strong, and hates all innovations and foreign inventions. The second must have been to conciliate the foreigner. How are these two opposite courses to be explained?

For the explanation of this enigma and many others which the recent history of Japan and its very impulsive people present in these later days we turned to Mr. Lanman's book with some eagerness; nor have we been wholly disappointed in the result. It does supply a great deal of curious matter, not quite on the surface but easily extracted by the aid of some previous knowledge of the past and present state of Japan. It is not always easy to say what is native and what is foreign in this volume, either in the speeches made by Japanese or the essays by Japanese students. Yet what the reader most desires is to separate the pure metal from the American gilding and varnish, somewhat freely used by the compiler. In the account

of the Japanese Embassy in America, as in the crude speculations of the youths who are being educated in the United States, a good deal must necessarily be allowed for American guidance and instruction. The first part or narrative of the progress of the Embassy through the States is avowedly composed by an American secretary. Even so, however, it affords some very interesting traits and details of the present movement in Japan and the future prospects of the country. The second part is exclusively devoted to the reproduction of a series of themes or essays by Japanese students now in America, most of them of a juvenile character. They have been written apparently to order in the course of their studies, and intended to show the views they were acquiring on various subjects in the course of their American education. Whether the subjects were suggested by others or selected according to their own tastes is not stated. But judging by the free expression of criticism on the institutions and people of America, there seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the papers. The first of these is headed, 'The Students in America;' the next, 'The Practical Americans.' These are followed by 'The 'Chinese Ambassador in France,' 'Oriental Civilisation,' the 'History of Japan,' 'Christianity in Japan,' 'Expedition to 'a Romish Church,' 'Raid on the Missionaries,' 'Japanese 'Poetry,' &c. The third part, we are told, was prepared under the direction of *Jugoi Arinori Mori*, the Japanese *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington; and is intended to give a description of life and resources in America. This has been printed in a separate volume in that country for circulation exclusively in Japan, while a translation is in course of preparation. It must be difficult for a Japanese youth, suddenly transported from the oldest forms of Eastern civilisation to a country where all the newest types of modern life and thought are spread out before him, to think his own thoughts or be original in any sense. In despair of rendering to himself any clear account of much that he sees, he will naturally take to the habit of looking at everything through American glasses officiously placed to his hand, or borrowing thoughts, if not passages, from periodicals and newspapers. Our chief objection, therefore, to these essays is that they do not do justice to the Japanese themselves. They can both write and think better when they have any fair knowledge of their subject. Still to the general reader the students' essays cannot fail to be interesting, and to supply much that is both novel and amusing.

The history of the Japanese Embassy opens in a very dramatic and effective way with a banqueting scene in the

palace of the Mikado, recently restored to active life and sovereign power from the depths of his monastic seclusion in Kioto, by the action of the chief Daimios and nobles of the Empire, weary apparently with the servitude imposed upon them and the tyranny of usurping Tycoons.

'In November, 1871, His Majesty "*Montsohito*," the Emperor of Japan, gave a dinner to the nobles of his empire, in his palace at Tokei, and made to them the following address, translated by *Noriuki Gah*:—

'"After careful study and observation, I am deeply impressed with the belief that the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world are those who have made diligent effort to cultivate their minds, and sought to develope their country in the fullest and most perfect manner.

'"Thus convinced, it becomes my responsible duty as a sovereign to lead our people wisely in a way to attain for them results beneficial, and their duty is to assist diligently and unitedly in all efforts to attain these ends. How otherwise can Japan advance and sustain herself upon an independent footing among the nations of the world?"'

In this last passage we have apparently the key-note of the whole movement culminating in the despatch of the Embassy. Later, at San Francisco, one of the vice-ambassadors, *Ito*, in a speech completed what was here only shadowed out, when he said with laudable frankness and plainness:—

'The object of our mission is to inspect and examine into the various mechanic arts and sciences, which have assisted your country in gaining the present high position she occupies before the world. *We come to study your strength, that, by adopting wisely your better ways, we may hereafter be stronger ourselves.* We shall require your mechanics to teach our people many things, and the more our intercourse increases the more we shall call upon you. *We shall labour to place Japan on an equal basis, in the future, with those countries whose modern civilisation is now our guide.*'

The passages we have put in italics explain the whole. Such is the leading motive for all the recent desire evinced to possess railroads, telegraphs, steam ships, improved armies, and for the education of their youth by hundreds. 'We hope 'by adopting wisely your better ways we may hereafter be 'strong ourselves.' Well said, and we join in the hope in all sincerity. We would fain see Japan strong in her independence and take a permanent place in the family of nations, able to maintain her rights and freely to follow the bent of her own genius. We are disposed very cordially to agree therefore with the sentiments expressed at San Francisco by Mr. de Long, the United States Minister in Japan, who accompanied the Mission to Washington, when, at a banquet to the Japanese Embassy, he said:—

'The present situation of Japan appeals strongly to all well-wishers to the race, that no impediments nor difficulty, either social, moral, political, or religious, be placed in the way of her progress. We need only show her people the effects of Western civilisation, in a kindly and courteous spirit, without needlessly exciting prejudices in so doing. The natural intelligence of the Japanese, which has no superior, will satisfy itself, and work out the problem of what to introduce in their own country, to a conclusion satisfactory to all concerned.'

We wish very heartily indeed that it may be so; but are not quite so well assured as Mr. de Long seems to be, that the natural intelligence of the Japanese will satisfy itself, and work out the problem of what to introduce into their own country with satisfaction to themselves and permanent benefit to the nation. The Japanese are the only nation in the history of the world that has ever taken five centuries at a stride, and devoured in a decade all the space dividing feudalism and despotism from constitutional government and the other developments, commercial and municipal, of modern life. Lord Derby's 'leap in the dark' was a very small move compared with this. No other nation ever had the courage or the temerity to try such a Curtius' leap as this. But it has been well observed that the elements of civilisation which are most readily assimilated are not always the most beneficial. A country situated as Japan was, with absolute power vested in a sovereign traditionally descended from the gods, possesses, no doubt, exceptional facilities for effecting any changes in its political institutions. Whether it is ever wise or safe, however, to rush suddenly from the order of ideas and institutions military, political, and social, with which we are familiar as those of the twelfth century in Europe, into the heart of the nineteenth, with its democratic tendencies, its social theories leading to communism, and political thoughts veering to Republicanism—with its railroads, telegraphy, and high-pressure steam life ever pressing on the limits of human power and endurance—is a grave question, and one not to be answered without much reflection.

In an article which appeared in our January number of 1871, on the 'Foreign Relations of China,' it was remarked that 'progress and civilisation,' so often invoked as a plea for a policy of compulsion and dictation in dealing with Eastern nations, are words of great potency sometimes and of very wide scope, but most frequently of evil omen when a superior Power conceives the idea of grafting something new upon an old civilisation, and imposing it by main strength upon men of another race. And we adhere to this opinion as applied to

Japan, a comparatively weak and insignificant State when pitted against the Great Western Powers, but a nation not the less strong in patriotic feeling—all of one race, speaking the same language and obeying the same laws—a people, moreover, rarely gifted among Eastern races, of singular aptitude for receiving and acting upon new ideas—full of courage as well as devotion to their country, willing to be taught and eager to improve. For any Western Power to override a spirit of independence, by thrusting upon them either men or measures for the sudden development of a nineteenth century civilisation, as it is worked in America or Europe at railroad speed by steam and electricity, and for which they are wholly unprepared if not otherwise unfit, would be worse than a crime. It would be a political blunder of the first magnitude, fraught with indefinite mischief, both to those who lead and those who follow. Yet we cannot help fearing this is a danger actually menacing Japan. Their agents in foreign countries are usually too young and inexperienced, being Japanese students, to make a proper selection of competent professors, engineers, instructors of all kinds—scientific, naval, and military. They are not always in good or disinterested hands, and appointments rashly made or under bad advice are apt to be costly to the Japanese Government in a double sense.

Alexis de Tocqueville in his correspondence has left us some observations on the effects of forced contact between a superior and inferior race, and of different kinds of civilisation, which have a direct bearing upon the present aspect of affairs in Japan—not the less applicable, perhaps, because so shrewd an observer and profound a thinker had made the conflict of races and different grades or kinds of civilisation his chief study in America; and was writing at the time to English correspondents in a critical spirit, while referring to our own dealings with subject or inferior races. He says in one letter:—

'I have always remarked that wherever there was introduced—not leaders of European race, but a European population in the heart of populations imperfectly civilised, the real and pretended superiority of the first over the second made itself felt in a way so disadvantageous for individual interests, and so mortifying to the *amour propre* of the natives, that there resulted a greater feeling of indignation than any political oppression would produce.'

And to another correspondent, Lord Hatherton, he wrote:—

'An inferior race—inferior either by its constitution or education—may very well endure the government of one that is superior. It only feels the good effects of that superiority; and, if the government is

clever, it may be preferred to that of its own princes. But the close vicinity of an individual, more civilised, richer and more clever, can never fail to be the object of hatred and envy to the native of inferior race, as one sure to abuse his superiority and profit by it at the expense of the latter. And from the accumulative effect of these small individual hatreds a national hatred grows up.'

We believe this is quite true, and in great part applicable to the Japanese in their relations with foreigners, which, in the first instance at least, when Commander Perry made the American treaty (1853) with them, was a forced relationship, and during the succeeding years until the recent revolution, continued to be imposed upon the rulers against their inclination. We have heard a good deal of the pacific policy of the United States in its first approaches to Japan, and the absence of any but conciliatory means. Something to this effect was repeated quite lately in newspaper articles in our own journals, though promptly contradicted by the assertion that in no instance had any foreign Power to boast of a treaty with Japan in which there was any good will or spontaneity on the part of the Japanese. And such is the plain truth beyond all question. In a work on 'Japan as it Was and Is,' written by Arthur Hildreth, himself an American, we believe, and the author of a History of the United States, in 1856, he gives the following account, while the ink of the first American treaty was scarcely dry: 'Shortly after the visit of the "Preble" 'the American Government resolved to send an envoy thither, 'backed by such a naval force as would insure a respectful 'hearing.' And adds: 'The mission was to be of a pacific 'character, as the President had no power to declare war; yet 'the show of force was evidently relied upon, as more likely 'than anything else to weigh with the Japanese.' And with their steam-frigates and smaller vessels they did unquestionably rely very much upon it, and took care that it should weigh with the Japanese as heavily as their position would admit. When an American, therefore, puts forward in the present work these often-renewed and very absurd pretensions to have dealt with the Japanese in a spirit different from that shown by other foreign Powers, and to have employed exceptionally conciliatory means in all their negotiations, we must deny alike the premiss and the conclusion as a ground for greater confidence being placed in them by the Japanese. And when it is alleged that this exclusively pacific policy has led the Japanese to regard the United States as pre-eminently their friends, and to feel a greater preference for Americans, they must either give the Japanese credit for very short memo-

ries, or conceive that error and misstatement has only to be reiterated a sufficient number of times to be accepted as truth in the end. The same tactics are renewed in the present work, and reappear in all the after-dinner speeches and official utterances when the Japanese Embassy arrived within the American territories. Thus we are informed by Mr. Charles Lanman that

'The influences which have been disseminated among the nations of the East by the various interests of the Western nations, have hitherto been injurious rather than beneficial. The people of Japan, as well as all in the Orient, feel the need of increased light in regard to the more elevated interests of humanity; and this is the chief reason why Mr. Mori cherishes a strong desire to do all he can for the education of his people.

'The influences alluded to have also done much to keep back from the people of Japan very much of that true spirit of civilisation, so eminently characteristic of America. And the fact seems now to be generally acknowledged that the Japanese people not only desire to follow, as far as possible, in all educational and political affairs, the example of the Americans, but that they look upon them as their best friends, among the nations of the globe.'

This is pretty well; but when the writer goes on to add that

'a prominent idea with the educated classes of Japan is, that in the very ship which took Commodore M. C. Perry to Japan in 1852, were the germs of Christianity, civilisation, and desire for equality and political freedom, and that the seed then planted has been steadily growing from that to the present time,'

it is difficult to avoid smiling at the sentiment attributed to the Japanese. If the 'educated classes' could be polled on the question as to what were the germs brought over in 'the 'very ship of Commodore Perry,' we think we could guarantee it would be something quite different, both as to germs and fruit. Mr. De Long was infinitely nearer the truth, in a moment of effusiveness, at San Francisco, when, in his reply to the toast of 'Our relations with Japan,' and speaking of Commodore Perry, he said: 'His gallantry first bore down 'the outer walls of seclusion, and under his auspices the foot-'hold was gained which is revolutionising the land.' And this was precisely what the then governing executive, the Tycoon and his Gorogio, or Council, with the Daimios or nobles of Japan, all firmly believed—that the foothold once gained, the country would be speedily revolutionised, and a desire for equality and political freedom, and many other things besides, from which they, the rulers of the land, had been happily free, would quickly follow in the wake of the ship which brought them Commodore Perry and a ready-drafted treaty for their

acceptance—whether exactly to their taste or otherwise—together with a good many American notions.

Whether the Americans are playing their cards well with the Japanese or otherwise, and what amount of reward they may look for in railway concessions or mines or custom-house places over the heads of any rivals for these good things, is worthy of very little attention, and quite beneath a great nation's care. It is more interesting, and infinitely more useful, to inquire what is the nature of the vast changes so rapidly being effected in Japan. Have they any element of stability, any promise of utility and permanence? Or are they merely deceptive coruscations, like the blue-lights of a theatrical transformation-scene—not wholly without danger to the surrounding properties and actors, perhaps,—and destined, like them, speedily to disappear and be exchanged for dirty oil-lamps and a state of darkness and squalor? To this part of the subject we are glad to turn, in the hope of finding in the materials before us certain indications of a cheering character regarding the transition stages through which Japan is now passing—not only the country in levelling lines of rail and telegraphic wire, but the institutions and the people, so lately the most stationary, secluded, and utterly isolated of all the known inhabitants of the globe.

The Japanese attribute a supernatural, almost divine power, and an unlimited authority over their fellow-creatures, to all who descend lineally from the first-born son of *Isanami*, the last of their gods who governed Japan, from whom came a race of god-men, the progenitors of the present royal race. This, Kœmpfer continues, is expressed by the titles and high-sounding epithets they give to this whole family, but particularly to its head and prince—such as *Oodai*, the Great Generation; *Mikado*, Emperor; *Zenoo*, Heavenly Prince; *Tiensin*, Son of Heaven; *Dairi*, by which is frequently denoted the whole court of the Emperor, ecclesiastical and secular, king by divine right and descent, pope, pontiff, and temporal sovereign combined in one, with all the highest prerogatives of all, whose decrees, in all matters temporal and spiritual, are without appeal, infallibility being one of the heaven-born gifts attaching by descent to the supreme head of his house and race.

Upon this foundation the whole superstructure of their political and social institutions has been raised. The historical annals of Japan date from 660 before Christ, and a regular succession of Mikados in lineal descent from the founders of their dynasty and race has since been carefully recorded. 'Uncommon respect,' we are told, 'and a more than human

'veneration, is on this account paid them by their subjects and 'countrymen,' like the fealty and respect paid by the Highland clans to their chieftains, with whom they claimed relationship, and therefore obeyed with no servile feeling, but with pride and devotion, as the head of their house and representative of their own blood.

That we may really understand what advantage has been derived from this tradition and faith, we must know how the princes of this family, and more particularly those who sat on the throne, were treated by the people and the court officials. One extract will suffice:—

'They are looked upon as persons most holy in themselves, and as popes by birth. They are obliged to have an uncommon care of their sacred persons. In accordance with this popular idea it was deemed prejudicial to his dignity and holiness to touch the ground with his feet, for which reason when he wished to go anywhere he had to be carried on men's shoulders. He was not allowed to expose his sacred person to the open air, and the sun must not shine on his head. Such holiness was ascribed to all the parts of his body that he might not cut his hair, or beard, or nails. However, to prevent inconvenience, these things were done for him at night, on the plea that they were stolen from him without prejudice to his dignity or holiness. In ancient times he was obliged to sit immobile on his throne for many hours each day, because by that means it was supposed he could secure peace and tranquillity in his empire. Later it was discovered that the crown was the palladium, which by its immobility would preserve peace and tranquillity, and it was expedient to deliver his Imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasure, from this burdensome duty, and the crown alone was placed on the throne.'

As soon as, by the demise of a Mikado, the throne became vacant, he who is regarded by the court as the next heir is put in his place, without regard to age or sex. Sometimes it happened that this could not be arranged peaceably in the inner penetralia of the court, and those of the imperial family who thought themselves unjustly excluded maintained their right by force of arms. Hence arose wars and dissensions as bloody as our own War of the Roses. The princes and Daimios of the empire espoused different interests, and these quarrels seldom ended but with the entire destruction of one of the contending parties and the extirpation of whole families. It was in consequence of such a state of things that the Emperor on the throne had to create a generalissimo of his army; and one of these, in the twelfth century, known as *Joritomo*, a son of the occupant of the Dairi, after putting down his father's enemies, thought fit to retain the executive power. From this arose a dual government, such as was found

when foreigners first landed, in the sixteenth century, and on to the present period of revolution and restoration. A Tycoon was the head of the executive government, under a feudal organisation of nobles—military service of retainers and serfdom, with the same kind as prevailed over Europe, and especially in England, in the Saxon and early Norman periods. The Mikado was by all in the empire acknowledged as the sole sovereign *de jure*. The Tycoons were the exact counterparts of the Mayors of the Palace under the Merovingian sovereigns, and ruled *de facto*—as Pepin and Charles Martel ruled in France. We advert to these parallel periods and facts in the history of Western nations to save time, because whoever is well acquainted with the state of Great Britain and France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries knows also, with comparatively slight differences, the political and social state of Japan at the same period. The chief difference to be borne in mind is the longer prevalence of the feudal element, which was greatly changed, and subject to perpetual and progressive modifications during all the succeeding centuries in Europe; whereas Japan preserved, with scarcely any fundamental change, down to the negotiation of the first treaties, in 1853–8, the same leading features. *Taikosama*, a peasant's son, who was a successful soldier, deposed the descendants of *Joritomo*, and altered the hereditary line of descent for these Mayors of the Palace, known by the title of *Siogun*, or *Tycoon*; he also broke up all the larger fiefs, destroying the quasi independence, and effectually curbing the turbulence of the majority of them. Satsuma, Chosiu, Kanga, and one or two others alone proved strong enough to retain some of their power and independence; and with them he had to accept a nominal recognition. But all alike were in later years compelled to submit to the most galling conditions of subordination. Six months in the year they were required to dwell in Yeddo, the capital of the Tycoon; and when they left for their own principalities they were bound to leave their wives and male heirs behind them, under surveillance. They nominally constituted the great council of the nation for all great affairs of state, like the earls and holders of fiefs in our own earlier history. The country was well governed upon the whole, in a summary and primitive way. Order was maintained; and by skill and patient industry the whole land had been converted into a garden rich in agricultural produce. A noble and a military caste were maintained, with privileges oppressive to all below them; but the country not the less prospered. Industry increased, and the people carried some of their manufactures to a higher pitch of

perfection than any other nation has ever been able to attain, notably in their silks and crapes, their working in metals, and in the finer kinds of porcelain and lacquer. Such were the people and such the state of the country when Mendez Pinto and his companions landed in Japan in the sixteenth century; and such it was in all essentials when, in the middle of the nineteenth, the Americans first, and all the other Western Powers afterwards, entered into treaties with Japan for the promotion of amity and commerce. The people, without anything which modern Europe understands by liberty—without a representative government or a public press, with a Draconian code of laws and no lawyers, only magistrates for their execution, with torture for their instruments of justice; with some tyranny on the part of the noble and military castes, and no great ease or comfort among the lower class of merchants, artisans, and labourers—the latter, as tillers of the soil, taking rank before the other two, there was little absolute destitution or want, perhaps more enjoyment of life and the material means of subsistence, than 'merrie England' could boast of in any past period of her annals.

We have seen the mode of life of the Mikados, the absolute inaction to which they were reduced by the usurping power of the Tycoons, nominally only their lieutenants; now let us turn to the next page of the nation's history, to trace the proximate causes of a revolution so entirely unprecedented in its character, extent, and rapidity of consummation. What progress Japan has made within the last ten years Mr. de Long has well described in a speech reported in the work now under review, and the bare enumeration of the changes already effected cannot fail to excite our wonder.

'To-day what do we behold?

'Under the wise administration of His Imperial Majesty, the Tenno, we see thirty odd millions of people marching at a "double-quick" into full fellowship with foreign states.

'The reign of his Majesty, signalised by its enlightenment, must make its own history for ever illustrious. In this noble and unprecedented work of reform it is but proper to add that his Majesty finds most able and effectual support from the counsel of the noble Ministers of the Empire, some of whom it is our good fortune to be able to meet and honour in our land.

'The mighty change, from our relations as they were to our relations as they are, is so sudden, so complete, so very wonderful as to be bewildering.

'Allow me to note a few of the prominent landmarks in this road of reform upon which this nation is travelling. The Japanese Government has been centralised by the abolishment of Daimiates, thus resolv-

ing its political condition from one of numberless and comparatively small principalities into a consolidated nation of over thirty millions of people, containing over two millions of men born to the profession of arms—men whose martial valour none who knows them doubts, and who are rapidly being armed, uniformed, and drilled with the best of arms, under the tuition of the best of foreign military teachers.

'But the other day his Majesty reviewed his fleet of ten steam-vessels of war, including two powerful ironclads, and in a few days a flying squadron, composed of three of his Majesty's vessels of war, will sail to circumnavigate the globe.

'A railroad completed and in running order, from Yeddo to Yokohama, conveyed these gentlemen, our noble guests, on the commencement of their journey.

'Telegraph lines in working order, operated by Japanese operatives, are already constructed, and more contemplated.

'Light-houses and light-ships have been constructed at all necessary points along the Japanese coast, where well-kept beacons guide and welcome commerce in safety to their ports.

'An Imperial Mint, complete in all of its appointments, has coined millions of dollars of the precious metals, and is still in active operation.

'A dry dock has been constructed in which, but the other day, one of the largest of our vessels of war, the flagship "Colorado" was docked, with all her guns in position, and repairs to her bottom most successfully made.

'Hundreds of the young nobility of Japan are being educated in our own country and in Europe. A college, numerously attended, is in full operation in Yeddo, under the jurisdiction of an American gentleman, assisted by European and American subordinates.

'Private schools are numerous throughout the Empire, conducted by foreigners, and with me come five Japanese ladies, seeking foreign culture, and marking by their advent the promise of a most noble reform.

'Thus I might proceed, and enumerate, at a great length, the evidences of this nation's progress, but I feel that more extended allusions are not necessary in the face of the one great fact that meets us here, face to face to-night, in the presence of this noble array of Japanese dignitaries, representing, as they do, not only all departments of that Government, but the dignity of the throne itself—a throne which, but yesterday, as it were, was one of the most secluded and mysterious on earth.

'Who of you all, gentlemen, can fail to see in this sight the harbinger of greater events still to follow, that shall place Japan, in a very brief future, in complete alignment with the most advanced nations of the earth? We are proud of the past, proud of the present, and confident of the future. In this spirit I am sure the whole heart of the American nation will leap up to welcome the noble Ambassadors of our sister nation.'

So, quoting from an American periodical, it is said truly enough that

'Japan is to-day, all the circumstances of her previous condition considered, the most progressive nation on the globe. Less than twenty years have elapsed since the first treaty was made by Perry in 1854, for harbours of refuge for shipwrecked seamen and supplies for vessels in distress, and still less since the treaty was made by Minister Harris for the purposes of trade. Prior to the period named, the penalty of death was visited upon Japanese who had had intercourse with foreigners, and trade was simply impossible. The government of the empire was in the hands of a number of Princes, or Daimios, who nominally ruled in the name of the Mikado, but practically in their own right. Each Daimio had his armed retainers, who wore the uniforms and marched under the distinctive banners of their chief. The Mikado was termed the spiritual Emperor, and had his own court at Kioto; while the Shogoon, or Tycoon, which title was hereditary in the Tokagawa family, exercised temporal authority at Yeddo, under the Gorogio, or Council of State, composed of some of the Daimios of highest rank. The distinctions of caste were rigorously enforced, and feudalism, in its most ultra form, was prevalent throughout the empire. This state of things prevailed less than twenty years ago, since when more radical changes have taken place than in any other country known.

'Among the principal changes, there has been an entire revolution in the system of government, the Mikado having become the active head of the temporal power. The entire system of feudalism has been swept away, and all the forces of the empire, both on land and sea, have been consolidated, and are fed and clothed in European style, and paid from the national treasury. The Government possesses a large fleet of war and transport steamers, among which are the "Stonewall," and other iron-clads and rams. It also has constructed a stone dry-dock that will admit steamers of the largest size, with ways for repairing smaller vessels, and foundries, machine-shops, and forges, capable of doing the largest class of work, the machinery used being the best obtainable in France, at a cost of over two million dollars. This establishment gives employment to eighteen hundred men, about a score of them being foreigners and the remainder Japanese. The government is also building a railroad, which, when completed, will extend from Hiogo to Yeddo, a distance of about four hundred miles.

'The government schools at Yeddo contain about sixteen hundred pupils, studying foreign languages, three-fourths of whom are under American teachers, receiving an English education. The principal of this school and some twenty sub-teachers are Americans, while many subjects of other nations are employed in different capacities in other departments. An American fills the highest office that a foreigner can hold under the Japanese Government—that is, Imperial Councillor, whose duty is to frame codes of general laws for the empire. Four Americans compose a scientific commission, to introduce new methods of agriculture, mechanics, mining, roads, &c., while another American has been appointed to revise and organise a system of internal revenue somewhat similar to our own. In addition, during the last four years, nearly one thousand young men of intelligence and ability have been

sent abroad to study the languages, laws, habits, manufactures, methods of government, and all other matters appertaining to Western civilisation, the greater part of which is to be introduced into Japan.'

We have seen how the Mikado as late as the year 1869, when the whole system of Government was changed by the abolition of the Tycoonat, lived and dreamed away his colourless existence, tended by his twelve long-haired wives, and only kept from utter inanition by a Court of *littérateurs* and officers devoid of all practical knowledge and statesmanship. Let us contrast with this description of the *fainéant* Mikado, this cloistered sovereign Pontiff, the following account of the manner in which the present Emperor now passes his day amidst the cares of active government, which we owe to the 'enterprise' of the 'Japan Herald.'

'It is reported that the Mikado rises at about seven o'clock A.M., and commences the day by the study of the Japanese classics. In this his Majesty is assisted by the learned Mr. Fukuba. At about ten A.M. his Majesty turns his attention to Western languages, literature, &c. In these studies he is instructed by Mr. Katoh. Two of his Majesty's favourite subjects are geography and physiology. He perseveres with these studies until called upon by his Ministers to attend to the administration of the country, which must be an arduous task, as he takes great interest in the minutest details connected with his government. It is difficult to say at what time these duties terminate. Every day, after his office hours, he takes exercise, such as driving about, or riding round his castle; nor does he confine himself to these limits only, but is often seen with a small staff of attendants in various parts of Yeddo, being passionately fond of outdoor amusements. The Mikado's visits are frequently made *incognito*. Early in the evening his Majesty studies the Chinese classics with Mr. Saito, and lastly he assembles the most learned men of his country, many of whom have visited Europe, together with high officers of his army and navy, who are also frequently present. In the days of his ancestors, these assemblies were composed only of members of the highest families, but now no family distinction of birth is considered essential, the members being now mostly selected on account of their learning or their merits. The Mikado is taller than the generality of Japanese; his ordinary dress at home is the same as the "samourai," except that the trowsers are always white. This attire is very different from that worn by his ancestors, and it is not improbable that his Majesty will also follow the example of so many of his officers, wearing European clothes. In walking in his gardens, he wears European boots. It is also a well-known fact, that the household domestics of the former Mikados were only women, but the present Emperor is served by male attendants only. Such is the ordinary and praiseworthy routine of the Tenno's daily life—studious, laborious, and simple. It is evident that by and bye he intends not merely to reign but to govern. May his Majesty

live long to wisely sway the Imperial sceptre over the subjects of the empire!'

With this general outline of the past and present history of Japan, we may now proceed to show how far the appearance of entire revolution in all the political forms and social habits may be trusted as indicating a conquest to Western civilisation. We may examine how far the progress so impulsively and warmly advocated by some of the more ambitious and advanced of the Japanese is safe and in a right direction; and how far it is of spontaneous growth and indigenous, or only exotic and without root. Lastly, we may discern what are the dangers even now to be recognised as menacing the stability and beneficial operation of changes so wide in scope and hastily adopted as those above noted. When all the facts are looked at in connexion with results, it seems clear that revolution of some kind would have taken place irrespective of any foreign intercourse. The latter would seem rather to have accelerated and given a shape to it by the introduction of new ideas, than to have been a cause. Some kind of convulsion and overthrow of the long-existing institutions and polity of Japan, must have come as a revolt against the despotism of the Tycoonate on the one hand, and the tyranny exercised over the Daimios by their own retainers and *karos* in every little principality. Between the two, from without and within the Daimios, the actual holders of all the fiefs of the Empire, were ground as between the upper and nether mill-stones, and their life was made insupportable.

In such a crisis the Mikado, with all his sanctity and the *prestige* of divine right, was a most fortunate possession for Japan. In him existed a centre of unity and a nucleus of incontestible authority. This enabled a real and sweeping revolution to be effected, and explains how it came to be spoken and thought of as a restoration. A restoration in one important sense it was undoubtedly, for it restored the legitimate sovereign to his proper place as the ruling power of the Empire, and put down the usurpation of a long line of Tycoons. But under the shadow of this great event everything that took place in the following three years constituted a revolution, social and political, religious and economic. The very centre and basis of all administrative action was changed, as well as its forms and objective aims.

It had in effect become plain to the most active and patriotic spirits in a country where devotion to the land of their birth is a passion, and very widely spread among the people of all ranks

and classes, that central government and powerful fiefs with feudal accessories could not go on together. And with this conviction had arisen a second scarcely less potent in its influence, that treaties could not be enforced if a Satsuma or a Chosiu could set them aside.

A review of the years 1869, 1870, and 1871 shows very plainly how these two radical ideas evolved a continuous series of events, and shaped the results. These have been already rapidly sketched in Mr. de Long's speech quoted above. The dangers arising from the armed class had to be overcome. The injury which had been inflicted on the country by the dominance of a military class was very generally and bitterly felt by all outside the dominant caste. The immense numbers of the lower ranks of *samurai* or two-sworded retainers, who by living in idleness upon the labours of the industrious millions 'had become a canker in the very heart of the country,' as one of their own writers declared, and which not only 'kept it emaciated 'but reduced its vitality, and kept in dangerous combination all 'those elements in society which every peaceable citizen held in 'the greatest abhorrence.' This first and greatest danger seems now to have been overcome, though not entirely perhaps, judging from a recent attack by an armed band on the Mikado's gates, the forlorn hope probably of desperate men. As to the dual Government, its inherent absurdities and the tyrannical and oppressive nature of the usurpation known as the Shogunate, little discussiou seems to have arisen among the Japanese themselves. It collapsed with scarcely a struggle after the first brief outburst of armed resistance. Nor is it one of the least curious and striking incidents of the most dramatic of revolutions, that the reigning Tycoon, *Stotsbashi*, in the first hour that the Mikado proclaimed his deposition, recognised the sovereign power of dismissal, and released from their allegiance to him all his subordinate chiefs and holders of fiefs.

Too much credit can hardly be given to those who directed the councils of the young recluse, so suddenly brought forth as sovereign ruler on such a stormy field of political change and conflict, for the boldness and sagacity with which a whole series of perilous problems were grappled with and solved. Born rulers of men and practical statesmen there must have been among those counsellors, though it is hard to conceive from whence they sprang or how they had been trained. For even assuming what may well be believed, that there were among the heads of foreign legations in Japan men well versed in political affairs and fully competent to the task of giving

sound advice and urging bold and comprehensive measures, it is only superior minds that can receive foreign counsel of this kind and act upon it. With Japanese it might well have been feared that they would have felt but little disposed to accept such guidance or appreciate its value. In tracing the progress of events and the results, we cannot doubt, however, that they both sought and willingly accepted the best advice within reach in their efforts to mould their own institutions into forms analogous to the best in Europe and in harmony with the principles of European civilisation, in preference to their own with which they were more familiar. Among the many radical changes which they succeeded in carrying successfully through in those short three years, some were precisely of that class from which the boldest innovators are apt to shrink as beyond their power. When the Tartar conquerors of China had swept through the vast empire like a simoom, devastating and depopulating whole provinces and levelling populous cities, they determined to compel the conquered race to adopt the Tartar costume, shave their heads and wear the tail with which in modern days all Chinese are associated in our minds; and no measure so severely tried their strength. Laws, institutions, taxes, all were borne with patience by the much-enduring Chinese; but the change of costume was more than they could or would bear patiently, and many desperate revolts were due to this cause. Yet nothing daunted, the Mikado has dared to abolish all distinctions in dress between the different classes—one of the most fondly cherished privileges of the nobles and military; to make them lay aside their swords—also serving as insignia of rank and privilege. Even in this he seems to have borrowed from us what we are familiar with as permissive legislation. They were *allowed* to lay aside their side arms. The exclusive right to ride has in like manner been withdrawn from the upper classes. The proscription of the poorest classes has been abolished, and also the prohibition against women going abroad. These are changes which try the power and influence of the strongest Governments in all countries, but more especially perhaps in the East. And they have all been effected in Japan in the brief space of a couple of years. Nor must we omit in this rapid glance the two greatest of the fundamental changes adventured upon—the disestablishment of the Buddhist religion and the withdrawal of all prohibitions against Christianity, to which we have already alluded.

Perhaps if there be any secret misgiving as to the wisdom of so many and such vast changes, and a doubt of their perma-

nence, both arise not unnaturally from the fear that the pace is too fast to be safe, and the progress making since the first great strides has been in some instances both uncertain and unsteady. Japan has doubtless passed, and so far safely, through a great crisis in her existence. The old polity under which her people have lived for more than 600 years, has been replaced by another, which if similar in some essentials to the one subverted is obviously and necessarily totally different in many more. It has been truly observed in the Japan press that, 'in this restored polity there are two new elements of 'enormous force, both revolutionary, but not on that account 'necessarily dangerous, yet requiring the most sagacious con-'trol. One is the presence in the Government of new men, 'possessed of undoubted intelligence, but deficient in that con-'servative spirit which is never so much required as at a time 'when States are undergoing changes in their institutions. 'The other is the infusion from without into the minds of these 'men, and more or less into the mind of the nation, of ideas 'which are novel, potent, and, unless properly controlled, 'dangerous.'

The writer of the very able summary in the 'Japan Mail,' from whose article the above extract is taken, goes on to point out with great clearness the danger to which we refer. in the following paragraph full of practical knowledge and wisdom:—

'It is wise to reduce into harmony, as far as possible, the new with the old political structure; to deal tenderly with rooted institutions, rights, sentiments, and even prejudices; to reduce the pace of the change to a safe and sober one; to distrust the future somewhat, and to apply every possible test to the ground which is being approached. We have no hesitation in saying that the proximity of this country to America is a source of danger to it, not because many of the principles of American institutions are otherwise than sound and good, but because they are utterly unsuited to this country, the antecedents of which do not permit of the safe application of American ideas to its polity. The sound progress of nations is a process of evolution, and there are certain stages which must be gone through before other advanced stages can be reached. It is possible, of course, to reduce the period requisite for the advance from one stage to another, but it is not possible to dispense with the various steps and phases of the evolution. And it is not possible to pass from Feudal institutions to the freedom of Republicanism by one step, even were Asiatic capable of ever being moulded into a Republican form. It is the wildest and most pernicious of errors for the Japanese to imagine that they can travel along a royal road which shall bring them abreast of European nations, without any of the toil those nations have undergone in attaining their present position. They require above all things patience,

sobriety, and prudence at this moment. Their faces are set in the right direction, but their steps are uncertain, wavering, and distracted.'

How entirely we agree with this writer in every word and sentiment we need hardly say, since the whole tendency of this article is to urge similar views in the interest of the Japanese themselves, and in that of the whole civilised world in relation with them. We believe one of the greatest dangers to Japan in its present progressive state, eagerly seeking to assimilate all the stimulating food supplied them by the more advanced civilisation and ideas of the Western world, lies in one direction and springs from a single root—and that is Corruption. In spite of the very general spirit of patriotism among the Japanese as a nation and a love of 'Fatherland' which no German can vie with, they are infected from top to bottom with this canker worm of corruption. This, which it is painful to think has in no sense diminished by foreign intercourse—but rather the contrary, must be extirpated with uncompromising severity. Those who have lived the longest with the Japanese, best know how universal and all-pervading is this vice; and they alone, perhaps, are in a position to fully appreciate the difficulty of dealing with it, and the impossibility of regenerating the country and its administration without it can be banished from the public offices and Government. Especially is great care required in the administration of public works and of finance. There is a great deal of reckless expenditure at present which is pregnant with danger to the new order of things, and difficult to separate from this national vice of corruption.

Nearly all the useful work hitherto done in Japan has been carried out with the assistance of Englishmen, and is mainly if not exclusively due to their aid. Railways, telegraphs, mint, lights and lighthouses, have all been the work of English hands and in great part of English capital. We do not quarrel with the wish of the Americans to be regarded by the Japanese as their best friends. We may safely leave the Japanese to find out for themselves who are their best friends among the nations or governments of the West. Our desire should be, that they will find good and reliable friends among them all. The great fault of the Japanese character, as we have already shown, is their conceit; and a certain flightiness and want of steadiness in following out any course. They are subject also to sudden fits of distrust and suspicion—all of which tends to a certain unreliability in everything they undertake. This comes out in a hundred shapes, and ridiculously enough in the difficulty the authorities at home have in keeping their students

in foreign countries under sufficient control. This is partly due to the conceit of the youths, no doubt; but greatly also to a want of intelligence on the part of the Government in the arrangements they make for their education and the supply of the funds required. Where these are not under good control there can be no discipline or regularity maintained, and without it much of their time is likely to be wasted. The number of students now educating in various countries, and the high rank of some, makes it a subject of great importance that their time should be well spent, and that the knowledge they take back with them is not of the superficial kind which is most apt to find favour with them. In the present state of the country and the position they will be likely to hold on their return, it is to the last degree important that they should gain a solid education, for a little knowledge may well prove a dangerous gift in such circumstances.

The approaching revision of the treaties will test the sincerity of the Mikado much better than ceremonial speeches, and also the soundness of the knowledge acquired as to the wants of Japan and the means of meeting them while taking into account the wants and the interests of other countries. We cannot here enter on so wide a subject as the revision of treaties. But it is clear that what foreign countries want of Japan is something more solid than empty privileges. Liberty of travel will probably be no longer withheld, but there is more need of improved Customs administration. Nothing can well be more imperfect than the present, or more corrupt. Improved Courts of Justice are much wanted. There is nothing yet in the country deserving the name or into which foreigners can carry any cases. A civil code seems not less required. A settled currency free from all tampering, such as has hitherto occurred, is a primary necessity. There is still a remnant of the old vexatious system of official surveillance and interference with foreigners to be got rid of. Some check to the wide-spread and deep-seated corruption of all the official classes, to which we have already alluded, is much to be desired. If to these general heads be added encouragements or facilities for the introduction of foreign enterprise, as in the working of mines and for the increased production and improvement of silk, tea, and other articles of export, we shall have enumerated all the leading points regarding which we may hope in the forthcoming negotiations, it may be possible to secure real and substantial progress. Of one thing we may be certain, that it is the interest of every treaty Power with commercial relations and desiring the

development and progress of Japan in the new path it has chosen, to instruct their representatives at the Court of the Mikado to use whatever influence they may possess in high places to set before the Ministers of the Mikado the advantages of steady progress rather than of undue speed. It should not be difficult for Sir Harry Parkes on his return to his post, to convince them of the impossibility of adopting at once, in a country like Japan, the institutions of a foreign land which have been evolved by a slow and natural process from European minds, and probably therefore are in no sense adapted without great modification to Japanese character and wants. These institutions, which it has taken European nations many centuries to work out and establish, cannot without great danger be suddenly transplanted in their full exotic growth to the soil of Japan. We can only hope that Japanese statesmen will profit by a careful study of the history of European Constitutions and attempts by revolution to suddenly establish other systems, and steadily refuse to be hurried recklessly on to uproot everything that is ancient and to plant in their place without preparation or adaptation the institutions of other countries, even though they should be certified as the last new thing from the most advanced nation of the West, or the most valuable developments of modern civilisation and the science of Government. We sometimes make mistakes ourselves, and do not find it easy, or always safe, to step from the foundations of one century to those of another, without a good deal of preliminary preparation. Neither is there such perfect agreement among legislators and political economists in respect to the best forms of government and systems of administration as to justify foreign representatives in assuming that it rests with them to say for the guidance of an Eastern people in a stage of transition, what is either wisest or best. Constitutions so created or imposed by foreign influences, never take root in any soil.

We need only say, in conclusion, that to all who take any interest in Japan, or in following in all its phases one of the strangest revolutions in history, the work which has been placed at the head of this article will well repay perusal. It supplies interesting information, and the essays of the students, constituting the second part, give many glimpses of the influence of European ideas on the Japanese mind, and the peculiar form which these take in passing through the medium of Asiatic traditions and habits of thought. We have had nothing like it, in this point of view, since the 'Memoirs of 'Hagi Baba' delighted the world some forty years or more ago.

ART. IX.—1. *The Substance of the Argument delivered before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council by Archibald John Stephens, LL.D., Q.C., in the Case of Sheppard* v. *Bennett (Clerk), with an Appendix containing their Lorships' Judgment.* London: 1872.

2. *Judgment of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Appeal of Sheppard* v. *Bennett from the Court of Arches: delivered 8th June,* 1872.

'DURING the last twenty years we have witnessed within the 'Church of England three tremendous conflicts of 'opinion. The first of these was the endeavour of the High 'Church party to suppress the Evangelical school in the struggle 'between Bishop Philpotts and Mr. Gorham. The second was 'the combination of these two parties to suppress the Liberal 'theologians as represented in "Essays and Reviews." The 'third was carried on between a large section of the High 'Church party and the Evangelical school on the subject of 'Ritualism.' So we wrote in 1866. On each of these conflicts we had expressed our opinion. We had pointed out in each the origin and growth of the controversy. We had in the two former instances defended, with all the earnestness and power of which we were capable, the wise and just course which the Supreme Court of Appeal had taken in pronouncing (to use the language of the old Roman law) 'vindicias secundum liber-'tatem.' At the time when we touched on the third controversy, 'the contending parties had not yet come to a pitched 'battle in the courts of law.' That pitched battle has now been fought—and decided.

On June 8, 1872, a Judgment was pronounced by the same high tribunal, on the case of an impetuous controversialist of the High Church party, Mr. Bennett, Vicar of Frome Selwood, who for various statements respecting 'the Real Objective 'Presence in the Eucharist,' had been prosecuted by an association of the Evangelical school formed with the view of suppressing such opinions. This Judgment constitutes so natural a sequel to its two predecessors, and involves such important consequences, that we cannot but consider it accordingly. We shall therefore proceed, as before, first to indicate the history and nature of the controversy which led to the proceedings, and then describe the results, direct and indirect, of the Judgment itself.

I. The controversy is that which concerns the Nature of

Christ's Presence in the Eucharist, described as the Real Presence of Christ in that Sacrament.

It might have been thought that in a religion like Christianity, which is distinguished from Judaism and from Paganism by its essentially moral and spiritual character, no doubt could have arisen on a subject of this nature. In other religions, the continuance of a material presence of the Founder is a sufficiently familiar idea. In Buddhism, the Lama is supposed still to be an incarnation of the historical Buddha. In Hinduism, Vishnu was supposed to be from time to time incarnate in particular persons. In the Greek and Roman worship, though doubtless with more confusion of thought, the Divinities were believed to reside in the particular statues erected to their honour; and the cells or shrines of the temples in which such statues were erected were regarded as 'the habita-'tions of the God.' In Judaism, although here again with many protestations and qualifications, the 'Shechineh' or glory of Jehovah was believed to have resided, at any rate till the destruction of the ark, within the innermost sanctuary of the Temple. But in Christianity the reverse of this was involved in the very essence of the religion. Not only was the withdrawal of the Founder from earth recognised as an incontestable fact and recorded as such in the ancient creeds, but it is put forth in the original documents as a necessary condition for the propagation of His religion. 'It is expedient 'for you that I go away.' 'If I go not away the Comforter 'will not come unto you.' Whenever the phraseology of the older religions is for a moment employed in the Christian Scriptures, it is at once lifted into a higher sphere. 'The 'Temple' of the primitive Christian's object of worship, 'the 'Altar' on which his praises were offered, was not in any outward building, but either in the ideal invisible world, or in the living frames and hearts of men. There are, indeed, numerous passages in the New Testament which speak of the continued presence of the Redeemer amongst His people. But these all are so evidently intended in a moral and spiritual sense that they have in fact hardly ever been interpreted in any other way. They all either relate to the communion which through His Spirit is maintained with the spirits of men—as in the well-known texts, 'I am with you 'always;' 'Where two or three are gathered together in my 'name, there am I in the midst of them;' 'I will come to 'you;' 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy 'laden'—or else they express that remarkable doctrine of Christianity, that the invisible God, the invisible Redeemer,

can best be served and honoured by the service and honour of those amongst men who most need it, whether by their characters or their suffering condition. 'He that receiveth 'you receiveth me.' 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto 'them, ye have done it unto me.' 'Ye visited me.' The Church—the Christian community—is 'His body.' None of these expressions have been permanently divorced from their high moral signification. No controversy concerning the mode of His presence in holy thoughts, or heroic lives, or afflicted sufferers, has rent the Church asunder. Stories, no doubt, more or less authentic, legends more or less touching, have represented these spiritual manifestations of the departed Founder in vivid forms to men. We have the well-known incident of the apparition of the Crucified to St. Francis on the heights of Laverna, which issued in the belief of the sacred wounds as received in his own person. We have the story of Benvenuto Cellini, who, meditating suicide in his dungeon, was deterred by a vision of the like appearance, from which he is said, on waking, to have carved the exquisite ivory crucifix subsequently transported on the shoulders of men from Barcelona to the Escurial, where it is now exposed to view in the great ceremonials of the Spanish Court. We have the conversion of the gay Presbyterian soldier, Colonel Gardiner, from a life of sin to a life of unblemished piety by the midnight apparition of the Cross and the gracious words, 'I have done so much for thee, and wilt thou do nothing 'for me?' Or again, in connexion with the other train of passages above cited, there is the beggar who received the divided cloak from St. Martin, and whom the saint saw in the visions of the night as the Redeemer showing it with gratitude to the angelic hosts. There is the leper tended by St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who, when placed in her bed, appeared to be the Man of Sorrows, represented in the Vulgate reading of the 53rd of Isaiah as a leper, 'smitten of God 'and afflicted.' There is the general Protestant sentiment as expressed in the beautiful poem of the Moravian Montgomery:—

> 'A poor wayfaring man of grief
> Hath often passed me on my way:
> I did not pause to ask His name—
> Whither He went, or whence He came—
> Yet there was something in His eye
> That won my love, I know not why.'

But these stories, these legends, are, one and all, either acknowledged to exhibit the effect produced on the inward, not

the outward sense; or even if some should contend for their actual external reality, they are acknowledged to be rare, exceptional, transitory phenomena, arising out of and representing the inner spiritual truth which is above and beyond them.

II. How is it then, we may ask, that the Presence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has ever been regarded in any other light? How is it that the expressions in the New Testament which bear on this subject have been interpreted in a different manner from the precisely similar expressions of which we have just spoken?

These expressions, one would suppose, had been sufficiently guarded in the original context. In the very discourse in which the Saviour first used the terms which He afterwards represented in the outward forms of the parting meal—speaking of moral converse with Himself under the strong figure of 'eating His 'flesh and drinking His blood,'—it is not only obvious to every reader that the literal sense was absolutely impossible, but He himself concluded the whole argument by the words which ought to have precluded for ever all question on the subject: 'The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the spirit that quickeneth.'

This assertion of the moral and spiritual character of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as everywhere else, has, as we shall see, never been wholly obliterated. The words of Ignatius, 'Faith is the body of Christ,' and 'Charity is the 'blood of Christ;' the words of Augustine, 'Crede et man-'ducasti,' have ever found an echo in the higher and deeper intelligence of Christendom. But not the less, almost from the earliest times, and in almost every Church, a counter-current of thought has prevailed, which has endeavoured to confine the Redeemer's Presence to the material elements of the sacred ordinance. We discover the first traces of it, although vaguely and indefinitely, in the prayer mentioned by Justin Martyr, and more or less transmitted through the ancient liturgies, that the bread and wine may become the 'Body and 'Blood.' We trace it in the peculiar ceremonial sanctity with which not only the ordinance but the elements came to be invested, during the five first centuries. We see it in the scruple which has descended even to our own time, which insists on fasting as a necessary condition of the reception * of the Com-

* Perhaps, as this scruple in early times extended to *both* sacraments, it had not then, in regard to the Eucharist, assumed the gross corporeal form which it represents in later times. But it may be worth while to give as an instance both of the force with which it was held, and the utter recklessness of the example and teaching of Christ Himself, with which it was accompanied, the following passage

munion, in flagrant defiance of the well-known circumstances not only of its original institution, but of all the details of its celebration during the whole of the apostolic age. We see it again in the practice (which began at least as early as Infant Baptism, and which is still continued in the Eastern Church) of giving the Communion to unconscious infants. We see it finally in the innumerable regulations with which the rite is fenced about in the Roman Catholic, the Greek, and some of the Presbyterian Churches, as well as in the theories which have been drawn up to explain or to enforce the doctrine, and of which we will presently speak more at length.

But in order to do this effectually, we must recur to the question suggested above: 'Why is it that the spiritual and 'obvious explanation, accepted almost without murmur or ex- 'ception for all other passages where the Divine Presence is 'indicated, should have ever been rejected in the case of the 'Eucharist, which, in its first institution, had for its evident 'object the expression of that identical thought?' It was a wise saying of Coleridge, 'Presume yourself ignorant of a 'writer's understanding, until you understand his ignorance;' and so in regard to doctrines or ceremonies, however extravagant they may seem to us, it is almost useless to discuss them unless we endeavour to see how they have originated.

1. First, then, it may be said that the material interpretation of this ordinance arose from a defect in the intellectual condition of the early recipients of Christianity, reaching back to its very beginning. The parabolical and figurative language of the Gospel teaching was (as is well known) chosen designedly. There were many reasons for its adoption, some accidental, some permanent. It was the language of the East, and therefore the almost necessary vehicle of thought for One who spoke as an Oriental to Orientals. It was the language best suited, then as always, to the rude, childlike minds to whom the Gospel discourses were addressed. It was the language

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from even so great a man as Chrysostom: 'They say I had given the 'Communion to some after they had eaten; but if I did this let my 'name be *blotted out of the book of Bishops*, and not written in the 'book of orthodox faith. Lo! if I did anything of the sort, *Christ 'will cast me out of His kingdom*; but *if they persist* in urging this, 'and are contentious, let them also *pass sentence against the Lord 'Himself, who gave the Communion to the Apostles after supper.*' (Ep. 128.) The full point of this extraordinary passage is hardly brought out with sufficient force in a recent work wh ch deserves commendation for its general accuracy and candour—'The Life and Times of St. 'Chrysostom,' by the Rev. W. Stephens.

in which profound doctrines were most likely to be preserved for future ages, distinct from the dogmatic or philosophical turns of speech, which, whilst aiming at forms to endure for eternity, are often the most transitory of all, often far more transitory than the humblest tale or the simplest figure of speech. It was the sanction, for all time, of the use of fiction and poetry as a means of conveying moral and religious truth. In the Parables of the Prodigal Son and of the Rich Man and Lazarus, are wrapt up by anticipation the drama and the romance of modern Europe. But with these immense and preponderating advantages of the parabolic style of instruction was combined one inevitable danger and drawback. Great, exalted, general as is the poetic instinct of mankind, it yet is not universal or in all cases supreme. There is a prosaic element in the human mind which turns into matter of fact even the highest flights of genius and the purest aspirations of devotion. And, strange to say, this prosaic turn is sometimes found side by side with the development of the parabolic tendency of which we have been speaking; sometimes even in the same mind. Nothing can be more figurative and poetic than Bunyan's 'Pilgrim;' nothing more homely and stiff than his 'Grace Abounding.' This union of the two tendencies is nowhere more striking than in the East, and in the first age of Christianity. It appeared in the Gospel narrative itself. Appropriate, elevating, unmistakeable as were our Lord's figures, they were again and again brought down by His hearers to the most vulgar and commonplace meaning. The reply of the Samaritan woman at the well—the comment of the Apostles on the leaven of the Pharisees—the gross materialism of the people of Capernaum in regard to the very expressions which have in part been pressed into modern Eucharistic controversies, are well-known cases in point. The Talmud is one vast system of turning figures into facts. The passionate exclamation of the Psalmist, 'Thou 'hast saved me from among the horns of the unicorns,' has been turned by the Rabbis into an elaborate chronicle of adventures. 'Imagination and defect of imagination have each contributed 'to the result.'* The whole history of early Millennarianism is a product of the same incapacity for distinguishing between poetry and prose. The strange tradition of our Lord's words which Irenæus quoted from Papias, and which Papias quoted from the Apostles, in the full belief that they were genuine, is a sample, no doubt, of some such misunderstood metaphor:—

* Gould's 'Legends of the Old Testament,' p. vi.

'The days shall come when each vine will grow with ten 'thousand boughs, each bough with ten thousand branches, 'each branch with ten thousand twigs, each twig with ten 'thousand bunches, each bunch with ten thousand grapes, each 'grape shall yield twenty-five measures of wine,' &c., &c. A misinterpretation like this provokes only a smile, because it never struck root in the Church; but it is not in itself more extravagant than some of the Sacramental theories built on figures not less evidently poetic.

2. A second cause of the persistency of this physical limitation of the Sacramental doctrines lay in the fascination exercised over the early centuries of our era by the belief in amulets and charms which the Christians inherited, and could not but inherit, from the decaying Roman Empire. In a striking passage in Dr. Newman's 'Essay on Development,' written with the view of identifying the modern Church of Rome with the Church of the early ages, he shows, with all the power of his eloquence and with an historical insight not usual in his other works, the apparent affinity between the magical rites which flooded Roman society during the three first centuries, and what seemed to be their counterparts in the contemporary Christian Church. Doubtless much of this similarity was accidental; much also was due to the vague terror inspired by a new and powerful religion. But much also was well grounded in the likeness which the earthly aspect of early Christianity inevitably bore to the influences by which it was surrounded. It was not mere hostility, nor mere ignorance, which saw in the exorcisms, the purifications, the mysteries of the Church of the first ages, the effects of the same vast wave of superstition which elsewhere produced the witches and soothsayers of Italy, the Mithraic rites of Persia, the strange charms and invocations of the Gnostics. In these likenesses, Dr. Newman, instead of recognising the influence of the perishing Empire on the rising Church, not only insists on binding down the Church to the effete superstitions of the Empire, but regards those superstitions as themselves the marks of a divine Catholicity.

A far sounder and deeper theologian than Dr. Newman in noticing the like correspondence of the anarchical tendencies of that period with the regenerating elements of Christianity, has taken a juster view of their relation to each other. Whilst fully acknowledging that the Christian movement to the external observer appeared to embrace them both, he has endeavoured, not, as Dr. Newman, to confound the lower human accretions with Christianity itself, but to distinguish between them. 'Christianity,' says Dr. Arnold, 'shared the common

'lot of all great moral changes; perfect as it was in itself, its 'nominal adherents were often neither wise nor good. The 'seemingly incongruous evils of the thoroughly corrupt society 'of the Roman Empire, superstition and scepticism, ferocity 'and sensual profligacy, often sheltered themselves under the 'name of Christianity; and hence the heresies of the first age 'of the Christian Church.'*

The 'sensual profligacy' and the 'scepticism' no doubt remained amongst 'the heresies;' but the 'ferocity' and the 'superstition' unfortunately lingered in the Church itself. The 'ferocity' developed itself somewhat later in the hordes of monks that turned the council-hall of Ephesus into a den of thieves, and stained the streets of Alexandria with the blood of Hypatia. The 'superstition' clove to the sacramental ordinances, and too often converted the emblems of life and light into signs of what most Christians now would regard as mere remnants of sortilege and sorcery. The stories of sacramental bread carried about as a protection against sickness and storm can deserve no other name; and it was not without reason that in later times the sacred words of consecration, which often degenerated into a mere incantation, became the equivalent for a conjuror's trick. And to this was added a peculiar growth of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, which was gradually consolidated amidst the lengthening shadows of the falling Empire,—the sacerdotal claims of the Christian clergy. In themselves these clerical pretensions had no necessary connexion with the material view of the Sacramental rites. The administration of Baptism is not regarded even by High Churchmen as an exclusive privilege of the clergy. In early times, indeed, it was practically confined to the bishops, but this was soon broken through, and in later ages it has in the Roman Church been viewed as the right, and even in some cases as the duty, of the humblest layman or laywoman. But the celebration of the Eucharist, although there is nothing in the terms of its original institution to distinguish it in this respect from the other sacrament, has yet been regarded as a peculiar function of the priesthood. In the second century, like that other sacrament, its administration depended on the permission of the bishops, yet when emancipated from their control, unlike Baptism, it did not descend beyond the order of presbyters, and has ever since been bound up with their dignity and power. Even here there can be found in the Roman Catholic Church those who main-

* 'Fragment on the Church,' pp. 85, 86.

tain that there is no essential and necessary connexion between their office and the validity of the Sacrament. But this has not been the general view; and it is impossible not to suppose that the belief in the preternatural powers of the priesthood, and the belief in the material efficacy of the sacramental elements, have acted and reacted upon each other, culminating in the extraordinary hyperbole which regards the priest as the maker of his Creator, shifting with each successive shade of importance which has been ascribed to the second order of the Christian clergy, and through them to the hierarchy generally. The sacrificial aspect which supervened upon the rite strengthened the same concatenation of ideas. We have already spoken of this on a former occasion,* and as it forms only a secondary element in the present discussion, we need not enlarge upon it here.

3. These two tendencies—the early tendency to mistake parable for prose, and the early superstitious regard for external objects—are sufficient to account for the lower forms of the irrational theories respecting the Sacrament of the Eucharist. But there is a third cause of a nobler kind which will lead us gradually and naturally to the consideration of the other side of the question. It is one of the peculiarities of this Sacrament that partly through its long history, partly from the original grandeur (so to speak) of its first conception, it suggests a great variety of thoughts which cling to it with such tenacity as almost to become part of itself. To disentangle these from the actual forms which they encompass—to draw precisely the limits where the outward ends and the inward begins, where the transitory melts into the eternal and the earthly into the heavenly—is beyond the power of many, beside the wish of most. To take an example from another great ordinance which belongs to the world no less than to the Church, and which by more than half Christendom is regarded as a sacrament—Marriage. How difficult it would be to analyse the ordinary mode of feeling regarding the ceremony which unites two human beings in the most sacred relation of life; how many trains of association from Jewish patriarchal traditions, from the usages of imperial Rome, from the metaphors of Apostolic teaching, from the purity of Teutonic and of English homes, have gone to make up the joint sanctity of that solemn moment, in which the reality and the form are by the laws of God and man blended in indissoluble union. Even if there are mingled with it customs which had once

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* Edinburgh Review, April, 1866: 'Ritualism.'

a baser significance; yet still even these are invested by the feeling of the moment with a meaning above themselves, which envelopes the whole ceremonial with an atmosphere of grandeur that no inferior associations can dispel or degrade. Something analogous is the mixture of ideas which has sprung up round the Eucharist. It has, by the very nature of the case, two sides: its visible material aspect, of a ceremony, of a test, of a mystic chain by which the priest brings the Creator down to earth, and attaches his followers to himself and his order; and its noble spiritual aspect of a sacred memory, of a joyous thanksgiving, of a solemn self-dedication, of an upward aspiration towards the Divine and the Unseen.

We have already spoken of the legends which have represented in an outward form the spiritual presence of the Redeemer in the world at large. We have also spoken of those which have represented the same idea in connexion with the sufferers or the heroes of humanity. There are also legends on which we may for a moment be allowed to dwell as representing in a vivid form both the baser and the loftier view of the same idea in the Eucharist. The lowest and most material conception of this Presence is brought before us in the legend of the miracle of Bolsena, immortalised by the fresco of Raphael, in which the incredulous priest was persuaded by the falling of drops of blood from the consecrated wafer at the altar of that ancient Etruscan city. Such stories of bleeding wafers were not unfrequent in the Middle Ages, and it is not impossible that they originated in the curious natural phenomenon, which was described some years ago in the pages of this Review,—the discolouration produced by the appearance of certain small scarlet insects which left on the bread which they touched the appearance of drops of blood. This appearance, real or supposed, suggested, probably, the material transformation of the elements into the outward flesh and blood of the frame of the Redeemer. This is the foundation of the great festival of Corpus Christi, which from the thirteenth century has in the Latin Church commemorated the miracle of Bolsena, and with it the doctrine supposed to be indicated therein. Another class of legend rises somewhat higher. It is that of a radiant child appearing on the altar, such as is described in the lives of Edward the Confessor, and engraved on the screen which encloses his shrine in Westminster Abbey. Leofric, Earl of Mercia, with his famous Countess Godiva, was believed to have been present with the King, and to have seen it also. This apparition, 'pure and bright as a spirit,' is evidently something more refined than the identification of the

wafer and wine with the mere flesh and blood of the human body of a full-grown man, and if both stories were taken literally, each would be inconsistent with the other. A third incident of the kind leads us higher yet, and is the more remarkable from its indicating the doctrine of a Eucharistic Presence in a Church which most English High Churchmen despise as altogether outside the pale of Sacramental graces. It has been told in various places; amongst others, in the twenty-first edition* of the interesting reminiscences of Scottish Character, by the venerable Dean Ramsay, how a half-witted boy in Forfarshire after long entreaties persuaded the minister to give him what he called his Father's bread, and returned home, exclaiming, 'Oh, I have seen the pretty man!' and died that night in excess of rapture. No savour or tradition of Transubstantiation had invaded the brain of this poor child. No Presbyterian would admit the external reality of the vision. No Catholic or High Episcopalian would acknowledge the reality of that Presbyterian Sacrament. But, nevertheless, the purely Protestant idea of a spiritual communion had such an effect as to produce an impression analogous, however superior, to the visions of the Priest of Bolsena or the Saxon King. No serious confusion can arise so long as we hold to the obvious truth that outward appearances can never be more than signs of spiritual and moral excellence; and that even were the Saviour Himself present in visible form before us, that visible presence would be useless to us, except as a token of the Divine Spirit within, and would have no effect on the human soul unless the soul consciously received a moral impulse from it.

III. Such are the various elements which have gone to make up the sentiment of Christendom on a subject in itself so simple, but complicated by the confluence of the heterogeneous streams of irrelevant argument, misapplied metaphor, and genuine devotion. How its more material aspect deepened as time rolled on, we have already indicated. The long mediæval controversy was at last closed by the definition of Transubstantiation in the fourth Council of the Lateran, and this was followed by the stories already cited of the miracle at Bolsena, and other like incidents, which finally produced what may be called the popular belief of the Roman Church, that the bread and wine are, after consecration, neither more nor less than the body and blood that was crucified on Calvary.

But it is interesting, and for our present purpose instructive,

* I. 239.

to observe how behind this popular belief, and even in some o the forms which most directly arose out of it, there was yet a constant turning to the higher and more spiritual view. Not only had Berengar and Abelard protested against the grosser conceptions, not only had the mighty Hildebrand vacillated in his orthodoxy, but the very statement itself of 'Transub-'stantiation,' properly understood, contained a safety-valve, through which the more earthly and dogmatic expressions of the doctrine evaporate and melt into something not very unlike the purest Protestantism. The word is based, as its component parts sufficiently indicate, on the scholastic distinction between 'Substance' and 'Accidents,' a distinction which has long since vanished out of every sound system either of physics or metaphysics,* but which at the time must have been like a *Deus ex machinâ* to relieve the difficulties of theologians struggling to maintain their conscience and sense of truth against the prevailing superstitions of the age. Every external object was then believed to consist of two parts—the *accidents*, which represented the solid visible framework, alone cognisable by the senses, and the *substance*, which was the inward essence or Platonic idea, invisible to mortal eye, incommunicable to mortal touch. The popular notion of the Roman Catholic doctrine is, no doubt, that the change believed to be effected in the Eucharist is not of 'the substance,' but of 'the acci-'dents.' This would seem (on the whole) the view of Aquinas, who maintains not, indeed, that the *accidents* of the bread and wine are changed, but that the *substance* is changed, not merely into the *substance*, but into the *accidents* of the body and blood.† This is clear not only from the legends of the bleeding wafers and the like, but from the common language used as to the portentous miracle by which the visible earthly elements are supposed to be transformed into something invisible and celestial. But the true scholastic doctrine is wholly inconsistent with any such supposition. The 'sub-'stance' spoken of is not the material substance, but the

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* The connexion of these materialist views of the Sacrament with the scholastic distinction between 'substance' and 'accidents' has been well pointed out by two distinguished scholars who, whenever they apply themselves to theological subjects, speak with a lucidity and an authority which render their words as invigorating as too many of the modern speculations on this subject are wearisome and enfeebling—Bishop Thirlwall in his Charge of 1854, and Dean Liddell in his sermon entitled 'There am I in the midst.'

† Lib. iv. sent. dist. viii. qu. 2; quoted in Bishop Thirlwall's Charge of 1854, p. 82.

impalpable idea. The miracle, if it can be so called in any sense of that much vexed word, consists in the transformation of one invisible object into another invisible object. The senses have no part or lot in the transaction, on one side or the other. Even the 'substance'* into which the ideal essence of the bread and wine is transformed is not the gross corporeal matter of the bones and sinews and fluid of the human frame, but the ideal essence of that frame. It is, probably, not without design that Dr. Newman, in speaking of the word 'substance' lays down so anxiously and precisely that 'the 'greatest philosophers know nothing at all about it.' The doctrine, thus conceived and thus stated in one of the decrees of Trent, is, as the Bishop of St. David's† well expresses it the assertion that 'one metaphysical entity is substituted for 'another, equally beyond the grasp of the human mind, and 'equally incapable of any predicate by which it may become 'the subject of an intelligible proposition.' It is evident that under cover of a word which either means nothing or something which no one can understand, the whole idealistic philosophy, the whole rationalistic theology, the whole Biblical and spiritual conceptions of the Eucharist might steal in.

It is difficult, but it is instructive, to track out the course of this Protean logomachy. The confusion pervades not only the words of the doctrine, but the forms which have gathered round it. Whilst some of these forms have intensified the gross popular belief, and are only explicable on the supposition of its truth—such as the minute precautions concerning the mode of disposing of the sacred elements, or of guarding them against the trivial incidents of every day occurrence; on the other hand, some of them are only defensible on the hypothesis of the more spiritual view to which we have just adverted. This is even more apparent in the mediæval and Western, than in the Patristic and Oriental Church. We have seen that in the earlier ages it was the custom, as it still is in Eastern worship, to give the Communion to infants. This custom since the thirteenth century has in the Latin Church been entirely proscribed. Partly, no doubt, this may have arisen from the fear—increasing with the increase of the superstitious veneration for the actual elements—lest the wine, or as it was deemed the

* The ambiguity which in the Roman statement attaches to the word 'substance,' in the Anglican statement attaches no less to the word 'real.' 'Nothing in this question can depend on the expression, '*Real Presence*; everything on the sense which is attached to it.' (*Bishop Thirlwall's Charge*, 1854, p. 66.)

† 'Charge,' 1854, p. 82.

sacred blood, should be spilt in the process; but partly also it arose from the repugnance which the more restless, rational, and reforming West felt against an infant's unconscious participation in a rite which, according to any reasonable explanation of its import, could not be considered as useful to any except conscious and intelligent agents. In many of its aspects, no doubt, the same might be said of Baptism. But there it was at least possible to regard the rite in relation to children as equivalent to an enrolment in a new society—a dedication to a merciful Saviour—a hope that they would lead the rest of their lives according to this beginning. Not so the Eucharist. The Eucharist is either a purely moral act, or else it is entirely mechanical. If viewed as a charm, as a medicine, it would be equally applicable to conscious or unconscious persons, to children or to full-grown men But if viewed as an act of the will, Infant Communion became an obvious incongruity, and accordingly, in spite of the long and venerable traditions which sustained the usage, it was deliberately abandoned by the Latin Church; and we may be sure that the enlightened sense of Christian Europe will for ever prevent its rehabilitation. The rejection of Infant Communion is intelligible on the principle that the efficacy of the Eucharist is a moral influence—it is totally indefensible on the principle whether of Roman or Anglican divines, who maintain its efficacy, irrespectively of any spiritual thought or reflection in the recipient. Another change of the same kind in Western Christendom is equally open to this construction. One of the most common charges of Protestants against the Church of Rome is its withholding of the cup from the laity. The expression is not quite accurate. The cup is not absolutely withheld from laymen, inasmuch as it was the privilege of the Kings of France, and also is still given in cases of illness; and its retention is not from the laity as such, but from all, whether priests or laymen, that are not actually officiating. This, properly understood, places the custom on what is no doubt its true basis. It began, probably, like the denial of the Communion to infants, from an apprehension lest the chalice should be spilt in going to and fro, or lest the sacred liquid should adhere to the beards or moustaches of the bristling warriors of the Middle Ages. But it was justified on a ground which is fatal to the localisation of the Divine Presence in the earthly elements. It was maintained that the communicant received the benefits of the sacrament as completely if he partook of one of the two species as if he partook of both. This was at once to assert that the efficacy of the sacrament did not

depend on the material elements. It was the same revolution with respect to the Eucharist that the almost contemporary substitution of sprinkling for immersion was in Baptism. Such a change in the matter of either sacrament can only be justified on the principle that the matter is but of small importance —that the main stress must be on the spirit. And when to this alteration of form was yet further added, in explanation of it, a distinct scholastic theory that each of the two species contained the substance of both, the doctrine of the supreme indifference of form was consolidated, so far as the metaphysical subtleties and barbarous philosophy of that age would allow, into a separate dogma.

If the fine lines of Thomas Aquinas in his famous hymn, 'Lauda Sion Salvatorem,' have any sense at all, they mean that the body of Christ is not contained in the bread, nor the blood in the wine, but that something different from each is contained in both; and what that something is must either be a purely spiritual Presence in the hearts of the faithful or else the presence of two physical bodies existing on every altar at the same moment, which is maintained by no one.

When the Bohemian Utraquists fought with desperate energy to recover the use of the cup, they were in one sense doubtless fighting the cause of the laity against the clergy, of old Catholic latitude against modern Roman restrictions. But with that obliquity of purpose, which sometimes characterises the fiercest ecclesiastical struggles, the Roman Church, on the other hand, was fighting the battle of an enlarged and liberal view of the Sacraments against a fanatical insistance on the necessity of a detailed conformity to ancient usage.

Of a piece with these indications of a more reasonable view, is the constant under-song of better spirits from the earliest times, which maintains with regard to both Sacraments, not only that, in extreme cases, they may be dispensed with, but that their essence is to be had without the form at all. The bold doctrine of Wall—the great Anglican authority on Infant Baptism—that Quakers may be regarded as baptised, because they have the substance of that of which baptism is the sign, is justified by the maxim of the early Church that the martyrdom of the unbaptised is itself a baptism. And in like manner, the most Protestant of all the statements on this subject in the English Prayerbook is itself taken from an earlier rubric to the same effect in the mediæval Church:—
'If a man . . . by any just impediment do not receive
'the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the Church shall
'instruct him that' [if he fulfil the moral conditions of Com-

munion,] '*he doth eat and drink the Body and Blood* of our 'Saviour Christ to his soul's health, *although he do not receive* '*the Sacrament with his mouth.*' This principle is asserted in the Sarum Manual, which less distinctly, but not less positively, allowed of the possibility of spiritual communion when actual reception of the elements was impossible.*

Such a concession is in fact the concession of the whole principle. In the more stringent view, the outward reception of the two Sacraments was regarded as so absolutely necessary to salvation, that not even the innocence of the newborn babe nor the blameless life of Marcus Aurelius were allowed to plead against their lack of the outward form of one or the other. But the moment that the door is opened for the moral consideration of what is due to mercy and humanity, the whole fabric of the strict Sacramental system vanishes, and reason, justice, and charity step in to take their rightful places.

IV. We have thus far endeavoured to show how in the vitals of the most mechanical theory of the Sacraments there was wrapt up a protest in favour of the most spiritual view. Let us for a moment take the reverse side of the picture, and show how, in the heart of the early Protestant Church, there has always been wrapt up a lurking tenderness for the purely outward and material view.

When the shock of the Reformation came, next after the Pope's Supremacy and the doctrine of Justification by Faith—and in a certain sense more fiercely even than either of these, because it concerned a tangible and visible object—the battle of the Churches was fought over the Sacrament of the Altar.

Each of the Reformers on the Continent made some formidable inroad into the usages or the theories which the Roman Church had built up on the primitive ordinance. Yet, with one exception, they all retained something of the old scholastic theory, or the old material sentiment on the external surroundings of the grand spiritual conception of the Sacrament. Luther, the Titan of the age (as he has been termed by the great Roman Catholic theologian of Munich, who first of his co-religionists has dared to speak the truth concerning the relations of the Roman and Protestant Churches)—in most points the boldest, the most spiritual of all—on this point was the most hesitating and the most superstitious. Under the new name of 'Consubstantiation,' the ancient dogma of 'Transub-'stantiation' received a fresh lease of life. The unchanged form of the Lutheran altar, with crucifix, candles, and wafer,

* Blunt's 'Annotated Prayer Book,' p. 291.

testified to the comparatively unchanged doctrine of the Lutheran sacrament. Melanchthon, Bucer, Calvin, all trembled on the same inclined slope; all laboured to retain some mixture of the physical with the purer idea of the metaphysical, moral efficacy of the Eucharistic rite. One only, the noble-minded Reformer of Zurich, 'the clear-headed and 'intrepid Zwingli,'* in treating of this subject, anticipated the necessary conclusion of the whole matter. In language, perhaps too austerely exact, but transparently clear, he recognised the full Biblical truth, that the operations of the Divine Spirit on the soul can only be through moral means; and that the moral influence of the Sacrament is chiefly or solely through the potency of its unique commemoration of the most touching and transcendent event in history. This is the doctrine, sometimes in contempt called Zwinglian, which in substance became the doctrine of all the 'Reformed 'Churches' properly so called, and in a more or less degree of all Protestant Churches. It is well known how vehemently Luther struggled against it. In the princely hall of the old castle which crowns the romantic town of Marburg, took place the stormy discussion in which Luther and Zwingli, in the presence of the Landgrave of Hesse, for two long days met face to face, in the vain hope of convincing one another, with the hope, not equally vain, of at least parting in friendship. Everything which could be said on behalf of the dogmatic, coarse, literal interpretation of the institution was urged with the utmost vigour of word and gesture by the stubborn Saxon. Everything which could be said on behalf of the rational, refined, spiritual construction was urged with a union of the utmost acuteness and gentleness by the sober-minded Swiss. Never before or since have the two views been brought into such close collision. Never before or since have their respective claims been urged with more ability. As regards the Continental Churches, the feud has never been altogether healed, but its virulence has been much abated; and in the Church of Prussia the earnest efforts of the father of the present Emperor produced an accommodation sufficiently solid to admit of a union within the same 'Evangelical 'Church.'

V. We now turn to the relation of the two conflicting tendencies in England. It will not be surprising to anyone who

* We quote from the 'Bampton Lectures on the Communion of 'Saints,' by the Rev. H. B. Wilson; a work too little known in proportion to the interest excited by it at the time and to its own rare merits.

has followed our articles on the ecclesiastical system of this country,* in which from time to time we have pointed out the essentially mixed aspect of the English character and of English institutions, the gradual development of our religious, side by side with the equally gradual development of our political, ordinances and ideas—that the conflict of thought, visible as we have seen even in the compact fabric both of the Roman and the Presbyterian Churches, should have left yet deeper traces in the Church of England. During the reign of Henry VIII. this hesitation was almost a necessary consequence of the laborious efforts by which King and people rose out of their own natural prepossessions into a higher region :—

> 'Now half appeared
> The tawny lion, pawing to get free
> His hinder parts, then springs as broke from bonds,
> And rampant shakes his brinded mane.'

No doubt the ancient doctrine of the Mass maintained its place during those eventful years. But Tyndale had not spoken and written in vain ; and already by the Royal theologian himself was issued one of those magnificent documents in which the true doctrine of the relation of form to spirit is set forth with a clearness of exposition and of thought that has never been surpassed. The contradictions and vacillations in the growth of Cranmer's opinions on this point are well known. Nothing can be more natural—nothing, we may add, more creditable to his honesty and discrimination—than that he should have felt his way slowly and carefully through the labyrinth from which he had been slowly emerging. In Edward VI.'s reign, the influence of the great Reformer of Zurich at last made itself felt in every corner of the ecclesiastical movement of England : † 'De cœnâ omnes Angli rectè sentiunt,' writes Hooper to his Swiss friends in 1549 ; 'Satisfecit piis Eduardi re-'formatio,' writes Bullinger. At length Cranmer's agreement with the Helvetic Confession of 1536 was complete. 'Canter-bury,' writes a friend to Bullinger in 1548, 'contrary to 'expectation, maintained your opinion. It is all over with 'the Lutherans.' Ridley's last sentiments, though guardedly expressed, were at the core the same as Cranmer's. It was its persistent adhesion to the Swiss doctrine on the whole which made the Anglican Church, in spite of its episcopal

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* See Edinburgh Review, July, 1850; April, 1866.

† See Cardwell's 'Two Liturgies,' Pref. pp. 26–28.

government and liturgical worship, to be classed not amongst the Lutheran but amongst the Reformed Churches.

Yet still the mediæval, or, if we will, the Lutheran element remained too strongly fixed to be altogether dislodged. At the distance of two centuries, Swift could regard his own Church as represented by Martin rather than by Jack. Lutheranism was in fact the exact shade which coloured the mind of Elizabeth, and of the divines who held to her. Her altar was precisely the Lutheran altar; her opinions were represented in almost a continuous line by one divine after another down to our own time. But they were always kept in check by the strong Zwinglian atmosphere which pervaded the original theology of the English Church, and which has been its prevailing hue ever since. Into this more reasonable theology almost every expression that has been since used (till quite our modern times) might be resolved. But it must be remembered that in the earlier years of the reign of Elizabeth, not only the Queen herself, but a very large portion of the English Clergy, who had been brought up in the Romish doctrine, still held opinions scarcely distinguishable from it; thus it came to pass that, in the spirit of compromise and conciliation which pervaded all their work, the framers of the formularies, though determined to keep the Zwinglian doctrine intact, yet often so expressed it as to make it look as much like Lutheranism as possible. Elizabeth herself, when cross-questioned in her sister's time, evaded the doctrine rather than stated it distinctly. There are still to be seen rudely carved on a stone under the pulpit of the Church of Walton on Thames the lines in which she gave the answer that to many a devout spirit in the English Church has seemed a sufficient reply to all questionings on the subject:—

> 'Christ was the Word and spake it,
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what the Word doth make it
> That I believe and take it.'

The Articles as finally drawn up in her reign exhibit this same reluctance to exclude positively one or other of the two views. The 28th Article, as originally written in Edward VI.'s time, had expressed the exact Helvetic doctrine. A sentence was added in which, amidst a crowd of Zwinglian expressions, one word—'given'—was inserted which, though not necessarily Lutheran or Roman, certainly lent itself to that meaning. The 29th Article, on 'the wicked which eat not the 'Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's supper,' which was added in Elizabeth's time, was obviously meant to condemn

the doctrine that there is any reception possible but a moral reception. But—not to speak of the slight wavering, at its close, of the positiveness of its opening—this very Article, though authorised by the canons of 1603, and by implication in the Caroline Act of Uniformity in 1662, does not occur in the edition of the Articles (which are here only 38 in number), authorised by the 13th of Elizabeth. That is to say, this most Protestant of all the Articles is confirmed by what the High Church party regard as the authority of the Church in Convocation, and by the High Church legislature of Charles II.'s time, but it was not confirmed by the Act which first imposed the Articles, and which had for its object the admission of Presbyterian orders.

The Catechism, which originally contained no exposition of the sacraments at all, in the time of James I. received a supplement, in which for one moment the highly rhetorical language of the fathers and schoolmen is strongly pressed:—'The Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken 'and received in the Lord's Supper.' But then the qualifying clause comes in, 'by the faithful;' and these very words are further restricted as describing not the bread and wine, but the 'thing signified thereby.' The strong denial of 'the Real 'and bodily,' the 'Real and essential Presence,' which was in Edward VI.'s time incorporated in the 28th Article, and afterwards appended to the Prayerbook in his Declaration of Kneeling, was in Elizabeth's time omitted altogether, and when revived in Charles II.'s time, was altered to meet the views of the then predominant High Church divines; though the Declaration itself was restored at the request of the Puritan party. But the words '*real and essential Presence* '*there being*' were omitted, and the words '*corporal presence*' substituted for them. The consequence is, that while the adoration of the elements or of 'any corporal presence of 'Christ's natural flesh and blood' is strictly forbidden as idolatrous, the worship of 'any real and essential presence 'there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood' is by implication not condemned by this Declaration of the Rubric. The Privy Council conceded to Mr. Bennett the benefit of this distinction.

Most characteristic of all is the combination of the two tendencies in the words of the administration of the Eucharist. In the first Prayerbook of Edward VI., which retained as much as possible of the ancient forms both in belief and usage, the words were almost the same as now in the Roman Church, and as formerly in the Sarum Missal:—'The Body of our Lord

'Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and 'soul unto everlasting life.' In the second Prayerbook of Edward VI., when the Swiss influence had taken complete possession of the English Reformers, this clause was dropped, and in its place was substituted the words, 'Take and eat 'this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on 'Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.' In the Prayerbook of Elizabeth, and no doubt by her desire, the two clauses were united, and so have remained ever since. 'Excellently well done was it,' says an old Anglican divine,* 'of Queen Elizabeth and her Reformers, to link both to-'gether; for between the Body and Blood of Christ in 'the Eucharist, and the Sacramental Commemoration of His 'Passion, there is so inseparable a league as *subsist* they 'cannot, except they *consist*.' 'Excellently well done was it,' we may add, to leave this standing proof, in the very heart of our most solemn service, that the two views which have from the earliest times divided the Christian Church are compatible with joint Christian communion—so that in the Church of England at least Luther and Zwingli might feel themselves at one; that the Puritan Edward and the Roman Mary might, had they lived under the Latitudinarian though Lutheran Elizabeth, have thus far worshipped together; that neither the one view nor the other can be ejected from the Church without rending asunder part of the tissue of its most sacred ordinance.

VI. Such was the general state of the controversy down to the commencement of the Oxford movement of 1834—we may almost say down to the revival of that movement in 1864. We pointed out in our notice of 'Ritualism' how large a part has been played in the hierarchical and æsthetical agitation which bears that name, by the exaltation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in its material aspect. These modern expressions of the doctrine far outran all previous statements of it in the disproportionate, exaggerated, and fantastic importance which in word and act was ostentatiously ascribed to the mechanical rite. Two champions of this tendency assumed a prominent position. One was the genial Archdeacon of Taunton, whose special delight it is to defy lawful authority in all its forms, whether Bishop, Archbishop, Privy Council, or School Inspector, and who escaped a direct collision with the Supreme Court by a happy legal accident. The other, equally perverse and equally determined, was Mr. Bennett, of Frome. On two or three crude publications of

* L'Estrange, 'Alliance of Divine Offices,' p. 219.

this strange theologian (but we believe conscientious and active pastor), the Puritan section of the English Church, goaded, no doubt, almost beyond endurance by the defiant challenges and overbearing pretensions of their old enemies, fastened, as the best chance of expelling these 'troublers of 'Israel' from the National Church. We have never concealed our opinion that the modern practice, revived by the High Church party themselves, and only at last borrowed from them by their opponents, of pushing to extremities these legal prosecutions for theological opinions, is in a high degree both injurious and futile. We lament that even in appearance the eminent Prelates, who have presided over the great see of London, should have lent their names to the ominous precedent of constituting the Bishop of the metropolis the censor of all clerical works issuing from any London publisher. But the prosecution once begun, of necessity passed through the usual stages till it reached the Final Court of Appeal. There has rarely, if ever, been so numerous a tribunal. It consisted of the Lord Chancellor, the Northern Primate, the Metropolitan Bishop, three of the most eminent of the Equity Judges, an ex-Chief Justice of Bengal, and the Professor of International Law at Oxford. On the 8th of June, a crowd of eager clergy assembled to hear the decision on this controversy, the most direct that has been given in England since Latimer first and then Cranmer were consigned to the flames at Oxford for denying the doctrine which in substance, or in appearance, the modern teachers of Oxford are charged with asserting. The decision was that which Philip of Hesse would fain have procured in the Castle of Marburg; it is that which we have always predicted as the inevitable consequence of any just and equitable consideration of formularies so mixed as we have shown those of the Church of England to be. The statements of Mr. Bennett were of such an extravagant kind as to test the forbearance of the Court to the very utmost. His original position—only retracted under pressure of his spiritual adviser, and in the prospect more or less imminent of prosecution—exceeded even the limits of the Roman doctrine itself. It asserted 'a real, actual, and *visible* 'presence of the Lord on the altars of our churches.' We have already seen that the Roman doctrine in its scholastic form teaches that, whatever else may be the Presence in the Eucharist, it is at least invisible.* To the original doctrine

* The Roman Catechism itself expressly speaks of the 'Corpus 'Domini quod in Eucharistiâ occultè latet.' See Mr. Stephens' learned Argument, p. 9.

of Mr. Bennett, if to any human statement whatever, the famous lines of Dryden are strictly applicable:—

> 'The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood;
> But nonsense never can be understood.'

For this absurd expression, which deserves to be recorded as marking the length to which the materialising view of the Eucharist was carried by its chosen advocate, was substituted another by which the writer professed to intend the same thing, but which, being a shade less explicit, the Judges considered that they might in a penal prosecution regard more leniently. Moreover, this assertion of the 'real, actual, 'and' (as it was now worded) 'objective† presence,' was coupled with a series of other epithets, 'spiritual,' 'super-'natural,' 'sacramental,' 'mystical,' 'ineffable'—expressions which either indicate that the matter of which the writer is speaking is beyond the capacity of any words to represent, or else resolve themselves into the Reformed or Zwinglian view which he believed himself to be condemning. Of this, and the like ambiguities in all of Mr. Bennett's statements, the Judges gladly availed themselves, and came to the unanimous conclusion, though 'not without doubts and diversities of opinion,' 'that 'the charges against him are not so clearly made out as the 'rules of penal proceedings require; and that he is therefore 'entitled to the benefit of any such doubt as may exist.' The result is, that the Lutheran doctrine of a Presence, an efficacy in the Sacrament, irrespective of the communicant—which is separable only by a hair's breadth, if it be separable at all, from the authorised Roman doctrine—has been found tolerable within the Church, which has itself accepted in the larger part of its formularies the doctrine (as the Judgment expressly and prominently puts forth) directly opposite to this. The High Church party, therefore, have for the first time received a legal recognition of their views in this matter, and no further attempt can be made by their opponents on this ground to eject them from the National Church. We have not dissembled the repugnance which we feel, and which, no doubt, is shared by a large part not only of the Protestant but of the Christian world, to a mode of teaching, which, if not (as in many cases it is) wholly unmeaning, has a direct tendency to reduce the most sacred and edifying ordinance of Christianity, and therefore, in a certain degree, Christianity

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* We decline to use the word 'objective' in the discussion, as being itself open to new ambiguities, and unknown to earlier theology.

itself, to a material, local, irrational form. But the coexistence of the two views has, as we have already pointed out, been endured for so long, and more or less in every Church, that there is no great additional strain on our forbearance in an open avowal of that which has long been tacitly permitted.

The 'high road' of the Church, as has been well expressed, is still declared by the Judgment to be for the reasonable and spiritual doctrine. But in its bye paths there has been allowed a place for those who delight to dwell in the outward forms. The decision of the Court of Arches declared that whilst the Reformed view was tolerated, the Lutheran view was maintained by the Church. The final Judgment, on the contrary, has announced that, whereas the Lutheran view is tolerated, the Reformed view is maintained.

VII. There are, however, other aspects of the Judgment which are more than sufficient to compensate for any temporary defeat of one party or temporary exaltation of the other. The decision in the case of Mr. Bennett is but a signal carrying out of those principles of law and equity, which have characterised the greater judgments of the Supreme Court of Appeal for the last twenty years, which we in these pages have earnestly and constantly defended, and against which the High Church party have hitherto vehemently protested. It was they who began the series of ecclesiastical litigations in the case of Mr. Gorham, and who continued it in the cases of Mr. Wilson and Dr. Williams. In both instances they were foiled by the determination of the Supreme Tribunal to view the statements sought to be assailed not in the heated atmosphere of partisan theologians, but by the dry daylight of English law—not with the intention of excluding everything which could possibly be excluded, but of including everything which could possibly be included. Of these principles the Evangelical party reaped the fruits in 1850, and the Liberal Theologians in 1864. And now the wheel of theological prosecution had turned round its whole cycle, and the defeated assailants of 1850 and 1864 found themselves the endangered defendants in 1872. Had the policy which they so vehemently, we may say so fiercely, urged on the two former occasions been applied to themselves on this occasion, there cannot be a doubt of the result. Mr. Bennett must have been condemned; and his admirers must have sustained at least an ignominious discomfiture, if not a rigid exclusion from the Church. But the Supreme Court of Appeal held on its even course, undeterred by intimidations or recriminations on one side or the other; and the result has been that the same measure that was meted, in spite of the

furious protestations from the High Church school, to the Vicar of Bramford Speke and the Vicar of Broad Chalk, has been now meted out to the Vicar of Frome Selwood. Again and again, in the course of the recent* decision, the toleration of the Lutheran or Roman doctrine of the Eucharist is based on the maxims laid down for the toleration of the Calvinistic doctrine of Baptism, of the free critical interpretation of the Scriptures, and of the Origenist doctrine of Future Punishment. It is the last and crowning triumph of the Christian latitudinarianism of the Church of England. And the very extravagance of Mr. Bennett's positions, by offering the most crucial test for the application of these just and wise principles, signalises the extent of the victory thus obtained in the cause of freedom. Even had his original statement been preserved intact, it seems to us that the breadth of the principles here laid down would have been sufficient to have covered it. 'A 'visible presence' of that which on all hands is allowed to be invisible, might fairly have been declared to be itself unmean-

* There is one point on which we venture to point out a difference between the Bennett and the Gorham Judgments, in which we cannot but think that the Gorham Judgment rests on a broader and sounder foundation. The Bennett Judgment appears to proceed throughout on the assumption that each formulary of the Church must be taken by itself; and that though the utmost care is to be taken to give the defendant the benefit of any doubt where a contradiction is apparent, yet his statements must be judged by each separate statement of the formularies. The Gorham Judgment, on the other hand, proceeded not only on this assumption but on the further principle that, wherever different senses might be attached to the different formularies, the lawfulness of each contested statement might be judged by its conformity with the result of the whole formularies taken together. This view is yet further necessitated by the undoubted historical fact—on which, perhaps, neither Judgment has dwelt sufficiently—that the formularies of the Church of England contain avowedly at least two, probably more, contradictory currents of doctrine. It is evident from the mere fact of the modification of the formularies as noticed above, that now one, and now another, of these currents has prevailed against the other; but each is not less really flowing side by side. and it is because each school can avail itself of the conflicting traces thus left on the various parts of the formularies that it is justified in holding its ground. When, whether in legal judgments or in common parlance, the Church of England (and the same, *mutatis mutandis*, may be said of the Church of Rome, or of the Church of Scotland), is said to hold such and such a doctrine, it would be more true to fact to say that every considerable Church—the English Church, perhaps, more than most—holds a variety of doctrines which, though in themselves contradictory, can be practically blended into one harmonious whole.

ing; and, if unmeaning, then capable of the same charitable construction which, under like circumstances, the Judgment has placed on the words 'adoration,' 'sacrifice,' and 'objec-'tive presence.' In fact there are very few deviations from the formularies which this decision would not cover; and if in the case of Mr. Heath and Mr. Voysey, an acquittal was not found possible, it is enough (without referring to the more special peculiarities of those two prosecutions) to point out that the principles which guided the Gorham Judgment were not on those occasions, as on this, expressly invoked. It is to be hoped that all parties may learn some lessons of moderation from this striking failure of the attempt to convict one who had, even in the favourable judgment of the Dean of the Court of Arches and of his own party, been guilty of crude, rash, and inconsiderate expressions, and whose own exposition of his opinions had been condemned as 'erro-'neous by the very divine whose opinions Mr. Bennett seems to 'have sought to represent.' The theological disputants of all the various schools within the Church may see that there is a more excellent way of silencing their opponents than by bringing them before a court of law, which is by the very nature of the case precluded from discussing the tendencies and pretensions which are really, or would be deemed by the combatants, the most dangerous. All may learn the wisdom and charity of abstaining from wild defiances and coarse exaggerations, which, though they happily fail in most cases to disturb the unimpassioned atmosphere of a legal tribunal, are needlessly irritating and inflaming to the mass of minds which constitute the public opinion of the Church at large.

VIII. And this leads us to yet one more general conclusion. This decision, received with such exultation by the High Church party, has been delivered in their favour by the very tribunal which, so long as it pronounced in favour of tolerating those whom they were seeking to exclude, was assailed by every species of theological ribaldry, as a disgrace, a wrong, an oppression, which must be subverted at all hazards. Now, for the first time, or nearly for the first time (for it may be remembered that a slight lull in the tempest of vituperation occurred when in like manner the Supreme Court admitted the lawfulness of some of their practices in the case of Westerton *v.* Liddell), the note is changed. The lay character, the mixed character, the legal character, the regal character, of the tribunal—every one of which were regarded as fatal counts in the indictment against it—are gladly overlooked, and the general exclamation is—

'A Daniel come to judgment—yea, a Daniel.
O wise young judge, how do I honour thee!
A Daniel, still I say, a second Daniel.'

It is not with the view of taunting our opponents with inconsistency that we call attention to this change of front. We are only too happy in this as in all matters to build silver bridges for our flying enemies. Yet it is worth noting, as a proof of the hollowness and futility of these party war-cries. The constitution of the Court of Appeal is not less objectionable now than it was when it was the butt of every sarcasm in Convocation and Church Congress; or than when an anxious crowd of ecclesiastics hung breathless on the debate in the House of Lords which was to determine whether or no it was to be altered. We know now what these declarations really meant. They meant only the excessive, though natural, desire to have a Court which should always decide in the direction agreeable to the partisans of a single school.

But there is a deeper and more universal lesson to be learned from this acquiescence in the judgment of the Court of Appeal. Twice over it has been our lot to show how true and (in the best sense) Catholic—how truly in accordance with the highest and best authorities of the Church itself—have been the decisions of this high tribunal. Twice over it was our duty to show how the Supremacy of the Crown as thus exercised was in fact the best safeguard at once of the order and of the freedom of the Church. Our opinion is now confirmed by the most reluctant witnesses. And, if in the heat of disappointment or alarm, there should now be others who should be tempted by the recent Judgment to attack the tribunal which has tolerated the opinions which they condemn, to them also a few moments' reflection will show that they have no real ground of complaint. It was by the Judgments of 1850 and 1864 that the Puritan and the Liberal schools of the Church were able to hold their ground; and those Judgments proceeded on precisely the same general principles as that which has now acquitted their ancient adversaries. On the occasion of the first of these Judgments, we stated that it proceeded on 'the general truth that the Church of England is not High, 'nor Low, but Broad.' This has been confirmed by each of the two great Judgments that have succeeded. It is Broad, not because it includes a school to which from the days of Cudworth downwards that proud name has justly been awarded, but because it includes all the other elements of ecclesiastical life, without which a Church consisting merely of latitudinarians would become as narrow as they. This, we

have repeatedly said, is the essential condition, the high vocation, of a National Church. Each body of Nonconformists in England—the Free Church, the United Presbyterians of Scotland—the would-be Anglo-Catholic Nonjuring sect, whether in the past or the future of the English Church, has its being only by virtue of sustaining one single mode of thought and of excluding all besides.* A remarkable example of this has lately been given in the burst of fury against the Established Church of Scotland lately exhibited by the Scottish Dissenters on the express ground that it had consented to admit a wider, larger, teaching of Christian truth. It has been the glory of the Church of Scotland that in its pale have been nurtured the most liberal elements of Scottish theology, the very existence of which within the borders of the seceding Church the chief officer of that Church has recently repudiated as a shocking impossibility. It has been the glory of the Church of England that, taking it not at its real worst but at its ideal best—not according to the clamorous representations of the partisans of its various sections, but according to the inherent virtue of the constitution which it has derived from the mixed character of the English Commonwealth—it has 'room' for all. It is by their juxtaposition, by their friction, by the mutual toleration of each other, expressed by the fact that they are all alike subject to the supreme law of the land, and to that only, that the existence of the National Church is justified, and that the best hopes are afforded of its ultimate enlargement, purification, and elevation. It is not the High Church school, nor even the Church of England itself, which is the chief gainer by the recent decision; it is the general cause of Christian moderation and Christian truth. Had the Gorham decision ejected the Evangelical school, the nation of England would not have been quit of them. They would have remained, but in a lower and narrower phase of bitter nonconformity. Had the 'Essays and Reviews' Judgment ejected the advocates of free inquiry, free inquiry would not have been suppressed, it would only have assumed a fiercer, wilder, more destructive character. Had the Bennett Judgment ejected Mr. Bennett and his friends, they would still have remained a thorn in our sides not the less provoking and irritating, because they would have been goaded from without into every fantastic reprisal, both in act and word. It has been happily ordered otherwise; and

* This is well discussed in the recent Bampton Lectures of the Rev. G. H. Curteis, on 'Dissent in relation to the Church.'

though we dare not presume on the softening effects ev
justice and mercy on the inveteracy of party zeal; thoug
dare not expect toleration from a school whose usual pr
has been only to recognise the word as applied to itself; th
this moderation may possibly be abused, and its sweet na
fruits poisoned and embittered by the violence of fa
—yet we shall never regret that we have stood by the
principles which in its three principal decisions have ins
the hopes and guided the policy of this august trib
we shall yet look hopefully forward to the general atmos
of calm content which such a concurrence of Judgmen
gravely, impartially, and wisely expressed is likely to pro

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ART. I.—1. *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States.* (Papers presented to Congress.) Washington: 1868 and 1870.

2. *Vie de Monseigneur Berneux, Evêque de Capse in partibus Infidelium, Vicaire apostolique de Corée.* Par M. L'ABBÉ PICHON. Paris: 1868.

3. *Journeys in North China.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON, B.A. London: 1870.

4. *Commercial Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls in China and Japan,* 1864–1866.

5. *Kwang Yu Ki* (Geography of the Chinese Empire and its Tributaries).

FRUITFUL as the decade in which we are living has shown itself in great and unprecedented episodes of history, it may be said to exhibit no feature more strongly marked than the accomplishment (as it would seem) of the task of forging links of communication between the most widely sundered corners of the earth, and of casting down the few barriers that remain interposed between nation and nation. Viewed in this light, it is not a little singular that the very last of the strongholds of exclusion and rigid abhorrence of 'men from afar' should be found in a long and narrow peninsula jutting out into seas that have been furrowed for years past by the keels of European vessels, and offering in its long and deeply-indented coast-line no less an incentive to navigation than that with which the British Isles are proverbially blessed; but nevertheless preserving a fixed resolve that no stranger shall set foot within its bounds, and holding its people in the grip of

an iron tyranny which forbids their seeking knowledge of the world beyond their shores. Such is the condition of affairs at present in the kingdom of Corea; but the shadow—or, perhaps, it were better to say the light—of Western advances has already fallen upon its borders, and the bulwarks of this last refuge of Turanian self-seclusion are visibly doomed to overthrow.

It is not an exaggeration to say that geographers know more of Central Africa and its mountain and river systems than they do of the interior of this mere promontory, interposed like a wedge between the seas of China and Japan. With the exception of some scanty notices collected by the earlier Jesuit missionaries in China and by writers such as Kœmpffer and Siebold in Japan, no published accounts of the geography or constitution of the Corean kingdom are in existence; and although the coast surveys effected at divers times by British and French men-of-war have made the external contour of the peninsula sufficiently well known for purposes of navigation, nothing but the barest notion of the internal configuration of the country has been arrived at. According to the latest writer who has devoted a chapter to this subject,—

'Corea is a peninsula lying obliquely N.W. by S.E., lat. 34° 40′ and 42° 30′, and long. 125° to 129° E., bounded on the east by the Sea of Japan, on the south by the Yellow Sea, on the west by the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Pechili, and on the north by the rivers Ya-lu and Tumên, which separate the country from Chinese and Russian Manchuria respectively. The area is estimated at 79,414 square miles, exclusive of the numerous islands which crowd its southern and western shores, or more than one and a quarter times larger than Shantung (the province of China lying opposite to Corea), and more than three times larger than Scotland. It is a land of mountains, which as a rule are higher than those of Shantung, many on the seaboard reaching an elevation of from 1,000 to 8,000 feet, according to the measurements of our nautical surveyors. The valleys are said to be fertile, and the mountains in many parts of the country are often covered to their summits with dense forests.' (*Williamson*, vol. ii. p. 295.)

With the exception of a few particulars respecting the course of the two great rivers of Corea, this passage comprises very nearly all that European geographers find to say in attempting to describe the Corean peninsula; whilst, if we turn to Chinese sources, we meet with equal ignorance *plus* an entire and characteristic indifference. Content in self-gratulation on the allegiance to his sacred Majesty the Son of Heaven which modern Corean rulers have found it convenient to profess, the Chinese have never manifested a desire to

become intimately acquainted with this, their nearest neighbour; but have striven, on the other hand, to confine within the narrowest possible limits the commercial intercourse which human instincts and necessities have created even here. The stringent severity with which Chinese and Coreans are kept as much as possible apart arises in great measure, no doubt, from the ingrained distrust and dislike of everything 'non-'Chinese,' which forms so important an element in the character and policy of the Celestial Empire; but it is also partly due to the traditions of enmity which have grown out of centuries of warfare, dating from times anterior to the Christian era; when the kingdom of Ch'ao-Sien, as Corea was termed in the second century B.C., gave abundance of trouble to the Chinese emperors of the Han dynasty. Long previously to this, viz., towards the end of the twelfth century B.C., according to the traditions preserved in the Shoo King or Book of History, a scion of the dynasty of Shang had retired to the Corean peninsula on the overthrow of that ill-fated line, and to him is attributed, although doubtless mythically, the first introduction of humanising influences among the 'barbarians' who up to this time had dwelt among the mountain-fastnesses east of the river Liao. This river, traversing what is now the Manchurian province of Fêng-t'ien, was for many centuries the frontier between the territory claimed by the Chinese sovereign and that of Ch'ao-sien, though it was repeatedly crossed by ambitious invaders, notably during the reigns of the T'ang dynasty, coinciding with the period of the Heptarchy in England. At this time the country appears to have been divided between several independent rulers, some of whom were of Chinese descent, and the population generally was tinctured also to a large extent with Chinese elements, due to the numbers of emigrants and outlaws who sought refuge from the tyranny or disorders of their own country under the easier rule of the petty Corean kings. The Mongol conquerors of China, in our thirteenth century, extended their sway over the greater part of Corea, incorporating the whole of its provinces with the Chinese empire; but on the accession to power of the founder of the Ming dynasty, at the close of the fourteenth century, this ruler acknowledged the sovereignty of the then claimant of the Corean throne, and conferred upon him a patent of investiture with the title of Kao-li*

* This designation, derived from one of the ancient dynastic titles of the kingdom, is the origin of our word Corea (the French Corée), obtained through the Japanese, by whom the Chinese sound is represented as *Ku-rai*.

Wang or feudatory King of Corea. Tribute was regularly paid by this prince and his successors during several centuries to the sovereigns of the Ming dynasty, and the kingdom was mapped out on the Chinese model into provinces (at that time called *tao*), prefectures, departments, and districts. The peace and prosperity which Corea had long enjoyed under the nominal sway of the Chinese sovereignty was at length rudely interrupted by an invasion from Japan, when the victorious usurper Taicosama resolved upon making this country the basis of operations for his meditated conquest of China. The historians of the Ming dynasty narrate with grief how the Japanese army, many tens of thousands strong, landed in A.D. 1592 on the shores of Corea and overran the entire country almost unopposed. The King, abandoning his capital, fled to the Chinese Court for assistance, and a powerful Chinese army was despatched to Corea, only, however, to encounter ignominious defeat at the hands of the Japanese. Wan-Li, the reigning emperor, was fain to make terms with Taicosama, and to recognise him as sovereign not only of Japan but also of a large portion of Corea itself, though notwithstanding this, hostilities continued to be waged at intervals between the Chinese and Japanese forces until the final retreat of the latter from Corea in 1598.

Singularly enough, it is to the period of this incursion that the interest of European nations in Corean affairs must be traced, and its remote effects are even now apparent among the political influences of the day. The invasion of Taicosama was the means of introducing Christianity into Corea, and here, if subsequent experience may be trusted, the Western religion found—if not a congenial soil—at least more steadfast believers than have hitherto been acquired in any Asiatic country. The Jesuit historians of Japan relate that the army sent across the sea to achieve the conquest of Corea consisted wholly of Christian converts, and their two chief leaders were among the most notable Christian magnates of an empire which had been looked upon shortly before this epoch as on the point of becoming wholly converted to the Cross. A missionary named Cespedes was actually permitted to accompany the expedition and to look forward to the evangelisation of Corea. The splendid visions of the Church were, however, destined to be cruelly shattered, and if the Jesuit narrator may be believed, the mission of the Christian army to Corea was resolved upon by Taicosama as much with the design of insuring its destruction as with the hope of achieving the conquest of the country. After the expedition had sailed, the proscription of Chris-

tianity which had been for some time threatening was finally declared, and of the Christian soldiers who crossed the straits in 1592 few if any returned to their native land when Corea was finally evacuated seven years afterwards. The seed, however, had been dropped in the soil newly laid open before the untiring husbandmen of the Order of Jesus, and from the close of the sixteenth century to the present day, whilst all the world besides has been content well-nigh to forget the existence of this most remote and forlorn of Asiatic peoples, the Church has never turned away her steadfast gaze from the field where such abounding harvests had been promised.

When the Ming dynasty fell and Peking was given up (in A.D. 1644) to the victorious Manchus, the reigning King of Corea, who had been taken prisoner some time previously by the conquerors in one of their inroads into his country, was brought in their train to the capital of China, and became acquainted with the celebrated Jesuit Adam Schall, who, with characteristic adroitness, had succeeded in transferring his allegiance from the defunct sovereign of the Ming dynasty to the chieftain of the Tartar invaders. The Corean ruler having manifested a desire to become acquainted with the writings of the missionaries, Father Schall sent him a complete collection of their works, scientific as well as religious; and on the King's departure to resume the government of his country, after acknowledging the supremacy of the Manchu sovereign, he intimated to Father Schall, it is said, a desire that some of the latter's European companions might be sent to Corea to afford instruction in the new branches of study of which a glimpse had been afforded him. Circumstances, however, proved adverse to the hopes excited by this invitation. Owing, possibly, to the advice of more cautious counsellors at home or to the jealous restrictions imposed by the Chinese Government, the King gave no subsequent effect to the desire he is said to have manifested for the introduction of European missionaries within his dominions; and for upwards of a century Corea remained a sealed land, recalled to notice from time to time only by the scattered notices of intercourse with the members of the mission at Peking which appeared in the periodical reports of the Jesuit missionaries, or by such an incident as that of the captivity of the Dutch mariner Hamel, who, shipwrecked on Quelpaert Island in 1653 while on a voyage to Japan, was detained for thirteen years in Corea, but eventually contrived to escape and rejoin his countrymen in Nagasaki. On his return to Holland he published an account of his adventures and a description of Corea, which long re-

mained the principal source of information whence European geographers derived their scanty knowledge of the country.

At length, in 1784, an opportunity occurred which enabled the Jesuits at Peking to introduce the seed of their teachings within the soil towards which their secret longings had been turned for upwards of a hundred years. The son of the Corean envoy, named Li, who was sent in that year with the customary tribute to Peking, having heard of the wondrous skill of the European missionaries in the sciences of astronomy and mathematics, addressed himself to them for instruction and was led to embrace their religious doctrines. The young Corean, it is related, having become inwardly struck with the sublimity of the Christian dogmas and the purity of their moral lessons, his convictions became at length so assured that he openly received the rite of baptism. Pierre Li, as the neophyte was thenceforth styled, burning with zeal and apostolic ardour, proved untiring in the work of opening the minds of his countrymen to the faith he had accepted, and it is recounted that in less than five years after his return to the Corean capital, four thousand Coreans of both sexes were numbered among his converts. According to the Abbé Pichon, to whose narrative we have recourse at this point,—

'Religion was publicly preached; it was preached at court and in the provinces; the true God had great numbers of adorers among the nobility. In 1788 the governor of the capital caused Thomas King to be arrested for preaching a foreign religion. On this becoming known, several neophytes spontaneously presented themselves before the governor, and declared that they also were Christians and preachers of this religion. The governor, astonished by their number, sent them to their homes and condemned Thomas King to exile, in which he died in the following year. The Christians, far from being intimidated by this commencement of a persecution, became only the more filled with ardour; and fresh progress was made in fact by the faith daily.' (*Pichon*, p. 221.)

Such were the beginnings of the Roman Catholic propaganda in Corea; and whatever may be thought of the degree of purity with which the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith can have been placed before the minds of the Corean converts, or of the rapidity with which the new religion was adopted and the fervour with which it was embraced, there can be no doubt that the seeds of Christianity were introduced into Corea by purely native agency, and that they germinated in a soil which was destined to produce thenceforward a perennial harvest of believers, who have not hesitated in countless instances to seal their convictions with their blood. There is

something startling in the spectacle of Asiatics, whose long-descended habits of thought exclude all idea of zeal in matters of religion, developing on a sudden a constancy in belief, a readiness to endure the utmost sacrifices, in preference to renouncing their professions, and cheerfully exposing themselves to penury and hardship, imprisonment, tortures, and death itself, with a fortitude that earns for them an indefeasible title to the sad distinction of the martyr's crown. It is not, however, among the busy, acute, and materialistic Chinese—with whose beliefs, *so long as they have no political tinge*, their Government as a rule does not concern itself—that types of this class are to be sought; but precisely where governments are more jealous and the people less stirring and prosperous, the Propaganda has gained its most signal successes and the Church has become rooted the most indelibly. To say nothing of the hosts of native Christians in Japan, who perished wholesale rather than apostatise in the persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an indisputable constancy on behalf of their religion has been shown by the poor and despotically-governed peasants of Tonquin and Annam, despite a series of bloody persecutions; whilst in Corea it is impossible not to recognise a singular degree both of readiness in accepting and of steadfastness in adhering to the doctrines introduced by the Roman Catholic propagandists. The secret of the enigma may perhaps be found in the passion evinced by all these races for combinations partaking of the nature of secret societies, a similarity with which the force of events has invariably caused the fraternities of converts to assume. A Corean or Annamese of the lower class, accustomed only to unremitting labour under the eye of a callous despotism, and holding his life and fortune entirely subject to the pleasure of merciless officials or nobles, may well find a striking relief from the hard monotony of his cheerless existence in admission to the mysteries, of which, irrespectively of rank or wealth, he finds himself eagerly welcomed as an adept. There is a sense of security in the mere feeling that one is linked to others by a common bond of risk; and, once indoctrinated in the elements of the faith presented for the neophyte's acceptance, he becomes subject to the most impressionable sentiments of the mind. The promise of a blest hereafter which Christianity holds forth, sheds an unaccustomed ray of encouragement and hope into souls for which pagan religions offer no adequate solace of this kind. We are speaking not without authority when we observe that it is this vision of a happy land beyond the grave, and notably of the reunion hereafter with the spirits of loved ones who

have gone before, that furnishes the Christian missionary, Protestant no less than Catholic, with some of his most effectual arguments. The hope of an hereafter, or, in other words, the great Christian doctrine of immortality and the resurrection of the dead, is the true source of the fervour with which Christianity was avowed by multitudes of Coreans within the space of a few years.

Certain it is, notwithstanding the persecutions of 1788, followed by even still more stringent measures in later years, that the Corean Christians continued to increase in number; and a year or two later they despatched an emissary, named Paul Li, to obtain assurances from the Bishop of Peking, respecting certain doubts that had arisen among them upon points of doctrine and practice. According to the missionary relations, the accounts brought back by Paul Li of the delight he had experienced in participating in the sacraments and assisting in the ceremonies of the Church fired to so great an extent the imaginations of his countrymen that they longed for admission to similar privileges, and for the presence among them of duly qualified priests. The messenger was sent back to Peking accordingly, and received from the Bishop what was necessary for the celebration of the mass, together with instructions how to manufacture wine. It was arranged that a priest should be sent to a rendezvous on the frontier, where he was to be met by Corean Christians; and in the beginning of 1791 a missionary was actually sent from Peking; but on arriving at the appointed spot he encountered no one, and was obliged to turn back. A fresh persecution had broken out in Corea, and for some time all communication with the outer world was cut off. At length, in 1795, after more than one unsuccessful attempt, a young Chinese, who had been ordained as priest, and had received the name of Jacques Velloz, succeeded in crossing the frontier, and was enthusiastically welcomed among the native Christians. From the fragmentary notices that have been handed down with respect to this period it would appear that the reigning sovereign withheld consent from the severe measures of repression urged upon him by a party among his councillors, and refused to sanction an ordinance aimed at the complete extirpation of the new doctrines. Thanks to this hesitation, Christianity, while mercilessly persecuted by individual functionaries, found at least a refuge in certain districts of the kingdom, where more lenient governors bore rule; and notwithstanding frequent proscriptions and many wholesale executions, the number of Christians '*solidement convertis*'

d at 10,000 in 1800. At this epoch the death of
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ment in Corea, it will be well to
ch a survey of the kingdom itself as
the scanty materials in existence, eked
rvation. As has already been mentioned
ry is divided into eight *tao* or provinces, the
ignations of which were settled some four centu-
nder the auspices of the Chinese Government. A
se map now lying before us gives a fair delineation of
e geographical divisions, and of the river system by which
they are permeated. Commencing with the mountainous and glacial North, we find as it were the hinge that binds the Corean peninsula to the mainland of Asia in the vast and desert mountain-tract of the Ch'ang Peh Shan, throwing out the lofty peak called Peh T'ow Shan (or Whitehead Mountain), to form the northern mark of delimitation between Corea and the land of the Manchus; whilst from its western and eastern slopes respectively the rivers Ya-lu and Tu-mên take their rise. The latter, flowing eastward, constitutes at present the frontier between Corea and its dreaded Russian neighbours, in their valuable possessions acquired from the Chinese eleven years ago by a brilliant diplomatic *coup*; whilst the Ya-lu, after winding through a vast tract of desolate, forest-covered country, the haunt of tigers and fur-bearing animals of many kinds, discharges itself into a gulf at the head of the so-called Yellow Sea, on the borders of the great promontory of Liao-tung, or Southern Manchuria. The two most northerly *tao* or provinces lying to the south of the above-named rivers are Hien King (on the east coast), and P'ing-an (on the west). Below these, on the east coast and consequently facing towards Japan, come the provinces of Kiang-yüan and K'ing-shan, the latter of which is succeeded by Ts'üan-lo, occupying the southern face of the peninsula. To this succeed (ascending northward) the provinces of Chung-tsing, King-ki, and Hwang-hai, which latter has as its northern boundary the river P'ing-

jang, dividing it from P'ing-an Tao, already named above. In addition to the P'ing-jang, a very considerable river discharging itself into the Yellow Sea in latitude 39° N., Corea has also (besides a number of less noticeable streams) the river Han, which traverses the province of King-ki from east to west, and forms an extensive delta, guarded at its mouth by the numberless rocky and wooded islets known as the Prince Impérial Archipelago, at a short distance inland from which the capital, Séoul, or Sául,* is situated. All accounts of the country concur in representing it as mountainous throughout, though with frequent valleys following the river-courses; and Japanese writers as well as the Roman Catholic missionaries uniformly lay stress on the poverty of the land, the backward state of agriculture and commerce, and the simple habits of the people. The population has been variously estimated at from five to twenty millions, but no data exist to enable a trustworthy conclusion to be formed on this point. The climate, which partakes in the north of the glacial severity prevailing in the adjacent regions of Manchuria, approximates elsewhere, as might naturally be surmised, rather to that of Japan; but the winters are always attended with snow and ice, even in the most southern provinces. The exposure of the peninsula on three sides to marine influences gives it so humid a climate as to produce a rainfall no less excessive than the droughts which, owing similarly to well-understood topographical causes, exercise a baneful effect upon the opposite mainland of China; and its shores are clothed with luxuriant verdure, adding a superlative grace to the scenery presented by its fringe of mountains and rocky islands.

There are reasons for connecting the Corean people with the Tungusic stock which has peopled the whole of Northern Asia, and Klaproth† considers them as the descendants of a branch of the Sien-p'i, long extinct as a separate nation, whose ancient home lay in north-eastern Mongolia. In appearance the Coreans resemble the Japanese rather than the Chinese, but their features are even more pronouncedly Mongolian in type. The cheek-bones are strikingly prominent, but rounded, the nose depressed at the bridge and terminating in broad, unshapely nostrils; the eyes invariably black, and betraying the inward slant which is, by an error common among Euro-

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* This term is the equivalent in Corean for the Chinese words *Wang King* (*lit.* royal capital), by which the city is usually designated. It appears to have no other distinctive name.

† Asia Polyglotta, p. 334.

peans, attributed peculiarly to the Chinese physiognomy. In stature they are a tall race, exceeding, probably, the average of both the neighbouring peoples. The staples of food are an inferior kind of rice, with wheat, barley, millet, and Indian corn or maize, which latter is very largely cultivated. Among the principal articles of diet are also the Chinese cabbage and the turnip, which, preserved in brine, are universally consumed. Fish, as in China, is an important article of diet along the coast, and with the wealthier classes beef and pork are occasionally eaten, as are also dog and horseflesh. Tobacco is cultivated, though the best qualities can only be obtained by importation from China; and fruits of various kinds, such as apples, pears, apricots, cherries, nuts, the pomegranate, persimmon, &c., are also grown, but with very indifferent results. Cotton is cultivated to some extent; but a more important product is the hemp-plant, furnishing, in different varieties, the staple whence the coarse but durable fabrics principally employed as clothing are manufactured. A small quantity of silk is also produced, and is employed in fabricating the finer stuffs which are worn by the aristocracy and official class. The two staples of exportation which make it worth the while of Chinese traders to visit the Corean coast in a semi-clandestine manner, or to deal with the annual embassy at Peking and at the frontier fair, are paper and ginseng, for which European and Chinese merchandise is usually bartered. The ginseng (*panax ginseng*, an araleaceous plant) is grown from seed, under long low sheds constructed of pine-bark, with an under covering of matting. The plant requires some five years before it reaches maturity, when its roots are gathered and dried in the sun for exportation. Although deemed by the Chinese immeasurably inferior in its tonic and curative qualities to the famous root produced in the wild forests of the Usuri and the Amoor, Corean ginseng nevertheless commands a considerable value (from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per lb.) at the Chinese entrepôts. The paper manufactured in Corea, both from cotton and from the bark of a species of mulberry, is celebrated, like that of the Japanese, for its strength, and is applied to a multitude of purposes.

Mineral treasures are known to abound throughout the country, and gold, silver, iron, copper, and lead are obtained in small quantities, but mining is jealously restricted by the government to its own requirements. Specimens of the metal-work produced by native artisans shows them, nevertheless, to partake of the skill displayed by their Japanese neighbours in the art of forging and combining metals; and more than one

instance of surprising ingenuity on the part of untutore Corean workmen has been recounted to us. Navigation is a very rude stage, and is confined to small flat-bottomed boa (sampans) and junks of very light burthen, whilst the primiti state of the arts in this as in most other respects has evide in the fact that nothing is known of the process of caulking, well understood in the adjacent countries. Owing partly to the backward condition of the Coreans in this important pa cular, and partly to the jealous regulations under which ent prise of every kind is officially discouraged, such traffic exists is carried on almost wholly by land, by means eithe porterage or of clumsy carts and pack-animals, along ro which for the most part are mere tracks furrowed in the mo tain-sides, or following the rude embankments of the cultiva fields in the lower grounds.

The mode of life of the Coreans of all classes, except in immediate vicinity of the court, is of the simplest and frugal description, and articles of daily necessity to t Chinese and Japanese neighbours are wholly unknown am them. Even tea has not yet found its way into the coun and the common beverage of all classes is of no more palat kind than the water in which rice or millet has been bo

Among the wealthy, an infusion of ginseng is occasion drunk as a luxury; and a rough and heady spirit, dist from different kinds of grain, is sparingly used. Sugar is n seen, except as a rarity employed in the pharmacopœia, its place in domestic use being imperfectly supplied by hon ; and many other imported or home-grown articles comm used in the diet of the adjacent countries are equally unknown. The universal material of clothing is a coarse white fabric of either cotton or hemp (known as *tolda*), worn by the low classes in summer in the shape of a simple jacket, and wi short trousers. The higher classes wear over an inner vest of cotton and voluminous cotton or silk trousers a long gow frequently made of a fine silken gauze, reaching below t knees, which buttons in front, and not, as is invariably t custom in China, by a lappet on the right hand side. Th material of this outer garment is sometimes dyed of a pale blu colour. In winter furs and wadded garments are worn. Th covering of the feet is either a straw sandal or a low, pointe shoe of cowskin tanned into a species of parchment, and stock ings of cotton cloth, around which the hem of the trousers ar tied near the ancle. An unfailing adjunct of the Corean costum is the belt and tobacco-pouch, with which may be ranked th pipe, universally carried by men of all degrees—a long, slende

stem of Chinese bamboo, with metal mouthpiece and bowl of native manufacture. The hair, which is coarse in texture and varies in colour from black to a reddish brown, is worn by adults gathered in a knot on the top of the head, where it is secured with a band of extremely fine horsehair gauze; but women and unmarried youths leave the hair to stream in shaggy masses; and among the lower classes long, straggling locks are left to hang down on either side, giving a peculiarly wild unkempt appearance to a Corean assemblage. The most striking article in the native costume is the hat, which singularly resembles in size and shape the stiff broadbrims worn among ourselves a century ago. It is composed of a fine black network of plaited horsehair or strips of bamboo, and consists in a flat disk some two feet in diameter, above which a cylindrical crown projects to a height of about four inches. The top of the crown is flat, except in the case of hats worn by persons in military employ, when it is slightly peaked. Official functionaries, unlike the mandarins of China, differ but little in their dress from the mass of the people; but on state occasions they wear upon their hats the figures of different birds or animals, and their rank is further denoted by a variety of small balls or buckles of amber, jadestone, or silver, used in securing the chinstrap above the ear. Military officials wear an outer jacket of different-coloured silks, according to their rank.

Little positive knowledge exists respecting the constitution of government and the details of administration; but it may be stated that in theory the monarchy is a despotism modelled upon that of China, and tempered only as regards the higher classes by the existence of certain privileged ranks and hereditary nobles, such as do not exist in the latter country. The regal power, as regards the mass of the population, is unrestrained; but powerful parties among the nobles appear to exercise no slight degree of control over the king's actions, and virtually decide the questions of disputed succession which frequently arise. The nobles, of whose titles and attributes little is known by Europeans, may correspond in some degree to the (now practically extinct) institution of the daimiate in Japan; but the government of the country, in its provinces, departments and districts, is entrusted to officials who either obtain their posts according to the Chinese system of literary competition, or by purchase, or are selected by the king himself from among the satellites of his court. Absolute power over the lives and property of the people is confided to the hands, it would seem, of even the lowest of these officials,

and flagellations of frightful severity are summarily inflicted by their order on any person within their jurisdiction whom they may adjudge as guilty of the most trifling offence.

The whole population is considered as liable to military service, and nothing is maintained in the shape of a standing army, unless it be some bodies of picked men at the capital, who act as guards to the sovereign. Discipline (except in the shape of the iron rule of silent obedience to authority, which is the universal law to all Coreans, and one of the most remarkable features in their character) and tactics are accordingly alike unknown. The villagers of each district, besides being liable to the *corvée* system on behalf of all government works, are summoned periodically to the local seat of government, and take their turn in doing duty as soldiers or armed police under the orders of the chief official. Their only distinction when serving in this capacity consists in the rounded top given to the crown of the national hat. Their weapons are spears, bows, and a rude description of matchlock; but although the vast majority of the Corean arms are of the most primitive description, weapons exhibiting a very superior finish are known to be manufactured at the capital; where also the guards are furnished with armour of chain-mail. During the recent hostile encounter with the United States' naval forces, a large number of the Corean soldiery were clad in long surtouts resembling heralds' tabards in shape, made of coarse cotton cloth and stuffed with many thicknesses of the same, which were found to be proof against both sword-cuts and musket-balls, although not impervious to rifle-shots. The enormous weight of this armour, however, (a single suit, with helmet to match, weighing twenty pounds,) rendered the troops incapable of locomotion.

The religion of Corea is, like most of the other official institutions of the country, based upon that of China, and the state gods of the Chinese Pantheon are everywhere worshipped, the Confucian ethics being at the same time professed by the literati. Both Buddhism and Taoism have likewise their votaries, as in China. The language, differing widely from both Chinese and Japanese, although it approximates more nearly to the latter in its polysyllabic form and its alphabet of twenty-seven letters, has been found to evince a considerable degree of affinity with the existing Mongolian tongue. The native alphabet and handwriting, although easy of acquisition, are held (possibly on this account) in slight esteem, and their use is almost wholly confined to women and children. The national literature containing little beyond the

Chinese 'classical' works or canonical works and their derivatives, a knowledge of the Chinese written character is indispensable to every person who pretends to any degree of learning; and as this character consists (like the Arabic numerals) in an arbitrary set of symbols for corresponding sounds, it may be rendered applicable to any cognate tongue, serving the Annamese and Japanese no less than the Coreans as a means of representing to the eye their widely divergent sounds. Thus the word 'man' is expressed in spoken Chinese by *jên*, and in Corean by *saram*, but the written character conveys precisely the same meaning to a Corean as to a Chinese eye. A special study is required, indeed, to enable the Coreans to comprehend the rules of construction employed in Chinese, and differing to a great extent from their own; but this accomplishment is considered a necessary element in education, and every lettered Corean understands Chinese.

Notwithstanding this literary dependence upon her gigantic neighbour, Corea has steadfastly maintained for many generations a policy of strict isolation almost as severe with reference to the Chinese as towards all other nations. The only intercourse allowed with China is officially confined to two points, viz. Peking, which is visited annually by an envoy accompanied by a certain number of privileged traders, and the 'gate-town' near the city of Fêng-hwang in Manchuria, on the frontier dividing the two countries, where a fair is periodically held. Beside this, an irregular traffic is maintained by Chinese junks, sailing from the ports of Chefoo and Wei-hai Wei in Shantung, which carry on a surreptitious trade at the islands on the coast of Corea, and notably at the mouth of the river Ya-lu. The annual embassy visits Peking in the winter season, and the traders who accompany it bring with them ginseng and other drugs, paper, and cotton-cloth. The number of each embassy is not allowed to exceed two hundred persons, and their stay is limited to forty days. Although largely employed as a means of carrying on trade, the object of the mission is nominally no other than that of presenting a congratulatory memorial from the King of Corea to his suzerain, and of receiving in return a copy of the Chinese Imperial calendar, which is issued as one of the attributes of Chinese supremacy to dependent States.

The trading operations carried on at the frontier fair are of considerably greater importance than those at Peking, and a small quantity of British manufactures find their way by this means into Corea, after undergoing a process of disguise, as their importation is strictly forbidden. The late Mr. T. T.

Meadows, Her Majesty's Consul at Newchwang in Manchuria, has given the following description of the fair and its surroundings:—

'The Ya-loo is the boundary between Corea and China. The left or Corean bank is cultivated and studded with cities, villages, and farmhouses. The Chinese side is an uninhabited belt of forest, which near its mouth is about thirty miles broad and becomes broader further north. At about twenty-five miles from its mouth I found the breadth of the Ya-loo to be about 300 yards, with a depth of twenty feet. On the western end of the belt of forest stands, at the Fung-hwang palisade gate, a gate-town consisting chiefly of inns for the accommodation of the Coreans, who come thrice annually across the Ya-loo and the forest-belt to trade; once during the third moon, once during the ninth, and a third time during the twelfth. On each occasion the legal trading period is one month, but presents to the Chinese mandarins may extend the period for ten days should a good business render the making of presents advisable. The Chinese mandarins come from the city of Fung-hwang, situated about ten miles to the west of the gate-town. In 1863 I was in the belt of forest when the trading period of the ninth moon began. Parties of Corean workmen first appeared, who repaired the bridges over the streams crossed by the road through the forest. Then came innkeepers, who established themselves in tents at different points for the entertainment of their trading countrymen, who kept passing backwards and forwards night and day between their own country and the gate-town, the merchants on horseback, the goods on bullocks, attended by their drivers. No carts were used. It took the bullocks two days to pass from the Ya-loo to the gate-town.' (*Consular Reports on Trade in China*, 1864.)

Such is the cumbrous and toilsome method of intercommunication imposed upon two neighbouring and cognate nations, whose numerous seaports confront each other at different points at distances varying from half a day to thirty-six hours by steam; but who are thus artificially sundered in obedience to the blind, traditionary policy of unchanging despotisms!

It has already been observed that more than thirty years elapsed after the commencement of the present century, during which no foreign missionary succeeded in penetrating into Corea; but the existence of Christian communities in this remote corner of heathendom was nevertheless not forgotten; and it is asserted even that in 1811 a letter was received by Pope Pius VII. from the native converts, in which they made entreaty that spiritual guides might be sent to them. In 1832 Monseigneur Bruguière, then acting as coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic in Siam, volunteered to devote himself to the work of missions in Corea; and he was hereupon named Vicar Apostolic for that country. After traversing the greater

part of China, however, under circumstances of much hardship and personal danger, he fell ill and died in Manchuria in October 1835. He was attended in his last moments by a Chinese priest who had accompanied him—a pupil of the Propaganda seminary at Naples; and this man, having subsequently succeeded in entering Corea, found means to introduce into the country two French missionaries, named Maubert and Chastran, the first Europeans who succeeded in setting foot upon the soil of Corea, which they were destined ere long to redden with their blood. Monseigneur Imbert, whilst serving as a missionary in the far West of China, had been named coadjutor to Monseigneur Bruguière, and having arrived in Manchuria after the latter's death, he made his way through an infinity of obstacles to the Corean capital, where he secretly installed himself on the 31st December, 1837. What followed may be best narrated in the words of the Abbé Pichon:—

'The presence of the prelate and the other missionaries could not long be kept a secret; the very eagerness of the Christians to participate in the sacred mysteries betrayed their presence. A frightful persecution broke out in 1839. A great number of Christians were arrested, and subjected to the most rigorous tortures, either to cause them to apostatise, or to compel them to reveal the place of refuge of the missionaries. Upon this Mgr. Imbert, in order to save his poor Christians, resolved upon giving himself up to the persecutors, and he wrote to his two companions to do the same. MM. Maubert and Chastran joyfully obeyed their Vicar Apostolic as the mandate of God himself. They received the glorious crown of martyrdom together on the 21st September, 1839.'

Meanwhile some Coreans, who had been smuggled out of the country a few years previously, were receiving a clerical education at the Portuguese settlement of Macao (near Hong-kong), and with the assistance of one of these neophytes, in deacon's orders, a new Vicar Apostolic, Monseigneur Ferréol, attended by a missionary named Daveluy, contrived to enter Corea in 1845. Although condemned to a life of the strictest secresy and seclusion, Monseigneur Ferréol was nevertheless enabled to carry on his ministrations in safety under the shelter of friendly roofs; and it is alleged that the number of professing Christians, which the previous persecutions had reduced to about 7,000 souls, had risen in 1852 to the estimated number of 11,000. Monseigneur Ferréol died in 1853, naming in his will Monseigneur Berneux, at that time pro-vicar apostolic in Manchuria, as his chosen successor. This active and devoted missionary had been employed in different parts of China, Cochin-China, and Manchuria since 1839, and had at

one period spent months in chains in the dungeons of Hué, the capital of Cochin-China, whence he was released almost by a miracle through the casual arrival of a French corvette upon the coast; and the Holy See did not hesitate to ratify the choice of Monseigneur Imbert, conferring at the same time the title of Bishop of Capse *in partibus* on the new Vicar Apostolic. Embarking at Shanghai in 1856 on board a Chinese junk, in company with two other missionaries, Monseigneur Berneux succeeded with the aid of two devoted converts in effecting his entrance into Corea, and was conveyed in disguise to the capital on board a native junk. Fortunately for the missionaries, a singular custom prevails in Corea with regard to the dress worn by persons in mourning for their parents. The son who has lost a father or mother is considered, during a specified period, as one who is himself dead to the world; he may neither engage in conversation nor in any active employment, nor is it lawful for him to look any human being in the face. His condition is indicated by a special costume, of which the most conspicuous feature is an enormous wicker hat, shaped like a huge extinguisher, which completely screens the head and face. An additional disguise is provided in the shape of a veil held down by a pair of sticks which the mourner carries in his hands. His clothing is of coarse unbleached hempen cloth, and his feet may be shod in straw sandals only. If spoken to, he may refuse all reply; and when travelling, he occupies a solitary room in the wayside inns. This singular custom is greatly in favour, as the Abbé Pichon observes, of the '*sainte contrebande des âmes*,' and under cover of the mourning disguise Monseigneur Berneux and his comrades, like their predecessors, were safely introduced within the walls of Séoul, whither they were ere long followed by fresh arrivals, until no less than ten European missionaries were secretly established at different points. The following extract from a letter written by Monseigneur Berneux serves to illustrate both the means by which the missionaries contrived to evade the notice of their enemies and the hardships their position compelled them to undergo. After describing the powers and immunities of the Corean nobles, he continues:—

'A title of nobility is the pride of whosoever possesses it, no less than the object of the dreams of ambition with those who have it not. . . . The abodes of the nobility are hallowed ground; to violate their precincts would be a capital crime. . . . There is not a Corean who would not have his head cut off ten times over for the sake of acquiring the right to wear the *koan*, a cap which is worn by the nobility

when indoors at home. I, too, allowed myself to be carried away by this temptation. I wished to be a Corean noble, in order to be able to cross rivers and lodge in inns without fear of being recognised, and to place myself beyond danger of discovery by the police. But inasmuch as I should have been obliged to wait too long in order to obtain letters patent from the Corean Government, I issued them to myself. I assumed all the outward demeanour of a noble, with the exception of the flagellations and exactions. I bought a house at the capital. I took with me a Christian, a real noble of pure blood, and I installed him in the outside apartment or reception hall. His wife and children occupy one of the interior divisions of the house, and I am lodged in the other. This family in the eyes of the neighbourhood are the owners of the house; and no one dreams that a European, a bishop, is here installed. But we are obliged to take many precautions. If the nobility have their privileges, so have also the women who act as hawkers and the mendicants. These women may enter the inner court of the house without asking for admission; and as my reddish beard, my eyes, and my fair complexion make me a figure in no wise resembling the Coreans, I am forced to condemn myself to remain hidden in my little room from morning to night, and from night to morning, without being able to go out into the courtyard, without opening my window even in summer, and without venturing to speak unless in a subdued voice. This little room is in fact my whole palace; here, every morning, on a chest which does duty as altar, I celebrate the holy mass; seated cross-legged upon the floor, I work; I take my two daily meals; and receive the catechists through whom I communicate with the Christians. For with the exception of four catechists and some other men who are necessary to me, no one among the Christians has permission to come to me. They are ignorant, or at least ought to be so, of the whereabouts of my house, and its locality must not be made known to others even by those who are cognisant of it; any infraction of this rule is severely punished. Despite such numerous precautions, however, my house in the long run always falls under suspicion. I have lost two in this way, worth a considerable sum of money, and two others still remain unsaleable.'

It may reasonably be doubted, indeed, whether the Corean authorities were not in general perfectly well aware of the whereabouts and movements of the missionaries, keeping their eyes conveniently shut, so long as no stringent measures of persecution happened to be commanded from above. The few particulars that have been gleaned and recorded by the missionaries with reference to the mode of government and the conflict of political parties at the capital conduce to a belief that the Christians—owing, possibly, to family relationships, or perhaps only to the necessities of opposing factions—were not without their advocates in high quarters; and so long as no dangers from political aggression were apprehended the converts appear to have enjoyed a measure of toleration at least

equally great with that conceded to them in China before the conclusion of the treaties of 1860. In fact, even Monseigneur Berneux himself could not but testify to the degree of liberty which the Government itself appeared willing to accord to the intrusive strangers, even in the midst of unfavourable symptoms on the part of the lower authorities. Writing at the close of 1862, he says:—

'This year has passed under painful circumstances. Although the Government appears to endeavour to take no notice of us or our Christians, we have nevertheless much to endure. Blood does not flow under the headsman's axe, but they reduce our neophytes to die of misery. The hatred of the pagans and the cupidity of the hangers-on of the officials have pursued us this year with actual ferocity. . . . In the province of Tieng-kei (King-ki), in which the capital is situated, six or seven villages have been invaded by the satellites, without orders from the mandarins, the houses plundered and burnt, the inhabitants cruelly beaten and dragged off to prison. Some of them have succeeded in ransoming themselves by a money payment, which they have been obliged to borrow at heavy interest, and by which they will be burdened for many years. Notwithstanding all the wretchedness our Christians have to endure in order to remain true to their faith, the number of catechumens has never been more considerable. The province of Hwang-hai, which for the last eight years had contained but a few Christian women practising religion unknown to their husbands, has furnished us a rich contingent this year; fifteen men have already received baptism this autumn, and four others have just arrived at the capital to obtain this grace.'

A year later, Monseigneur Berneux says:—

'There is a stir on all sides, and people are anxious to become acquainted with religion. They read our books, they become converted. The higher classes no longer hold in contempt those who embrace religion; it is hoped that it is about to be authorised as in China.'

The passages quoted may be regarded as conclusive evidence of the privity of the Corean Government to what was passing among its people; and the latitude granted at this time to the missionaries and their followers was due, it seems most probable, to the impression spread abroad throughout Eastern Asia by the overthrow of the Chinese pretensions in 1858 and 1860, and notably by the conclusion of the treaties in which Great Britain and France obtained the boon of toleration for Christians throughout the Christian Empire. If, however, the hostile instincts of the Chinese and neighbouring nations were repressed by the triumphant dictation of treaties of peace within the walls of Peking, it is at the same time true that feelings of alarm and suspicion were no less widely spread;

and now a fresh cause for distrust on the part of the Coreans suddenly made its appearance, influencing their actions with regard to Christianity and foreign intrusion to a very notable extent. In less than a month after Lord Elgin and Baron Gros had affixed their signatures to the peace conventions at Peking, the Russian Ambassador, General Ignatieff, obtained the signature of Prince Kung to a treaty (dated November 14, 1860) which ceded to Russia the enormous tract of territory comprised between the river Amoor and the mouth of the Tumên, extending for some ten degrees of latitude north and south, and running from the shore of the North Pacific eastwards to the banks of the river Usuri, one of the chief affluents of the Amoor. This acquisition of territory, magnificent as it was in the vast extent of country thereby added to the Russian dominions, had its chief value, for the moment at least, in the fact of its conferring the long-coveted advantage of accessible harbours on the Pacific in a comparatively temperate latitude, where navigation is impeded by ice for at the most some three or four months during the year. The southernmost gulf of the newly-ceded region, lying in latitude 43° N., contains numerous fine harbours and inlets, and notably the bay of Passiett, where a large trading town and military settlement have grown up, at a point where the Russian, Chinese, and Corean frontiers adjoin each other; and sixty or seventy miles to the northward lies the still more important harbour of Vladivostock, or Port May, which has within the last few months been placed in telegraphic communication with Europe by means of the China submarine cable, and is now erected into the seat of government for the Amoor Provinces, in lieu of the comparatively remote and inaccessible station at Nicolayeffsk, to which, on the termination of the Crimean war, the Russian establishments were moved from their original Kamschatkan foothold. The servants of the Czar had scarcely had time to glance over the most salient features of their new acquisition, when already its utility as a base for further measures of aggression towards the South was descanted upon. 'Establishing ourselves here,' wrote a Siberian geographer in 1864, 'with a firm hold, we practically assert 'the consolidated possession by Russia of the entire northern 'shore of the Sea of Japan up to the mouth of the Amoor, 'ceded already by treaty. Possessing sufficient force, we 'might influence Corea, a weak but up to this time inacces-'sible country, destined in its turn, like other decrepit countries 'in the East, to yield to Western ideas.' *

* London and China Telegraph, May 28, 1866.

With Corean villages actually in sight on the opposite bank of the Tumên, from the neighbourhood of Passiett, it was indeed impossible that Russia should not shortly find herself under a real or fancied necessity of opening relations with the adjacent kingdom; and accordingly, as we gather from Monseigneur Berneux's correspondence, the courtly world of Séoul was greatly troubled, towards the end of 1865, by news that Russian vessels had entered one of the ports on the north-east coast of Corea, and had brought propositions for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce. Some time before this epoch, however, an event still more nearly interesting the people and Government of Corea had taken place. The King died in January 1864—dying, to quote once more from a letter of Monseigneur Berneux—

'as almost all the kings of this country die, in consequence of the excesses of a licentious life; no one has bemourned him. Still, he loved his people; but, too weak to resist the men whose tutelage he submitted to, and who by their cupidity reduced the people to misery, he closed his eyes to the abuses of their administration. As this prince has died without offspring, power has devolved upon a woman (the widow of a former king), Queen Tsio. On the day of her accession, she adopted a child, aged twelve, the son of a Corean prince, and confided the government to the young King's father. This man is neither hostile to religion nor to the missionaries, whom he knows under very favourable circumstances. The regent's wife, mother of the King, has knowledge of religion. She has learnt a part of the catechism, recites some prayers every day, and has caused me to be asked for masses of thanksgiving for the accession of her son to the throne. But being of a character devoid of energy, fearful more than ever now of compromising herself, she will not render us any service, and I doubt her becoming a Christian. The Queen Regent belongs to the *Tcho* family, famous in Corea for its hatred of the Christians. . . . From this medley of favourable and hostile persons, what may we expect? I am in the dark as yet. In the third moon, several petitions were addressed to the government demanding that the kingdom be brought back to the purity of its ancient usages, and that the Christian religion be destroyed to its very roots.' (*Vie de Berneux*, p. 327.)

Months passed, during which the missionaries continued to be agitated by alternate hopes and fears, and the Christian communities to suffer under occasional exactions at the hands of the minor officials, until the apparition of a Russian negotiator, as mentioned above, at one of the northern harbours, suddenly threw the whole kingdom into a state of alarm. The Regent, after a period of dread and indecision, appears to have lent a favourable ear to representations made to him by influential converts, who suggested that recourse be had to the

missionaries for means of baffling the intrusive foreigners, and he at length despatched an emissary to sound the Bishop with reference to the emergency. Monseigneur Berneux, it is evident, was not of the stuff of which Ricci, Verbiest, and Schall, with many another eminent though less noted of the missionary-diplomatists of the seventeenth century, were made; an opportunity of obtaining for the first time official recognition and patronage, such as any one of the older servants of the Church would have been glad to purchase with the years of half a lifetime, was allowed to slip by, almost unrecognised, by the Vicar Apostolic; and with a shortsightedness that would be inexplicable were we not to bear in mind the long years of seclusion and estrangement from worldly affairs which had elapsed since Monseigneur Berneux first set foot in Corea, he appears to have been anxious only to find an excuse for refusing to respond to the overtures made to him. The Regent, he wrote in January 1866,

'had lately received a letter from some Russians, asking to be allowed to trade in Corea; and he told the mandarin (who acted as intermediary) that if I could get rid of these foreigners for him he would grant us religious liberty. I caused him to be told in reply that, notwithstanding all my desire to be of service to the king, being neither of the same nation nor of the same religion with the Russians, I could have no influence whatever over them. *I* feared more than anyone, I added, the danger with which the kingdom was threatened on the part of these men, who, sooner or later, would end by establishing themselves on Corean soil; but the constant refusal of the government to place itself in communication with the European Powers, a refusal which I refrained from blaming, left no means for averting the danger.' (*Vie de Berneux*, p. 333.)

It is doubtless creditable to Monseigneur Berneux that, if he sincerely believed himself incapable of exercising any influence over the 'quelques Russes demandant à faire le commerce en Corée,' he should have returned so positive a refusal to intervene; but there is room for serious doubt whether (providing the Regent's alleged offer to grant religious liberty be correctly rendered in the bishop's version of the affair), a negotiator in his position, if endowed with a tithe of the ability and tact which so many of his fellow-churchmen have displayed in the cause of their missions, might not have succeeded in convincing the Russian envoys that their retirement from the country to await the spontaneous development of more liberal feelings in Corea would be the most effectual course for securing the end they had in view. No such idea, however, seems to have entered the mind of the Vicar Apostolic, and the failure of the Regent's hopes in this direction appears to

have led to the mournful results which shortly afterwards ensued. For some time subsequently to the negotiation with Monseigneur Berneux, conferences took place, it is said, between the Regent and some of the leading converts; and a rumour even went abroad that the hour of religious liberty was on the point of striking. The Bishop and his coadjutor, Monseigneur Daveluy, were summoned to the capital by their exultant native friends; but hardly had they arrived when discouraging news was brought to them with reference to the Regent's disposition, and serious anxiety began shortly to displace the hopes that had sprung up.

Whether it was—as is suggested by the biographer of Monseigneur Berneux—that the alarm felt by the Regent had been dissipated by the withdrawal of the Russians from the coast—that fresh resolutions were formed to maintain the ancient laws of the kingdom—or, as came subsequently to be asserted, that counsels were given at this moment from Peking to make a determined stand against missionary encroachments, are questions as yet unsolved. What is certain is that on the 23rd February, 1866, Monseigneur Berneux, after several ominous proceedings on the part of the official underlings had been observed, was suddenly seized at his own residence, pinioned, and dragged off to the common gaol. At the same moment a number of Christians were arrested, whilst active search was made, and only too successfully, for the remaining missionaries in their scattered abodes. On the 26th February, Monseigneur Berneux was arraigned for trial before the Regent himself, assisted by his eldest son and four judges. It is unnecessary to enter into the harrowing details of torture and insult which the biographer of the martyred prelate recounts, on the authority of two native Christians who, as members of the numerous body of soldiers on duty as guards at the trial, witnessed the whole proceedings; and their statement, although precise enough as regards the replies given by the venerable prisoner to the judge's interrogatories, throws little if any light upon the motives which so suddenly led to his apprehension, and to the commission of a frightful crime. After inquiries as to Monseigneur Berneux's country, the means by which he had reached Corea, the number of missionaries and of converts, &c., the significant question was put: 'If you are told to go 'away, will you go back to your own country?' To this the reply characteristically given was: 'No, unless I am taken 'away by force!' Shortly after this defiant answer had been returned, torture was applied for the purpose of extracting a confession (it is needless to say how unsuccessfully) respecting

the names and whereabouts of native converts; until at length, reduced to a pitiable condition, the unfortunate victim was dragged back to his prison to await the hour of release by death. Three young missionaries, MM. de Bretenières, Beaulieu, and Dorie, were shortly afterwards consigned to the same place of confinement; and on the 8th March, 1866, these captives, together with Monseigneur Berneux, were led out to the place of execution, a sandy plain called Sai-nam-to, lying on the banks of the river, about three miles from the capital. Here, having been unbound in presence of a vast crowd from the chairs upon which they had been carried to the execution-ground, and stripped of almost all their clothing, the unhappy victims were butchered in succession. Monseigneur Berneux was the first to die, after the third stroke of the headsman's sword. Three days later, two other missionaries, MM. Petitnicolas and Pourthié, met a similar fate near the city of Hang-yang; whilst the coadjutor, Monseigneur Daveluy, with l'abbé Huin and another missionary, M. Aumaître, fell one after another into the hands of their active persecutors, and alike met death by execution on Good Friday, the 30th March. At the same time measures of unrelenting severity were put in force against the native Christians.

Two bishops and seven missionaries having thus perished, there remained in Corea but three of the French missionaries, MM. Ridel, Calais, and Féron, whose position long remained one of the most painful uncertainty. One of their number, now entitled Monseigneur Ridel, having been designated as the martyred bishop's successor, has recounted to us how, after succeeding in rejoining his two associates in one of the southern districts of Corea, the three missionaries spent six weeks in concealment in a small loft in the interior of a poor Christian widow's hut, affording them barely room to crouch or lie down, and whence they dared only emerge after nightfall in order to snatch a mouthful of air at the cottage door. It was at length decided that M. Ridel should make his way across to China as bearer of the news of what had occurred; and having succeeded in reaching the coast, he slipped away to sea on board a diminutive and leaky junk, manned by eleven native converts. After a seven days' voyage he reached Chefoo, one of the Chinese ports opened by treaty to foreign trade, situated on the great promontory of Shantung, immediately opposite the Corean coast He arrived at this port on the 7th July, 1866, and proceeded at once to Tientsin, where the French naval commander-in-chief, Admiral Roze, happened to be at that time. The intelligence of what had occurred was at

once forwarded to the French Chargé d'Affaires at Pekin, M. Henri de Bellonet, who, unfortunately for the interests of his country, had carried into diplomacy the rude customs and unmeasured language of the African Zouaves, in whose ranks he had served at one period of his career. On the 13th July, M. de Bellonet addressed to Prince Kung, the chief of the Chinese Foreign Office, a despatch, of which the following extract comprises the principal portion :—

'I grieve to bring officially to the knowledge of your Imperial Highness a horrible outrage committed in the small kingdom of Corea, which formerly assumed the bonds of vassalage to the Chinese Empire, but which this act of savage barbarity has for ever separated from it.

'In the course of the month of March last, the two French bishops who were evangelising Corea, and with them nine missionaries, seven Corean priests, and a great multitude of Christians of both sexes and of every age, were massacred by order of the sovereign of that country.

'The Government of his Majesty cannot permit so bloody an outrage to be unpunished. The same day on which the King of Corea laid his hands upon my unhappy countrymen was the last of his reign; he himself proclaimed its end, which I in my turn solemnly declare to-day. In a few days our military forces are to march to the conquest of Corea, and the Emperor, my august sovereign, alone, has now the right and the power to dispose, according to his good pleasure, of the country and of the vacant throne.' (*U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1867, vol. i. p. 420.)

Two or three days later Prince Kung replied in a very courteous strain, observing that 'as Corea is an out-of-the-way 'country, lying in a secluded corner, and, as is well known, has 'always strictly maintained its own regulations, I am quite 'unaware what has led them (*sic* in original) to put these 'missionaries and Christians to death. Still I am sensible of 'the friendly feelings which have led your Excellency thus to 'communicate to me the reasons for the French Government 'in moving its forces against the country.' The Prince wound up by suggesting that some preliminary inquiry might not be out of place before a resort should be had to arms.

Meanwhile M. de Bellonet had decided, on his own authority, that the French naval forces should at once proceed to invade Corea, without awaiting instructions from home; and Admiral Roze was requested to take measures accordingly. Just at this time, however, intelligence arrived from the French possessions in Cochin China, announcing an insurrection among the natives, and the French squadron was compelled to hurry southward for the protection of Saigon. Some months elapsed before it could again repair to the Chinese waters, but towards the end of September 1866

Admiral Roze arrived at Chefoo with the frigate 'Guerrière,' corvettes 'Primauguet' and 'Laplace,' and the gunboats 'Kien-chan,' 'Déroulède,' 'Le Breton,' and 'Tardif.' The two missionaries, MM. Féron and Calais, who had been left behind in Corea on M. Ridel's departure, had in the interim found means of effecting their escape, and brought news that persecution still continued to harass the native converts.

The gunboats 'Tardif' and 'Déroulède' were detailed to effect a preliminary survey of the river approaches to the Corean capital; and having entered the embouchure of the Han, which they found undefended, they followed its course upwards entirely unopposed for a distance of some fifty miles until they found themselves actually in front of the walls of Séoul. Here they anchored for a few hours, the officers diligently employed in hydrographic observations, whilst half the population of the city lined the river bank and gazed in wonder at the unaccustomed spectacle. No attempt at molestation was encountered, though several forts commanding the river were passed, and the gunboats finally steamed away after completing their exploratory mission. It was fully ascertained that Séoul might be reached by vessels of moderate draught, but the somewhat unpleasant fact (to nautical minds) was noted that the rise and fall of the tides in the river Han reach the remarkable extent of fifty or sixty feet, combined with currents of unusual force. On the 11th of October Admiral Roze set sail from Chefoo with his entire squadron, and two days later he anchored opposite an island known to the French surveyors as l'île Boisée, in the embouchure of the river descending from Séoul. At the mouth of the river lies the large insular tract forming the district of Kiang-hwa or Kang-hoa, comprising the city of that name, and here, without any attempt at communication with the Corean Government, a force was landed from the French ships on the 14th of October, and moved inland to attack the city. After some insignificant skirmishing, unattended with loss on the side of the French, Kang-hoa was escaladed and found almost wholly deserted by its inhabitants. Silver ingots to the value of about 190,000 francs were discovered in the treasury and became lawful prize of war; whilst some curious specimens of Corean art in metal-work and textile fabrics formed the principal trophies of the royal residence which was found to exist within the walls of the town.

At this time, so unwarlike had the institutions of the country become, and so little was the Regent prepared, despite his now implacable resolve to refuse all intercourse with the

outer world, to meet an invasion, that the only force at his disposal for resisting or rather for harassing the French expedition consisted in some bodies of men hurriedly called in from the forests of the north, where their avocations as woodsmen and hunters had familiarised them with the use of firearms and inured them to habits of daring. Eight disabled and dismounted cannon with a stock of powder and useless muskets constituted all the munitions of war discovered at Kang-hoa; and it cannot be doubted that had the small French force of some 500 or 600 men been pushed on at once, they would have entered the capital with little more difficulty than they experienced in the capture of Kang-hoa. Common prudence, nevertheless, was opposed to such an advance into an unknown country, with the prospect of finding that the Government had removed into the depths of the interior even should the capital be successfully reached. It was probably hailed as a relief, therefore, from the embarrassing condition in which this somewhat headlong expedition found itself when, after a few days' delay, a vague and wordy despatch was received from a Corean general, who professed a desire to negotiate respecting the designs of the French commander. A reply was forwarded to this communication, demanding the punishment of the three Ministers who had counselled the execution of the missionaries, and the appointment of plenipotentiaries with whom Admiral Roze might treat; but within a day or two after this letter was despatched it became evident that the Coreans were bent merely on gaining time, and that numerous levies were being assembled for the purpose of surrounding and overwhelming the handful of invaders. Armed bodies began to appear on the opposite bank of the river, whence by land to the capital is a distance of but twelve or fifteen miles, and on the 26th of October a reconnoitring force sent in this direction fell into an ambush and was driven back with considerable loss. A larger force was landed on the following day, but met with no better success. Advancing against a line of breastworks where the Corean force was supposed to be lodged, the French force found themselves suddenly confronted by about five hundred soldiers, who greeted them with a heavy fire. Thirty-five of the French fell wounded, including three officers, and being unprovided with artillery the attacking party was compelled to retreat after returning with interest the Corean fire. Finding the task he had undertaken entirely beyond the means at his disposal, Admiral Roze reluctantly abandoned Kang-hoa, embarked his forces, and returned to Chefoo, where instructions from the French Government were

met by no means supporting the hasty action inaugurated by their Chargé d'Affaires at Peking.

The exultation of the Coreans on this triumph over the first European invaders of their sacred soil may be easily imagined; and it is mortifying to record that at a date posterior to the entire abandonment of the French expedition M. de Bellonet was still inditing despatches in a tone of singular bombast to the Chinese Government. On the 11th of November, 1866, after accusing the Chinese (on evidence which has never been substantiated) of 'complicity' in the murder of the missionaries and of affording encouragement to the hostile feelings of the Coreans, he wrote:—

'It is of no consequence for us to know the reasons which led the Coreans to commit this execrable offence; the deed is done. . . . I have already given the most precise instructions that the culpable mandarins, whose names I have been able to procure, shall be tried and executed as soon as they fall into our hands. As for the fate of the ci-devant King of Corea, it is now subject to the decision of the Emperor, my august master. . . .

'I ought, in closing, to bring to the notice of your Imperial Highness that military operations once commenced, as they now are, I cannot stop them before we have attained the end we have set for ourselves. Every attempt at conciliation will now be useless, unless the ci-devant King of Corea surrenders at discretion, and implores the mercy of the Emperor, our august sovereign, trusting to his generosity. It is for your Imperial Highness to see if you can give this advice to the Corean Government.' (*U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1867, vol. i. p. 423.)

The Chinese Foreign Office, greatly disturbed by the receipt of such bellicose communications, at length submitted them to the various European representatives at Peking, as also to the United States Minister, by whose Government they were subsequently made public. It is only fair to the Government of the Emperor Napoleon to add that M. de Bellonet's language and proceedings were equally disapproved and were followed by his recall; but this correspondence was, nevertheless, dexterously employed in the following year by Mr. Burlingame, the then United States representative at Peking, as one of the reasons for his own appointment (with an immense salary) as Chinese ambassador to the Western Powers,

Meanwhile, by a singular coincidence, the same year which had witnessed the massacre of the missionaries had been marked by more than one event tending to fix the attention of other Governments besides the French upon Corea. On several occasions, in previous years, European vessels had been wrecked on the Corean coast, and their crews had been, if not hospitably, at least humanely treated, although placed under jealous

restrictions so long as they remained on Corean soil. In June, 1866, the American schooner 'Surprise' was wrecked on an island near the north-western coast, and her crew, having reached the mainland in safety, were kept for twenty-four days under guard at a fishing village, while instructions from the capital were awaited by the officials who took them in charge. During this time they were abundantly supplied with food and even with medicines for the sick; and they were finally sent under escort to the Chinese frontier, having every reason to be satisfied with their treatment until they arrived, after a tedious journey, upon Chinese territory, when starvation and harsh treatment took the place of the kindly entertainment they had previously met with. In August of the same year the British steamer 'Emperor' was privately despatched on an experimental voyage to Corea by a mercantile firm in Shanghai, and this vessel penetrated to within a short distance of the capital. No symptoms of hostility were betrayed by the Corean officials who visited her, but the determination arrived at by the Regent to permit no commercial intercourse with foreigners was firmly manifested, and a proposal on the part of the enterprising captain to 'make a treaty' was politely negatived. No reference was made during this visit to the recent murder of the missionaries. Simultaneously with this undertaking, another attempt to break through the barriers of Corean exclusiveness was being made in another direction. On the very day that the 'Emperor' steamed up the river Séoul, an American schooner, the 'General Sherman,' left the port of Chefoo, secretly bound for Corea. Her voyage, destined to a melancholy ending and to give rise to important results, was a venture on the part of a British trader at Tientsin (who held also the appointment of United States Consul at that port), and she was freighted with an assortment of merchandise specially selected with an eye to Corean requirements. Three United States citizens were on board the 'General Sherman,' viz., her owner, Mr. Preston, with the master and mate, named respectively Page and Wilson; besides whom she carried two British subjects—the supercargo, Mr. George Hogarth, and the Rev. Mr. Thomas, a young missionary of great promise as a linguist, who, already possessing a remarkable knowledge of the Chinese language, had acquired some acquaintance with the Corean, and had previously visited the islands on the coast of Corea in a native junk. There was, in addition, a crew of some fifteen or twenty Malays. Notwithstanding a full knowledge the individuals of this party had obtained, before leaving Chefoo, of the massacre of the French missionaries, they did

not hesitate to prosecute their voyage, and the vessel ascended the course of the P'ing-jang river for a distance of four tides. Many weeks elapsed during which nothing was heard of her subsequent fate, until at length, on the arrival of the French exploring expedition in the river Séoul, a native convert who made his way to Père Ridel informed the latter that a foreign vessel, which had lately entered the P'ing-jang, had been destroyed by fire with all on board in obedience to orders from the Regent. This distressing intelligence was subsequently confirmed by the Chinese pilot who had navigated the vessel for some distance up the river, but who had cautiously left her on discovering that danger was menaced. All information received at this time and subsequently was to the effect that the 'General Sherman' had been left high and dry at a point some distance from the mouth of the river, in consequence of having diverged from the proper channel during a period of floods; that the Europeans on board had been at first received with apparent friendliness and beguiled with promises of trade; but that after a period of treacherous delay (the local officials having meanwhile received instructions from the capital) some of her European passengers were inveigled into landing under the pretext that negotiations for trade were about to be entered upon, and were immediately set upon and murdered. At the same moment a large body of Coreans surrounded the vessel as she lay helplessly stranded, and piled brushwood round her in heaps. Fire was then set to the pile and she was destroyed with all who still remained on board.

The intelligence of this frightful act of barbarity was duly communicated to the United States Minister at Peking, at whose request a corvette, the 'Wachusetts,' was despatched to make inquiries respecting what was stated to have occurred. A letter, addressed to her commander by order of the Corean Government, but not received until 1868, when a second visit was made to the coast, admitted the destruction of the 'General Sherman,' casting all blame, however, upon those on board the unfortunate vessel. They were accused of having wantonly seized and detained a high Corean official, and of having 'rent 'to pieces with their cannon' the native trading junks, thus rousing to a pitch of irrepressible fury the passions of the multitude, by whom, it was hinted, and not by their rulers, the vessel and all on board had been destroyed. This vague and wholly incredible story was further repeated to the Chinese Government in reply to inquiries instituted by them at the request of the United States representative.

Attention having been drawn to Corea by these varied events, a fresh incident occurred in 1868, which led (strangely enough) to the recent American demonstration in that country. In May of that year a steamer under the German flag returned to Shanghai, after a voyage to Corea; and the object of her visit thither, although for some time kept secret, at length oozed out. It appeared that a Mr. Jenkins, a son of the American Vice-Consul (formerly a missionary) at Shanghai, and himself long employed as consular interpreter, had proceeded in the steamer 'China' to a point near the Corean capital, in company with a French priest and a needy Hamburgh trader, named Oppert, with the design of excavating the site of a royal mausoleum, pointed out by the priest, and of abstracting from it a coffin of gold containing the remains of a former sovereign which was supposed to be enshrined within. Apart from its value as bullion, the possession of this treasure would insure the consent of the Coreans, it was asserted by Mr. Jenkins' priestly confederate, to any demands that might be made upon them. A large number of Chinese and Manillamen formed the rank and file of this buccaneering expedition. On reaching the assigned spot the whole party, well armed, commenced their search for the buried treasure; but an alarm was given, the Corean villagers turned out *en masse*, and the intending desecrators were driven back to their ship, with the loss of one or two men. Having put back to Shanghai, the 'China's' expedition could not long be kept from the knowledge of the public; and its leader, the worthy Mr. Jenkins, was arraigned by the United States Consul-General, Mr. Seward, on a charge of violating the United States neutrality laws, but was acquitted on technical grounds.

Nothing was heard for some time after this of Corea or the 'General Sherman' affair, until at the end of 1870 it began to be rumoured that the United States Government had measures in contemplation for a diplomatic mission in that direction, to be supported by a strong naval force; and on the appearance in December of that year of the papers laid before Congress, it became known that a protracted correspondence had been carried on for some time past with reference to this subject. This correspondence had originated with a despatch written in April 1868, by Mr. Seward, announcing to his Government, on the authority of the above-mentioned Mr. Jenkins, the arrival at Shanghai of certain Corean ambassadors charged with a mission of inquiry, with whom, Mr. Jenkins represented, he was to visit Corea, for the purpose of

making arrangements for the despatch of a Corean embassy to the United States. This scarcely probable story does not appear to have aroused any suspicion in Mr. Seward's mind, and no impediment was placed in the way of Mr. Jenkins' departure—with the results already narrated above. The Consul-General subsequently wrote at great length to his superiors at Washington, dilating upon the advantages which, in his opinion, the opening of Corea to foreign commerce could not fail to insure; but in the month of July it became his duty to explain that the pretended embassy had proved to be a myth, and that Mr. Jenkins and his confederates had in fact been engaged in a body-snatching enterprise; or, as he officially worded it, in 'an attempt to take from their tombs the remains 'of one or more sovereigns of Corea, for the purpose, it would 'seem, of holding them to ransom.'*

Undignified, to say the least of it, as the position of the United States had become through this unlawful enterprise, the recommendations previously urged by Mr. Seward did not remain unheeded. It was decided that a naval force should be despatched to Corea, and the United States Minister at Peking, Mr. F. F. Low, was commissioned to accompany it, with full powers to open negotiations. The objects to be held in view were the conclusion, if possible, of a commercial treaty; but should this be found impracticable, a convention in the interests of shipwrecked seamen of the United States was to be accepted. The Minister was finally reminded that, while firmly maintaining 'the right of the United States to have 'their seamen protected,' a conflict by force was to be 'avoided, 'unless it cannot be avoided without dishonour.' No communication appears to have been made to any of the European Powers with reference to the intended expedition, notwithstanding the deep interest naturally taken in such a matter by all maritime nations; and it must be inferred that the honour of opening Corea to the commerce of the world was exclusively reserved to itself by the Government of General Grant. Strangely enough, however, with so practical a people as that of the United States, the means adopted for effecting this object were palpably inadequate. The squadron placed under Admiral Rodgers' command consisted of one heavy frigate, the 'Colorado,' a vessel of the most antiquated type; two fine corvettes, the 'Benicia' and 'Alaska,' whose only defect (a fatal one in this case) lay in their excessive draught of water; one iron paddle-wheel gun-vessel, and a small tender formerly

* U.S. Diplomatic Correspondence, 1870.

employed as a tugboat. The whole squadron mustered a force of some 1,300 men, but indifferently supplied with equipments for landing, or even with breech-loading firearms. On their arrival in the Chinese waters the American officers looked with feelings akin to envy upon the flotilla of light-draught gunboats flying the British flag, which they recognised as precisely the sort of craft most needed in an expedition of the kind they were about to undertake, in lieu of their own formidable-looking but in reality useless ships. The concurrence of the British naval forces would doubtless have been welcomed, when a nearer insight of the task about to be undertaken disclosed a portion of its difficulties; but, in the absence of any previous understanding between the Governments, co-operation was of course impossible.

After numerous delays arising from extraneous causes, the United States plenipotentiary, Mr. Low, at length reached the Corean coast on board Admiral Rodgers' flag-ship; and the squadron took up its position, at the end of May 1871, in the same anchorage where the vessels commanded by Admiral Roze had lain in 1866. Some petty officials shortly afterwards made their appearance, and were informed by Mr. Low's interpreters of the object of his arrival, being at the same time notified that, after a sufficient delay to allow the pacific nature of the mission to become known, the steam-launches of the squadron would proceed to effect a survey of the river higher up. Accordingly, on June 1, four steam-launches and the two light-draught vessels of the squadron advanced up the stream. On reaching a point where the river narrows, at a distance of about twelve miles above l'île Boisée, the flotilla was suddenly greeted by a tremendous cannonade discharged from batteries commanding the channel, which were seen to be numerously manned. Not unprepared for a collision, and fortunately uninjured by the unskilful fire of the Coreans, heavy though it was, the Americans returned the salute in gallant style with their howitzers; and after an action lasting some fifteen minutes the batteries were swept clear of their defenders, who lost thirty killed, while on the American side only two seamen were wounded. The little expeditionary force then retired to the anchorage; and after vainly waiting for ten days to receive an apology or explanation of this treacherous attack, a landing force was put in motion to take vengeance for the insult offered to the United States flag. A total force of 945 men was thrown on shore on Kang-hoa Island, and advanced to the attack of the batteries which had opened fire upon the surveying flotilla. Although numerously defended by a host of Coreans, evi-

dently quite prepared for the conflict, who stood their ground with an unflinching steadfastness which won the admiration of their assailants, the batteries were captured without difficulty, after being swept by the fire of half-a-dozen howitzers; and the citadel, a breastwork placed on the summit of a rocky eminence, was carried at the point of the bayonet, after frightful slaughter had been wrought among the Corean garrison by the fire of the American artillery. Three killed and seven wounded represented the total loss of the attacking party, whilst on the Corean side between four hundred and five hundred dead bodies were actually counted after the action terminated. Although in sight of the town of Kang-hoa, the victorious Americans were not tempted to follow the example of the French in taking possession of this place; and after destroying the batteries and removing hundreds of the gingals with which they were armed, Admiral Rodgers withdrew his force to their ships—only to find that his demonstration of force had proved wholly ineffectual in overcoming the passive resistance of the Corean rulers. The only result of Mr. Low's overtures and Admiral Rodgers' vigorous blows was a communication in which the uncompromising defiance of the Regent was boldly expressed, and in a few laconic sentences the Americans were told that no persuasion would move him from his resolve to maintain the seal of exclusion upon his country. 'Do you want our land?' he wrote. 'That cannot not be. Do you want intercourse with us? That cannot be either.' Whereupon, after a further stay of three weeks at Boisée anchorage, the American squadron, wholly incapable of pushing farther into the interior, turned its back on Corean waters, as Admiral Roze had done in 1866.

Two of the most powerful nations of the West have thus crossed swords with Corea, and it must be admitted that, comparing the initiatory pretensions with the results achieved, their efforts have wholly failed. What arrogance has been begotten in the minds of the Coreans by their repulse of the French in 1866 has been abundantly shown in their demeanour towards foreigners of late years in the person of members of their annual embassy to Peking; and this cannot fail to have become enhanced by the virtual success with which they have withstood the American endeavours to enter into relations with them. The task of bringing Corea within the pale of international obligations, whilst rendered all the more needful by the recent failures in that direction, has become from this very cause the more difficult of accomplishment. It is impossible, however, that the Maritime Powers

can much longer tolerate a state of affairs which places in jeopardy the lives of their seamen whom adverse winds may cast ashore in this inhospitable region, and which dictates the instant abandonment (as has lately happened in more than one instance) of valuable property when vessels are merely stranded within sight of the Corean coast. The numerous accidents incidental to navigation are sufficient to render nugatory those pretensions to a right to shut out all intercourse with the world which Corea alleges, and in which the self-satisfied judgment of a school of modern political philosophers is disposed to concur. But a question of graver importance than even that of enforcing in Corea a respect, at least, for civilised usages, so wantonly set at naught in the case of the 'General Sherman,' is involved in the unhappy impression produced in China by what is there considered the defeat of a foreign invasion. The hostile propensity with reference to European nations which culminated on the 21st of June, 1870, in the dreadful massacre at Tientsin, is believed to have gained its first serious impetus from the unfortunate issue of Admiral Roze's campaign in Corea; and the virtual failure of a still more conspicuous expedition, to support which in its efforts to bring the Corean Government within the comity of nations Chinese aid had been fruitlessly invoked, is only too likely to strengthen the inclination towards overtly resisting European demands for the fulfilment of treaty provisions which has been strikingly betrayed of late at Peking. It is eminently desirable that Western prestige, seriously diminished by these two abortive expeditions, should be redressed in countries where prestige is but another name for the shadow of force in the background, which alone keeps life and property safe, and secures without perpetually recurring warfare the enjoyment of commercial rights. Equally necessary is it that some security be obtained for the proper treatment of shipwrecked mariners who, with the increasing growth of commerce in these Eastern seas, must from time to time be cast upon the shores of Corea; whilst commerce itself looks to this necessary undertaking as the step which shall facilitate its introduction to supply the wants and develope the resources of the only remaining country whence it is now rigidly shut out. Accident, or the lapse of time alone, may possibly be trusted to as the means of overcoming that politic antipathy to intercourse with the outer world which is fostered by the despotic statecraft of Corea; or on some favourable opportunity the longings manifested by Russia for the possession of this territory may be indulged to gratification;

but on the other hand, those who are interested in watching the legitimate development of European commerce and navigation in Eastern Asia, as well as the numerous class who view the subject in a simply philanthropic light, will continue to cherish an earnest hope that well-considered measures may ere long be adopted, to bring the Corean people, under adequate safeguards for their protection against violence and oppression, into beneficial relations with the remainder of mankind. The undertaking is one in which all maritime nations have an identical interest, and one which should be jointly prosecuted to a successful end.

ART. II.—*Shakespeare: The First Collected Edition of the Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare.* A Reproduction in Exact Fac-Simile of the Famous First Folio, 1623, by the newly-discovered Process of Photo-Lithography. Under the superintendence of H. STAUNTON. London: 1866.

MR. GLADSTONE, in his 'Essay on the Place of Homer in 'Education,' notices the tradition of a certain Dorotheus, who spent the whole of his life in endeavouring to elucidate the meaning of a single word in Homer, and seems to suggest that the time thus occupied was not altogether wasted. Without going quite so far as this, most critics will probably agree in his general conclusion, 'that no exertion 'spent upon any of the great classics of the world, and attended 'with any amount of real result, is thrown away.' Unfortunately the greatest classic in the literatures of the world affords as much scope for this kind of labour as any of his reputed peers, not excepting the object of Mr. Gladstone's critical devotion. The oldest and most authoritative editions of Shakspeare are, it is well known, crowded with verbal errors, textual corruptions, and metrical obscurities. They include, indeed, almost every species of literary and typographical confusion which haste, ignorance, and carelessness in the multiplication and fortuitous printing of manuscript copies could produce. After a century and a half of critical labour, embracing three great schools of editors and commentators, the text of these dramas is only now partially purged from the obvious blots and stains that disfigure the earliest editions. And it is only within the last ten years that the results of this prolonged critical labour have been condensed, and exhibited in a thoroughly scientific shape, by the acute and learned editors of the Cambridge Shakspeare.

By means of this most useful and scholarlike edition, any cultivated and intelligent reader may form some estimate of the net result and general value of Shakspearian criticism. A comparison of the best modern readings with those of the Quartos and Folios will show in what numberless instances the text has been corrected, amended, and even restored. Those who have never made such a comparison would be surprised to find how many familiar phrases, and passages, some too regarded as peculiarly Shakspearian, are due to the happy conjectures of successive textual scholars. Rowe and Pope, the first critical editors, being themselves poets, are peculiarly felicitous in their suggested emendations. But even the more prosaic Theobald's single-minded and persistent devotion was surprisingly successful in the same direction. His labours were, however, still more fruitful in restoring neglected readings from the First Folio which neither of his predecessors had consulted with any care. The first school of critics, indeed, brought native sagacity rather than minute or accurate learning to the task of clearing up the difficulties of Shakspeare's text. They satisfied themselves with correcting the more obvious misprints of the Folios, and endeavouring to relieve, by conjectural emendations, some of their corruptest passages.

The second school of editors represented by Capell, Stevens, and Malone, were diligent students of the Elizabethan literature, and found no difficulty therefore in explaining many words and phrases that had perplexed and baffled their predecessors. For elucidating the obscurities of the text, they relied more on illustration than on conjectured emendation. Many passages which the early editors, through ignorance of Elizabethan manners, usages, and allusions, had regarded as corrupt, were amply vindicated from the charge by the more exact and minute knowledge of the later. The third, and more recent school of editors and critics, represented by Knight and Collier, Dyce and Staunton, while combining the distinctive excellences of the previous schools, have specially developed what may be regarded as the most fruitful branch of Shakspearian criticism—that of apt and illuminating illustrations from contemporary literature. The researches of Knight, Dyce, and Staunton in particular have satisfactorily explained many phrases and allusions regarded by previous editors as hopelessly ambiguous and obscure, if not altogether unintelligible. While thus working in the right direction, the modern school has, however, exemplified afresh the conflict between authority and criticism which must always prevail with regard to an original text, at once so important and so

defective as that of Shakspeare's dramas. Mr. Knight, in his admiration of the First Folio, yielded a somewhat exclusive deference to authority. Mr. Collier, again, partly no doubt from the accident of possessing the Perkin's Folio, went to the other extreme, becoming the champion of conjectural emendation in its most licentious forms. Mr. Dyce and Mr. Staunton hold the balance comparatively even, but in the hands of the Cambridge editors it again inclines more decisively towards the side of authority. On the whole, the result of recent criticism and research has been to strengthen the position of the First Folio, and check the recurrent tendency to get rid of textual difficulties by ingenious, but often rash and ignorant, conjecture.

This result is in all respects a satisfactory one. Conjectural emendation is at best a double-edged instrument, to be wielded in safety only on rare occasions and by the most skilful hands. The eager Shakspearian student is, however, continually tempted to cut the Gordian knot of a difficulty by its summary use. The temptation should be steadfastly resisted on pain, for the most part, of reading into the poet's lines a foreign and prosaic sense, instead of bringing fully out their real but latent meaning. In the majority of cases the practice of substituting his own language for the poet's simply depraves the text, and injures the finer sensibilities of the critic. Those who indulge in it too freely, however naturally gifted, soon lose that respect for the poet's words, and scrupulous care for his meaning, which is the foundation of all sound and illuminating criticism.

There is little danger of any excess in the other main department of critical labour, that of illustrating from appropriate sources the obscurer terms and allusions of Shakspeare's text. In this direction there is still ample scope, 'room and verge 'enough,' for the labours of Shakspearian students. The fact is in itself one of the most striking proofs of Shakspeare's marvellous universality. That anything should remain to be elucidated after the life-long devotion of so many learned and acute commentators is surprising enough. But Shakspeare's vision of life is so wide, his moral insight so profound, his knowledge and sympathies so vitalised and universal, and his command of language so absolute, that every part in the wide circle of contemporary learning and experience may throw some light on his pages. In particular, his birthright of pregnant speech is so imperial that he seems to appropriate by a kind of royal prerogative the more expressive elements of diction in every department of human attainment and activity. No section of life

or thought is too humble for his regard; none too lofty for his sympathetic appreciation. The day-spring of his serene and glorious intellect illuminates and vivifies the whole. The more prominent features of that great world are familiar to all cultivated English readers. The order and organisation of the several parts have been diligently studied and eloquently expounded by the critics. But there are still hidden nooks and obscure recesses which even the most curious and painstaking observers have failed to explore. On these, special investigation and persistent research may yet throw some light. Such researches are, moreover, within the reach of students who could hardly be considered Shakspearian scholars in the higher and technical sense of the term. The complete Shakspearian scholar ought to have a minute and exhaustive, but at the same time vital acquaintance with the whole Elizabethan period, its entire universe of knowledge and experience. This can only be gained by the thorough and prolonged study of its history and literature, including the most fugitive and evanescent productions, such as songs, ballads, and chap-books, squibs and letters, pamphlets and broadsides. Few even of the more devoted Shakspearian critics have reached this ideal standard. Many hands, however, make light work, and much may be done in the way of Shakspearian interpretation by the separate contributions of students who have been able to cultivate only a small portion of the wide field. The humblest labourer may add his mite to the constantly-accumulating stores of sterling commentary and illustration.

Many of the sources whence elucidations of Shakspeare's obscure passages may be drawn lie on the surface, and are well known. His writings abound, for example, with terms and phrases, similes, metaphors, and allusions derived from field sports, such as hunting and hawking; from games of chance and skill, such as cards and dice, bowls and tennis; from the military and self-defensive arts, such as archery and fencing; from fashionable pastimes, such as music and dancing; and from popular natural history—the whole folk-flora and folk-fauna of the time. The more obvious, and many of the more obscure allusions connected with these branches of popular knowledge and practice, have been amply explained by successive editors. Some, however, have been overlooked, and in the present paper we purpose giving a few illustrations of these neglected allusions. We shall offer an explanation of some passages in Shakspeare, either given up by critics and commentators as hopelessly unintelligible, or only very imperfectly and erroneously explained. So far at least as we are acquainted

with Shakspearian criticism, most of the explanations now proposed of obscure terms, phrases, and allusions are new,—have not been in any way anticipated by previous writers on the subject. Even a very partial acquaintance with the wide field of Shakspearian criticism suggests, however, the propriety of some hesitation and reserve in announcing novelties of interpretation. Every persistent student of Shakspeare must have found, again and again, that what he at first imagined to be discoveries had been anticipated by previous writers, illustrious or obscure. In general, however, the best modern editions represent in a condensed form, either in notes or glossary, the main results of previous criticism. If they leave a difficulty unnoticed, or give only a vague and conjectural explanation, it may be assumed with tolerable certainty that no better solution has yet been offered. In the same way the Variorum Edition gives the main results of Shakspearian criticism up to the date of its publication. In offering the following elucidations as novelties, it is meant therefore that they solve difficulties left unexplained by the Variorum Edition, by modern editors, by the ablest independent critics, such as Douce, Hunter, Walker, and White, and, so far as the writer is aware, by all previous commentators on Shakspeare.

We may begin with a few illustrations from popular field sports, which in Shakspeare's day meant very much hawking and hunting. These furnish the poet with almost inexhaustible materials of imagery and allusion. In particular, the sportive warfare in the fields and woods with the nobler kinds of chace and game, afforded the aptest phrases, similes, and metaphors for picturing vividly the sterner realities of martial conflict, 'the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.' Such references occur again and again, and many of them are even now only partially explained. In 'Coriolanus,' for example, in the wonderful scene between the servants in the house of Aufidius, such an allusion occurs. While the servants who had resisted the intruder are talking together in the hall about the sudden arrival and ceremonious entertainment of their master's great enemy, a third hastily approaches from the banqueting-room with the news that it has been just determined, at the suggestion of Coriolanus, to march against Rome.

'*Sec. Serv.* Why, then we shall have a stirring world again. This peace is nothing, but to rust iron, increase tailors, and breed ballad-makers.

'*First Serv.* Let me have war, say I; it exceeds peace as far as day does night; it's spritely, waking, audible, and *full of vent.* Peace is a very apoplexy, lethargy, mulled, deaf, sleepy, insensible; a getter of more bastard children than war's a destroyer of men.'

Here the phrase 'full of vent,' the reading of the Folios, has so perplexed the critics that more than one has proposed to substitute for it 'full of vaunt.' The Folio text is, however, perfectly accurate, and peculiarly expressive, although it has never yet been correctly explained. The only explanation attempted is that of Johnson, repeated by subsequent editors, that 'full of vent' means 'full of rumour, full of materials of 'discourse.' This, however, is a mere conjecture, and not a happy one, as it altogether misses the distinctive meaning of the phrase. Vent is a technical term in hunting to express the scenting of the game by the hounds employed in the chase. Both noun and verb are habitually used in this sense. Their exact meaning and use will be made clear by an extract or two from Turbervile's translation of 'Du Fouilloux,' the popular manual of hunting in Shakspeare's day. The first extract refers to the wiles and subtleties of the hart when keenly pressed in the chase: 'When a hart feeles that the 'hounds hold in after him, he fleeth and seeketh to beguile 'them with change in sundry sortes, for he will seeke other 'harts and deare at lare, and rowseth them before the houndes 'to make them hunt change; therewithall he will lie flat down 'upon his belly in some of their layres, and so let the houndes 'overshoot him, and because they should have no sent of him, 'nor *vent* him, he will trusse all his four feet under his belly, 'and will blow and breath upon the ground in some moist 'place, in such sort that I have seen the houndes passe by 'such an hart within a yard of him and never *vent* him.' Further on, the author speaking of the hart, says again expressly: 'When he smelleth or *venteth* anything, we say he 'hath this or that in the wind.' In the same way, when the hound vents anything, he pauses to verify the scent, and then, full of eager excitement, strains in the leash to be after the game that is thus perceived to be a-foot. The following extract from the rhyming report of a huntsman upon sight of a hart in pride of grease, illustrates this:—

'Then if the Prince demand what head he beare,
I answer thus with sober words and cheare:
My Liege, I went this morning on my quest;
My hound did sticke, and seemd to *vent* some beast.
I held him short, and drawing after him,
I might behold the hart was feeding trym,
His head was high, and large in each degree,
Well palmed eke, and seemd full sound to be.
Of colour browne, he beareth eight and tenne,
Of stately height, and long he seemed then.

His beame seemd great, in good proportion led,
Well burred and round, well pearled neare his head,
He seemed fayre, tweene black and berrie brounde,
He seemes well fed, by all the signes I found.'

The use of the noun is exemplified in another hunting me, or huntsman's soliloquy, entitled 'The Blazon of the art,' which is of special interest from the vividness of the ure it brings before us:—

'I am the hunt, which rathe and early rise,
My bottell filled with wine in any wise,
Two draughts I drinke, to stay my steps withall,
For each foote one, because I would not fall.
Then take my hound, in liam me behind,
The stately hart in fryth or fell to find.
And while I seeke his slott where he hath fedde,
The sweet byrdes sing, to cheare my drowsie head.
And when my hound doth straine upon good *vent*
I must confesse, the same doth me content.
But when I have my coverts walkt about,
And harbred fast, the hart for comming out,
Then I returne, to make a grave report.'

The technical meaning and use of the word in these passages sufficiently clear, and it will be seen how happily Shak- are employs it. To strain at the lyam or leash 'upon good ent' is in Shakspeare's phrase to be 'full of vent,' or in ier words keenly excited, full of pluck and courage, of robbing energy and impetuous desire, in a word, full of all e kindling stir and commotion of anticipated conflict. This not only in harmony with the meaning of the passage, but ves point and force to the whole description. War is natu- lly personified as a trained hound roused to animated motion the scent of game, giving tongue, and straining in the slips the near prospect of the exciting chase. This explanation stifies the reading of the Folios, '*sprightly walking*, audible, ull of vent,' or at least affords a better explanation of it than yet been offered. With a single exception the early reading been rejected by all modern editors, including, strangely ough, Mr. Knight and the Cambridge editors. The excep- n is Mr. Staunton, who, however, while retaining the older ding, fails to understand it, and misinterprets the passage. explains 'sprightly walking' as 'quick moving or march- g,' with evident reference to military movements, and with ard to the special phrase under review, he says boldly ent is voice, utterance.' But the previous epithet audible, es this feature of the description, *vent* referring not to sound all, but to the quick perception of the game, and the signs

of eagerness, such as kindled eye, dilated nostril, and muscular impatience, which keen relish for the sport produces. In such a connexion 'sprightly walking' would refer to the more lively and definite advance arising from the discovery of good vent as compared with the dissatisfied snuffings and uncertain progress when nothing is in view. The description thus includes quickened motion, eager tongue, and intense physical excitement. The passage finds an exact parallel in Henry V.'s spirited address to his soldiers before Harfleur:—

> 'And you, good yeomen,
> Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
> The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
> That you are worth your breeding: which I doubt not;
> For there is none of you so mean and base,
> That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
> I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
> Straining upon the start. The game's afoot:
> Follow your spirit; and, upon this charge,
> Cry "God for Harry, England, and Saint George!"'

The same general allusion is contained in the well-known line from 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Cry havock, and let slip the dogs of 'war,' as well as in several passages in other plays. In the lines just quoted, the reference to 'the mettle of your pasture,' is also derived from the 'Noble Art of Venerie.' The colour of the stag, the size and texture of his antlers, his strength of wind and limb, and powers of endurance, depended very much upon the country in which he was reared, and especially upon the kind of pasture on which he browsed. Thus Du Fouilloux concludes a discourse on the different colours of the stag's coat, and the different descriptions of head, as follows:—

> 'There is another forrest about four leagues from thence called Chissay, in the which the harts beare heads cleane contrary, for they are great, red, and full of marrow, and are very light when they are dry. All these things I have thought good heere to alleadge, to let you know that harts beare their heads according to the pasture and feede of the country where they are bred; for the forrest of Merevant is altogether in mountaines, vales, and caves, whereas their feed is dry, leane, and of small substance. On that other side, the forrest of Chissay is a plaine country, environed with all good pasture and corne grounds, as wheat, peason, and such, whereupon they take good nouriture: which is the cause that their heads become so faire and well spredde.'

Before leaving the subject, we may notice that the word 'vent' in its technical sense is used by Shakspeare's contemporaries, especially the poets, such as Spenser and Drayton. The following extract from the graphic account of stag-hunting in the fourteenth song of the 'Polyolbion' illustrates this:—

'Now when the hart doth heare
The oft-bellowing hounds to *vent* his secret leyre,
He rouzing rusheth out, and through the brakes doth drive,
As though up by the roots the bushes he would rive,
And through the cumbrous thicks, as fearefully he makes,
Hee with his branched head, the tender saplings shakes,
That sprinkling their moyst pearle doe seeme to him to weepe;
When after goes the cry with yellings loud and deepe.'

It need hardly be added that *vent* in this sense is, like so many of the terms of venery, taken directly from the French, to vent the game being simply to wind, or have wind of the game. Shakspeare's very expression, indeed, exists as a French phrase, and is given to illustrate the special meaning of the noun as a hunting term.

Again, Shakspeare uses the word *train* more than once in its technical hunting sense, the most striking instance of this special use being found in 'Macbeth.' When Malcolm, in order to test the sincerity of Macduff's devotion, heaps vices on himself, until Macduff, in a burst of noble sorrow and indignation, renounces his enterprise in despair, Malcolm, satisfied with the result, explains the motive of his conduct as follows:—

'*Mal.* Macduff, this noble passion,
Child of integrity, hath from my soul
Wip'd the black scruples, reconciled my thoughts
To thy good truth and honour. Devilish Macbeth
By many of these *trains* hath sought to win me
Into his power; and modest wisdom plucks me
From over-credulous haste.'

It has not been noticed that *trains* in this extract is a technical term both in hawking and hunting; in hawking for the lure, thrown out to reclaim a falcon given to ramble, or 'rake out' as it is called, and thus in danger of escaping from the fowler; and in hunting for the bait trailed along the ground, and left exposed to tempt the animal from his lair or covert, and bring him fairly within the power of the lurking huntsman. An extract or two from Turbervile will sufficiently exemplify this usage. The following is from a long and curious account of hunting the wolf, a common sport in France, and which in Shakspeare's day seems also to have prevailed to some extent in Ireland:—

'When a huntsman would hunt the wolfe, he must *trayne* them by these means. First, let him looke out some fayre place a mile or more from the greate woodes where there be some close standing to place a brace of good greyhounds in, if needs be, the which should be close environed, and some ponde or water by it: there shall he kill a horse or

some other great beast, and take the foure legges thereof and carye them into the woods and forests adjoyning. Then let foure good fellows take every man a legge of the beast, and drawe it at his horse tayle all alongst the pathes and wayes in the woods until they come backe againe unto the place where the dead beast lieth: there lette them lay downe their *traynes*. And when the wolves go out in the night to prey and to feede, they wil crosse upon the *trayne* and follow it untill they come at the dead carrion: there they will feede their fill. And then let the huntsman about the breake of day go thither, and leave his horse a good way off underneath the wind, and come faire and softly to the place to espie if there be any wolves feeding.'

Again:—

'And when the huntsman shall by these meanes have been assured of their feeding twoo nights together, then may he make preparation to hunt them on the third day; or if they fayle to come unto the *trayne* the first or second day, then let him send out varlettes to *trayne* from about all the coverts adjoyning unto the same place: and so doing he cannot misse but draw wolves thither once within two or three nights.'

The play of 'Hamlet' supplies another illustration of hunting terms only partially explained. In the conversation about the players between Hamlet, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern a technical term occurs, which, though sometimes rightly understood, is often erroneously interpreted, and has never been traced or elucidated in its primary meaning and use:—

'*Ham.* . . . . . man delights not me; no, nor woman neither, though by your smiling you seem to say so.

'*Ros.* My lord, there was no such stuff in my thoughts.

'*Ham.* Why did you laugh, then, when I said, man delights not me?

'*Ros.* To think, my lord, if you delight not in man, what lenten entertainment the players shall receive from you: we *coted* them on the way, and hither are they coming to offer you service.'

Here *cote*, in the older spelling *coat*, is usually explained, even by modern editors, according to its etymology rather than according to its actual use, while none seem to be aware of its special technical meaning. Thus Mr. Collier interprets the phrase 'we coted them' to mean 'we overtook them,' or, strictly, 'came side by side with them,' and Mr. Staunton boldly gives the latter part of this explanation as the full meaning of the term—'coted them'—'came alongside of them.' Nares, again, while stating that the term is employed in coursing, gives the same erroneous interpretation, 'coted, i.e. 'went side by side,' and seems to have no real knowledge of its technical use. Mr. Dyce quotes from Caldecott a pertinent example of its use in contemporary literature, but he appears undecided as to the exact signification of the word, and un-

acquainted with its special secondary meaning. Both verb and noun are, however, sporting terms used in coursing of every kind, whether of the stag, the fox, or the hare. *Cote* in this technical sense is applied to a brace of greyhounds slipped together at the stag or hare, and means that one of the dogs outstrips the other and reaches the game first. In coursing the stag, it was sufficient if the foremost dog reached and pinched; in coursing the fallow deer, he was required to pinch and hold; while in coursing the hare, he had to outstrip his fellow and give the hare a turn, in order to secure the advantage of the *cote*. This will be made clear by the following extracts from Turbervile's short treatise on coursing:—

'In coursing at a Deare, if one Greyhound go endwayes by [that is beyond] another, it is accoumpted a Cote, so that he which doth so do by his fellow do reach the Deare and pinch: and in coursing of a redde Deare, that Greyhound which doth first pinch, shall winne the wager: but in coursing of a fallow Deare, your Greyhound must pinche and hold, or else he winneth not the wager.'

Again, from the same treatise:—

'In coursing at the Hare, it is not materiall which dog kylleth her (which hunters call bearing of an Hare), but he that giveth most Cotes, or most turnes, winneth the wager. A Cote is when a Greyhound goeth endwayes by his fellow and giveth the Hare a turn (which is called setting a Hare about), but if he coast and so come by his fellow, that is no Cote. Likewise, if one Greyhound doe go by another, and then be not able to reach the Hare himselfe and turne her, this is but stripping and no Cote.'

The definition of *cote* in the Duke of Norfolk's celebrated coursing rules, first published in Shakspeare's own day, is identical with Turbervile's; and Mr. Thacker, the best modern authority on the subject, in expounding the definition, says:—'A cote is the first performance which takes place, or can be 'expected to take place, after the dogs are slipped at the hare. 'One dog outruns the other, and turns the hare, and with a 'good hare, and with one dog more speedy than the other, this 'is repeated many times in some courses.' To cote is thus not simply to overtake, but to overpass, to outstrip, this being the distinctive meaning of the term. If one dog were originally behind the other, the cote would of course involve overtaking as its condition, but overtaking simply is not coting. Going beyond is the essential point, the term being usually applied under circumstances where overtaking is impossible—to dogs who start together and run abreast until the cote takes place. So Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, having coted the players in their way, reach the palace first, and have been for some time in

conversation with Hamlet before the strolling company arrive. In its secondary or metaphorical use, the word uniformly retains the same distinctive meaning. In the literature of the time, to cote others in wealth, beauty, or worth, is to exce them in these respects. Thus Drant, in his translation, o rather paraphrase of Horace, published within a year or two f Shakspeare's birth, applies it to the passion of avarice, th e insatiable desire to surpass all others in gain. The lines n which the verb occurs are, in fact, an expansion of th e hemistich, *Hunc atque hunc superare laborat*:—

'How happeneth it, his owne estate
That no man lyketh beste?
But teenes, if that his neyghbour's goate
A bygger bagge doth beare
Than his, or yeelds her mylke sum deale
More flowyng and more cleare:
Nor ever will compare him selfe
Unto the greater sorte,
Whose state is base, and bad as his,
Who lyves in meane apporte:
But roves, and shoots at further marks,
Now him he doth contende
To passe in coyne; now him again,
And so there is no ende.
For he that thincks to *coate* all men
And all to overgoe,
In runnyng shall some ritcher fynde
Who still will bid him hoe.'

In its earlier use *cote* may, indeed, as the etymology suggests, have primarily referred to the hound's reaching the game rather than to his outstripping his fellow in the chase. But as outstripping his fellow was the necessary condition of reaching the game first, this element of meaning gradually became more prominent, until at length, as we have seen, the term, both in its technical and secondary uses, came to mean not simply to overtake but to outgo, to advance beyond, and generally to surpass or excel.

In connexion with coursing, we may note the discussion that has arisen among the commentators on the meaning of *lym* or *lyam*, and *leash*, as applied to hounds. In the well-known rhyming list of dogs given by Edgar in his assumed character of Poor Tom in 'King Lear,' one of the kinds specified is *lym*, or, in other words, lym-hound; and in the First Part of 'Henry IV.,' *leash* is used for three, in the phrase 'a leash of drawers,' immediately afterwards enumerated as Tom, Dick, and Francis. There has been some hesitation

amongst the editors as to the exact technical meaning and use of these terms. But a single extract from the old 'Art of 'Venerie' settles the question:—

'We finde some difference of termes betwene hounds and greyhounds. As of greyhounds two make a brase, and of hounds a couple. Of greyhounds three make a *lease*, and of hounds a couple and a halfe. We let slippe a greyhound, and we cast off a hound. The string wherewith we leade a greyhound is called a *lease*, and for a hound a *lyame*. The greyhound hath his collor, and the hound hath his couples. Many other differences there be, but these are most usuall.'

It has been conjectured with much probability that another word, *uncape*, used in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' must have been a technical term in foxhunting. It occurs in the humorous scene where the jealous Ford, accompanied by a posse of his friends and neighbours, arrives at his own house, resolved to hunt for the disturber of his peace, whom he declares to be harboured there by the guilty connivance of his wife. On entering the house, he meets the servants going out with the buck-basket in which Falstaff is almost smothered beneath the soiled linen:—

'*Ford.* Pray you, come near: if I suspect without cause, why then make sport at me; then let me be your jest; I deserve it. How now! whither bear you this?

'*Serv.* To the laundress, forsooth.

'*Mrs. Ford.* Why, what have you to do whither they bear it? You were best meddle with buck-washing.

'*Ford.* Buck! I would I could wash myself of the buck! Buck, buck, buck! Ay buck; I warrant you, buck; and of the season too, it shall appear. [*Exeunt Servants with the basket.*] Gentlemen, I have dreamed to-night; I'll tell you my dream. Here, here, here, be my keys: ascend my chambers; search, seek, find out: I'll warrant we'll unkennel the fox. Let me stop this way first. [*Locks the door.*] So now *uncape*.'

Here it seems clear from the context that *uncape* must be a term connected with foxhunting, but no instance of its technical use has been discovered, and hardly any two editors agree as to its exact meaning. Warburton asserts, with his usual confidence, that it means 'to dig out the fox when earthed'; while Stevens maintains that the term refers to a bag-fox. 'The allusion is,' he says, 'to the stopping every hole at which 'a fox could enter before they uncape or turn him out of the 'bag in which he was brought.' Hanmer substituted the reading *uncouple*; and Nares, in support of this interpretation, and with a special eye to Stevens' note, says that 'Falstaff is 'the fox, and he is supposed to be hidden, or kenneled, some-

'where in the house; no expression therefore relative to a bag-'fox can be applicable, because such a fox would be already in 'the hands of the hunters. The *uncaping* is decidedly to begin 'the hunt after him; when the holes for escape had been 'stopped.' This seems from the context to be the real meaning of the word. It must indicate the commencement of the hunt, or, in other words, the uncoupling of the hounds. But the text need not be altered to bring out this signification. Though no example of its technical use has yet been found, there can be little doubt that uncape was a sporting term locally or colloquially employed instead of uncouple. Nor, after all, is it very difficult to explain its origin and use in this sense. Turbervile, after stating that amongst other differences, 'the greyhound hath his collar and the hound his couples,' intimates the existence of many more technical terms, of which those he gives are simply the most usual. Cape might very well have been one of the terms for collar or couple, as it undoubtedly had this meaning in Shakspeare's day. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while cape meant, as it still does, the top or upper part of a garment, it was usually restricted to a much smaller portion than the word designates now—a part encircling the neck rather than covering the shoulders. It meant, in fact, a neck-band, most commonly of the kind termed a falling-band; in other words, a collar, the larger tippet, covering the shoulders, being termed in contradistinction to the smaller cape or collar, 'a Spanish cape.' Thus Minsheu and Howel give as synonyms for 'the cape of 'a garment,' French, *collet*, explained as 'the collar of a jerkin, 'the neck-piece of any garment'; Spanish, *cabeçon*, explained as 'the neck-band of a shirt, the neck of a doublet, the collar 'of a garment'; Latin, *collare*, 'neck-band, or collar.' The Latin dictionaries of Wase and Coles give the same explanation of cape as part of a dress. Shakspeare himself uses it in the same sense—as another word for neck-band or collar. In the 'Taming of the Shrew,' amongst the directions given to the tailor by Grumio for the making of Katharina's robe or dress, are specified, 'a loose-bodied gown with a *small com-*'*passed cape.*' Here the epithet compassed means circular, so that the item is equivalent to a small circular collar, or falling band around the throat. Whether cape is a technical term in foxhunting or not, Shakspeare was therefore perfectly entitled to use it, as he evidently does, in the 'Merry Wives of 'Windsor,' as a synonym for couple or collar. As given in the old pictures, the broad, loose, indented leather bands or collars to which the lyam or leash was attached, completely

realise the contemporary notion of a cape, and no mistake could possibly arise from the use of the term in this sense. The words *uncape*, *uncollar*, or *uncouple* would each mean the same thing, while all would be easily, if not equally intelligible.

We may conclude the allusions to hunting by an illustration or two of the beautiful passage in the 'Midsummer Night's 'Dream,' where Theseus celebrates the music of his hounds in full cry:—

> '*The.* Go, one of you, find out the forester:
> For now our observation is perform'd:
> And since we have the vaward of the day,
> My love shall hear the music of my hounds.—
> Uncouple in the western valley: let them go!
> Despatch, I say, and find the forester.
> We will, fair queen, up to the mountain's top,
> And mark the musical confusion
> Of hounds and echo in conjunction.
> 'Hip. I was with Hercules, and Cadmus, once,
> When in a wood of Crete they bayed the bear
> With hounds of Sparta; never did I hear
> Such gallant chiding; for, besides the groves,
> The skies, the fountains, every region near
> Seem'd all one mutual cry. I never heard
> So musical a discord, such sweet thunder.
> 'The. My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
> So flewed, so sanded; and their heads are hung
> With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
> Crook-kneed, and dew-lap'd like Thessalian bulls;
> Slow in pursuit, but matched in mouth like bells,
> Each under each. A cry more tuneable
> Was never halloo'd to, nor cheer'd with horn,
> In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly:
> Judge, when you hear.'

Shakspeare might probably enough, as the commentators suggest, have derived his knowledge of Cretan and Spartan hounds from Golding's translation of Ovid, where they are commemorated in the description of Actæon's tragical chase and death. But in enumerating the points of the slow, sure, deep-mouthed hound, it can hardly be doubted he had in view the celebrated Talbot breed nearer home. A contemporary writer celebrates the virtues of these hounds in terms that recall Shakspeare's own description:—

> 'For the shape of your hound, it must be according to the climate where he is bred, and according to the natural composition of his body, as thus, if you would choose a large, heavy slow, true Talbot-like hound, you must choose him which hath a round, big, thick head, with

a short nose uprising, and large open nostrels, which shows that he is of a good and quick scent, his ears exceeding large, thin, and down hanging, much lower than his chaps, and the flews of his upper lips almost two inches lower than his nether chaps; which shows a merry deep mouth and a loud ringer, his back strong and straight, yet rather rising, than inwardly yielding, which shows much toughness and endurance.'

With regard to the other point of the hounds being 'matched 'in mouth like bells,' it is clear that in Shakspeare's day the greatest attention was paid to the musical quality of the cry. It was a ruling consideration in the formation of a pack that it should possess the musical fulness and strength of a perfect canine quire. And hounds of good voice were selected and arranged in the hunting chorus on the same general principles that govern the formation of a cathedral or any other more articulate choir. The writer already quoted brings this curious feature fully out; and as the subject has not been illustrated by the commentators, and is in itself of considerable interest, we may venture on a tolerably long extract:—

'*For sweetnesse of cry.*

'If you would have your kennell for sweetnesse of cry, then you must compound it of some large dogges, that have deepe solemne mouthes, and are swift in spending, which must, as it were, beare the base in the consort, then a double number of roaring, and loud ringing mouthes, which must beare the counter tenor, then some hollow, plaine, sweete mouthes, which must beare the meane or middle part; and soe with these three parts of musicke you shall make your cry perfect; and heerein you shall observe that these hounds thus mixt, doe run just and even together, and not hang off loose one from another, which is the wildest sight that may be, and you shall understand that this composition is best to be made of the swiftest and largest deep mouthed dog, the slowest middle siz'd dog, and the shortest leg'd slender dog, amongst these you cast in a couple or two of small singing beagles, which as small trebles may warble amongst them; the cry will be a great deal the more sweeter.

'*For lowdnesse of cry.*

'If you would have your kennell for lowdnes of mouth, you shall not then choose the hollow deepe mouth, but the loud clanging mouth, which spendeth freely and sharpely, and, as it were, redoubleth in the utterance: and if you mix with them the mouth that roareth and the mouth that whineth, the crye will bee both the louder and smarter; and these hounds are for the most part of the middle size, neither extreame tail, nor extreame deepe flewed, such as for the most part your Shropshire and pure Worcestershire dogs are; and the more equally you compound these mouthes, having as many roarers as spenders, and as many whiners as of either of the other, the louder and pleasanter

your crye will be, especially if it be in sounding tall woods, or under the echo of rocks.

'*For deepnesse of cry.*

'If you would have your kennell for depth of mouth, then you shall compound it of the largest dogges, which have the greatest mouthes, the deepest flews, such as your West Countrie, Cheshire, and Lancashire dogges are; and to five or sixe couple of base mouthes, you shall not adde above two couple of counter-tenors, as many meanes, and not above one couple of roarers, which being heard but now and then, as at the opening or hitting of a sent, will give much sweetnesse to the solemnes and gravenesse of the crye, and the musick thereof will bee much more delightfull to the eares of every beholder.'

Next to hunting, hawking was perhaps the most popular field-sport in Shakspeare's day. In many parts of the country, indeed, it was more in vogue, or, at least, more habitually pursued, than hunting itself. Before the land was generally drained, the midland and eastern counties afforded peculiar facilities for the aquatic branch of hawking which was the more exciting kind of sport. The flags of their marshy levels, their reedy hollows, the wooded banks and quiet pools of their winding streams, abounded with aquatic birds, and especially with the crane and the heron, the favourite objects of this princely recreation. The neighbourhood of Stratford itself was peculiarly favourable for aquatic falconry, the broad sweep of the tranquil Avon with its bosky margins and reedy shallows, affording abundant food and inviting shelter for the larger and more important species of waterfowl. And there can be little doubt that Shakspeare in boyhood and youth had often accompanied a brilliant hawking-party, or at a little distance marked the progress of the sport, had seen the falconer spring the kingly heron from his sedgy nest, and followed with eager gaze the fortunes of the nearly-balanced conflict that ensued,—had watched in narrowing circles far up the sky the well-trained falcon stoop on her noble quarry until the final swoop put an end to the airy battle. However this may be, Shakspeare is perfectly familiar with the technical terms used in hawking, and his dramas abound with phrases and allusions derived from this source. We shall attempt a few illustrations of these allusions in special reference to words and phrases not as yet clearly understood or accurately explained. The first is one of the many much disputed passages in 'Measure for Measure.' It occurs in the dialogue between Claudio and Isabella, where the latter reveals the true character of Angelo:—

'This outward-sainted deputy,
Whose settled visage and deliberate word

Nips youth i' the head, and follies doth *emmew*
As falcon doth the fowl, is yet a devil;
His filth within being cast, he would appear
A pond as deep as hell.'

Here *emmew* is a term well known in falconry, the mew being the place where the hawks were kept and tended during the critical period of moulting. So long as this process lasted, while the birds were casting their feathers, they were kept close, mewed up, or emmewed. But in the passage just quoted this sense hardly seems to suit the context. Isabella is obviously describing an active policy of repression on the part of Angelo. During the lax administration of the Duke, youthful vices, being virtually winked at, had been freely indulged in; and follies, fearing no check, had made head in the city until it became needful to awake the slumbering powers of the law, and carry into effect its sterner enactments. The Duke dwells on this necessity in explaining the motives of his conduct:—

'*Duke.* We have strict statutes and most biting laws,—
The needful bits and curbs to headstrong steeds,—
Which for this fourteen years we have let sleep,
Even like an o'ergrown lion in a cave,
That goes not out to prey. Now, as fond fathers,
Having bound up the threatening twigs of birch,
Only to stick it in their children's sight
For terror, not to use, in time the rod
Becomes more mock'd than fear'd; so our decrees,
Dead to infliction, to themselves are dead;
And liberty plucks justice by the nose;
The baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart
Goes all decorum.'

Angelo was to strike home, and we know from the earlier scenes of the play that he had at once magnified his temporary office and ridden the body politic with a tight curb and sharpened spur, putting into extreme force the more rigorous penal acts. No doubt his administration of the law would soon strike the evil-doers with terror, and make them for a time quiet enough. But in these early days he was inflicting severe penalties on convicted offenders, and it is to this feature of his policy that Isabella especially refers. Youth must have made some head before it could be nipped; and in the same way it is natural to suppose that follies must have manifested themselves before they could be actually known, or publicly dealt with by the deputy. The word *emmew* does not express this meaning, and Johnson's explanation of the phrase, 'forces follies to lie in 'cover, without daring to show themselves,' seems comparatively weak and inapplicable. From some feeling of this diffi-

culty, probably, Mr. Keightley, in his 'Shakespeare Expositor,' proposes to read *enew*, instead of *emmew*. He does this avowedly on the strength of a single passage which he quotes from Nash's 'Quaternio.' This exemplifies what we have already said about fancied discoveries being often anticipated. Long before we knew of Mr. Keightley's suggestion we had ourselves marked the passage in Nash for the same purpose. After all, however, Mr. Keightley does not really anticipate what we have to say on the subject, as he gives no reason for the proposed change, and does not understand the origin, meaning, and technical use of the verb he substitutes for *emmew*. The passage in Nash forms part of a glowing description of field sports, and is as follows:—

'And to heare an Accipitrary relate againe how he went forth in a cleare, calme, and sun-shine evening, about an houre before the sunne did usually maske himselfe, unto the river, where finding of a mallard, he whistled off his faulcon, and how shee flew from him as if shee would never have turned head againe, yet presently upon a shoote came in, how then by degrees, by little and little, by flying about and about, shee mounted so high, untill shee had lessened herselfe to the view of the beholder, to the shape of a pigeon or partridge, and had made the height of the moone the place of her flight, how presently upon the landing of the fowle, shee came down like a stone and *enewed* it, and suddenly got up againe, and suddenly upon a second landing came downe againe, and missing of it, in the downcome recovered it beyond expectation, to the admiration of the beholder, at a long flight.'

The chief difficulty in the passage is as to the meaning of the verb *enew*, and this was for some time time a considerable puzzle. Though freely used as a technical term in the older manuals of hawking, none of them, so far as our examination went, afforded any explanation of the word. Thus Turbervile says:—
'When your falcon is accustomed to flee for it, and will lye
'upon you at a great gate, or at a reasonable pitch, and will
'come and holde in the head at your voyce, and luring, then
'may you goe to the river where you shall finde any fowle, and
'there shall it behove you to use such policie that you may
'cover the fowle, and get your hawke to a good gate above the
'fowle. And when her head is in, then lay out the fowle, and
'cry *hey gar, gar, gar*. And if your falcon doe stoope them,
'and *enew* them once or twice, then quickly thrust your hand
'in your hawking bagge, and make her a traine with a ducke
'seeled.' And in the same connexion, in a short chapter on 'How to doe when your river hawke will take stand in a tree,' the word occurs again:—'If you have a falcon which (as soone
'as hee hath once or twice stooped and *enewed* a fowle) will

'take stand on a tree, you must as much as may be, eschue to 'flee in places where trees be.' Again, Markham, in his Treatise on Hawking, says:—'To make your hawke fly at 'fowle, which is called the flight at the river, you shall first 'whistle off an approved well quarried hawke that is a sure 'killer, and let her *enew* the fowle so long till she bring it to 'the plunge; then take her down and reward her.' But while thus using the term neither Turbervile nor Markham explains its meaning. From the examples of its use, however, it soon became apparent that *enew* was restricted to aquatic falconry—'the flight at the river,' as it was called—while the probable etymology connected it directly with water. When a flight at water-fowl was determined on, the falconer, advancing towards the river, whistled off his hawk up the wind at some little distance from the spot where the duck or mallard, the heron or crane, was known to be. When the hawk had attained to her gate, or, in other words, reached a tolerable pitch in her flight, the falconer, with his dogs and assistants, 'made in' upon the fowl, compelling it to rise, and forcing the flight, if possible, in the direction of the land. This was technically termed 'land-'ing' the fowl, a very vital point in aquatic falconry. Then, after some preliminary wheeling on the wing, offensive and defensive, the falcon would swiftly stoop on her prey, while the fowl, to avoid the fatal stroke, would instinctively make for the water again, where it would be for the moment comparatively safe. For in order that the falcon might stoop and strike with effect, it was necessary to have solid ground immediately below. If the fowl succeeded in swerving towards the water, she escaped with comparative impunity. In this case the hawk might stoop, and sometimes apparently even strike, without doing much damage, as the blow could not be followed up, the fowl taking refuge in diving. In this case the fowl was said to be *enewed*—the hawk *enewed* the fowl; that is, forced it back to the water again, from which it had to be driven afresh by the falconer and landed before the hawk could stoop and seize, or strike and truss her quarry. The fowl was often enewed once or twice before it was landed effectively enough for the final swoop. From this explanation of its meaning the etymology of enew will be apparent; and in support of it we have, in Kelham's Norman Dictionary, '*Enewance de draps*, 'watering of cloth;' while Cotgrave gives *eneauër*, 'to turn 'into water,' and *eneaüé*, 'watered, turned into water.' All these points are confirmed and verified by Drayton's vivid description of the sport, where, fortunately, the word occurs accompanied by an explanatory note. In his twentieth song

the poet gives a detailed account of the flight at the brook, from which we extract the closing lines:—

'Then making to the flood, to force the fowls to rise,
The fierce and eager hawks, down thrilling from the skies,
Make sundry canceleers e'er they the fowl can reach,
Which then to save their lives their wings do lively stretch,
But when the whizzing bells the silent air do cleave,
And that their greatest speed, them vainly do deceive;
And the sharp cruel hawks, they at their backs do view,
Themselves for very fear they instantly *ineaw*.

The hawks get up again into their former place,
And ranging here and there, in that their airy race;
Still as the fearful fowl attempt to 'scape away,
With many a stouping brave, them in again they lay.
But when the falconers take their hawking-poles in hand,
And crossing of the brook, do put it over land;
The hawk gives it a souse, that makes it to rebound,
Well near the height of man, sometimes above the ground.'

Here the word *enew*, which the poet spells in his own way, has the marginal explanation, 'lay the fowls again in the 'water.' The verb occurs in the same connexion, in describing the flight at the brook, in Turbervile's own curious poem 'In Commendation of Hawking':—

'No fellow to the flight at brooke, that game is full of glee,
It is a sport the stouping of a roysting Hawke to see.
And if she misse, to marke her how she then gets up amaine,
For best advantage, to *eneaw* the springing fowle againe,
Who if be landed as it ought, then is it sure to die,
Or if she slippe, a joy to see, the Hawke at randon flie.'

There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the origin and technical meaning of the term. From this primary sense it seems to have acquired the secondary signification of 'to 'check,' 'to drive back,' and 'relentlessly pursue.' It would thus be naturally applied to a policy of extreme and vindictive severity, and we can have little doubt that in Isabella's speech *enew*, as the more expressive word, and the one which in all respects best harmonises with the context, should be substituted for *emmew*. The imagery is that of the penal law, or rather perhaps of despotic power in the person of the 'outward-'sainted deputy' pursuing its victims with reiterated strokes, and allowing them little chance of ultimate escape.

The closing lines of the passage contain another allusion to hawking, the explanation of which will throw some light on a doubtful word in 'Hamlet':—

'His filth within being cast he would appear
A pond as deep as hell.'

The reference is to the hawk when first taken out of the mew, and the result which gross feeding combined with long confinement and inaction produces. The hawk was then fat, glutted, full of grease, wholly unfit for active use, and in order to be thoroughly purged from internal filth, was subjected to a course of scouring diet. The technical name for such diet was *casting*, and as the result the hawk was said to have *cast* her filth. Again, the technical name for the whole process of cleansing the hawk from internal defilement was *enseam*. The use of this term will be made clear by an extract from Turbervile's chapter on 'How you shall *enseame* a hawke or give her cast-'ings and scourings':—

'Some falcons be harder to *enseame* than some others are, for the longer that a falcon hath been in the hand, the harder she is to be *enseamed*: and an old mewed falcon of the wood which hath mewed but one cote in the falconer's handes is much easier to be *enseamed* than a yonger falcon which hath been longer in the falconer's handes: the reason is, because a hawk that preyeth for her selfe doth feede cleaner and better according to her nature, and upon more wholesome meates, than she doth when she is in man's handes; so that it is no marvaile though she bee not so fowle within when she is at her own dyet, as when another man feedeth her. For a hawke which is in our keeping doth feed greedily both on skinne, feathers, and all that comes to hand. Neyther is she mewed with so cleane and holesome feeding, nor doth endue her meate so well, nor hath such open ayre at times convenient as a hawke which is at large to prey for her selfe.'

He goes on to describe the marks by which it may be known when you draw the hawk out of the mew whether she be greasy:—'by the thies if they be round and fat, and also by 'the body if she be full in hand, and her flesh be round as 'high as the breast-bone.' If so, she needs a course of castings. While the hawk was being enseamed it was necessary to keep the space beneath the perch clear, in order to ascertain by the result her actual state and decide when the castings had done their work. The whole process afforded striking analogies for depicting figuratively the moral and physical results of sloth, sensuality, and self-indulgence, and Shakspeare has employed these materials, not only in the passage under review, but in the closet-scene between Hamlet and his mother:—

'*Queen.* O Hamlet, speak no more:
Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul;
And there I see such black and grainèd spots
As will not leave their tinct.
'*Ham.* Nay, but to live
In the rank sweat of an *enseamèd* bed,
Stew'd in corruption, honeying and making love
Over the nasty sty.

'*Queen.* O, speak to me no more;
These words, like daggers, enter in mine ears;
No more, sweet Hamlet!'

There has been some discussion among the commentators as to the exact signification of *enseamed* in this passage, but Dyce follows his predecessors in explaining it to mean 'greasy.' This, no doubt, is one meaning of the word, and it gives a sense intelligible enough. *Seam* or *same* is a word for lard, used locally in various parts of England, but especially in Lincolnshire. A story told of a country woman in Lincoln market illustrates this meaning of the term. Butter was often, then as now, adulterated by being mixed with lard, and a lady coming to purchase of the woman asked, 'Is the butter quite 'pure?' to which the seller confidently but ambiguously replied, 'Yes, it is the very best butter at both ends and *same* 'in the middle.' *Seam* is moreover used by Shakspeare himself for lard in 'Troilus and Cressida.' The hawking term *enseam* is traceable to this source, lard having been originally a principal ingredient in the castings or scouring diet given to the glutted falcon. Thus Turbervile says:—'Within a few 'days after the falcon is drawn out of the mew ye must scour 'her and enseam her with the foresaid medicine of lard, sugar, 'mace, and saffron, with very little aloes, for if ye confect it with 'too much aloes you shall bring her over low.' Though the term thus originally meant enlarding, or, on homeopathic principles, cleansing a hawk from grease by means of grease, it naturally acquired a much stronger sense and came to mean the stirring up and casting forth of filthy matter. In this sense it is applied by Hamlet to the moral pollution of his mother's incestuous marriage, the bridal bed itself being defiled by such a union.

Again, there has been a good deal of discussion about the word *gouts* occurring in the dagger-scene in 'Macbeth.' The results of this discussion are well summed up in the note on the word by the Cambridge editors in their Clarendon Press edition of the play:—

'*Gouts*, drops, from the French, *goutte*, and, according to stage-tradition, so pronounced. Stevens quotes from "The Art of Good "Lyving," 1503, "All herbys shall sweyt read goutys of water as "blood." And "gowtyth" for "droppeth" occurs in an Old English MS. (Halliwell, "Archaic and Prov. Dict.," s. v.) "Gutty," from the same root, is also used in English heraldry.'

It has not been noticed, however, that the word is a technical term in falconry, and that its special sense in this art applies with peculiar force to its use in the dagger-scene soliloquy. *Gou-*

is the term applied to the little knob-like swellings or indurated drops which appear at times on the legs and feet of the hawk. This will be clear by an extract from Turbervile's chapter on 'the swelling in the hawk's feet we term the pin or pin-gout':—

'Diverse times there rise up knobs upon the feet of hawks as upon the feet of capons, which some call galles, and some *gouts*. They come sometimes of the swelling of the legs and thighes, which I have spoken of before, or of other diseases that breed of the abundance of humours within the hawke, which must first be scoured with the last mentioned pilles three or foure days together.'

The term as thus used has peculiar force when applied, as Macbeth applies it, to the rapidly coagulating drops of blood on the blade and dudgeon of the fatal dagger.

The references to hawking may be closed by a brief illustration of a passage in the First Part of 'Henry VI.' that has never as yet been very satisfactorily explained. It occurs in the angry scene between the Protector, Gloucester, and his rival, the Bishop of Winchester, before the Tower gates. The Bishop having forbidden the warders to admit the Protector, fierce taunts, menaces, and recriminations prelude the actual conflict between their followers that ensues:—

'*Win.* How now, ambitious Humphrey! what means this?
Glo. Peel'd priest, dost thou command me be shut out?
Win. I do, thou most usurping proditor,
And not protector of the king or realm.
Glo. Stand back, thou manifest conspirator,
Thou that contriv'dst to murder our dear lord;
Thou that givest whores indulgences to sin:
I'll *canvass* thee in thy broad cardinal's hat,
If thou proceed in this thy insolence.
Win. Nay, stand thou back; I will not budge a foot:
This be Damascus, be thou cursèd Cain,
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt.
Glo. I will not slay thee, but I'll drive thee back:
Thy scarlet robes as a child's bearing-cloth
I'll use to carry thee out of this place.'

In this passage the phrase, 'I'll canvass thee,' has been variously explained. Stevens interprets it to mean, 'I'll tumble 'thee into thy great hat, and shake thee as bran and meal are 'shaken in a sieve;' while Malone says: 'Gloucester probably 'means that he will toss the cardinal in a sheet, even while he 'was invested with the peculiar badge of his ecclesiastical 'dignity.' But neither of these explanations, adopted in the main by later editors, hits the distinctive allusion of the phrase, or brings out its real significance. Canvass was a technical name for the peculiarly constructed net with which wild hawks

were snared by the falconer, in order to be made and manned for the fist, the flight, and the lure. At least, it was a term technically applied to catching wild hawks in this way, and to be canvassed in this sense was to be taken, trapped, or netted. The following passage from Pettie's 'Palace of Pleasure,' referring to one who had been jilted in love, brings out this meaning:—

'For ever after, he fled all occasions of women's company, perswading himselfe that as hee which toucheth pitch shal be defiled therewith: so he that useth women's company shal be beguiled therewith. And as the mouse having escaped out of the trap, wil hardly be allured againe with the intising baite, or as the hawke having bin once *canvassed* in the nettes, wil make it daungerous to strike againe at the stale: so he having bin caught in the snares of crafty counterfeyting, and now having unwound himself thereout, and wonne the fields of freedome, avoided all occasions which might bring him eftsoones in bondage.'

Nares gives another example, from the 'Mirror for Magistrates':—

'That restlesse I, much like the hunted hare,
Or as the *canvist* kite doth fear the snare.'

Of the word, however, Nares frankly says: 'It seems to 'mean entrapped; but I can give no further account of it.' Canvass in this sense may, however, be connected with the Italian *cannevo* and *cannevaccio*, given as alternative forms of *canapa* and *canapaccia*, and explained as 'all manner of hemp, 'hempen halters, thread, coarse hemp and canvass, coarse 'hards.' It could thus very naturally have the general meaning of coarse hempen netting. Or it may possibly be connected with the *canebis* or *chanvre*, against which the experienced swallow warned the small birds:—

'Il arriva qu'au temps que le *chanvre* se sème,
Elle vit un manant en couvrir maints sillons.
"Ceci ne me plaît pas," dit-elle aux oisillons:
"Je vous plains; car, pour moi, dans ce péril extrême,
Je saurai m'éloigner, ou vivre en quelque coin.
Voyez-vous cette main qui par les airs chemine?
Un jour viendra, qui n'est pas loin,
Que ce qu'elle répand sera votre ruine.
De là naîtront engins à vous envelopper,
Et lacets pour vous attraper,
Enfin mainte et mainte machine
Qui causera dans la saison
Votre mort ou votre prison."'

Whatever may be its origin, there can, however, be no doubt as to the special meaning and use of the term in connexion with hawking, and it is, we think, clearly in this sense that Gloucester

employs it in the passage quoted. The phrase has, indeed, peculiar expressiveness when applied to the broad-brimmed cardinal's hat, with its long strings knotted into net-like meshes on either side. The felicity of the phrase becomes even more apparent when the shape and working of the net in which hawks were snared are known. The apparatus for catching wild hawks consisted of a strong semi-circular bow of wood or iron, with a net attached, and fixed in the ground on either side, so as to move freely backwards and forwards. When baited for the hawk the bow was in an upright position, both the bow itself and the net attached to it being partially hidden by green twigs. The bait, stale, or lure was usually a live bird, such as a pigeon, fixed and fluttering within the sweep of the descending bow. Strings were attached to the bow on either side, and held by the falconer, concealed at a distance. By this means, when the hawk swooped on the prey the falling bow covered her with the encircling net. If the meshes happened to be too large, or the machinery were unskilfully worked, the hawk sometimes managed to escape, and hence the allusions in the passages quoted. Now, the circular sweep of the cardinal's hat, with its knotted strings, had a not unapt resemblance to the hawk-net machinery; and Gloucester, in saying, 'I'll can-'vass thee in thy broad cardinal's hat,' expressed his determination to trap and seize the arrogant churchman, if he persisted in his violent courses. That he really meant to abridge the cardinal's liberty, by seizing his person, is apparent from the context, in which he says he will use the scarlet robe as a child's bearing-cloth to carry him away, the colour of the robe having reminded him of the scarlet mantle in which the children of wealthy parents were carried to the font for baptism. Even in this there is, however, an obscure reference to the imagery already employed, for the hawk when caught was carefully wrapped up, often placed in a bag, to prevent any injury to the feathers from bating. Gloucester thus expresses his determination to catch the grasping cardinal in his own trap, and mew him up where he would have no power to carry out his treasonable designs.

We shall next attempt to clear up some points still obscure connected with the natural history, rural botany, and social usages of Shakspeare's time. The first is a passage in 'Ham-'let,' which the critics and commentators agree, with singular unanimity, must be corrupt. It occurs in the play-scene, after the performance has been suddenly stopped by order of the king, and the listening court circle broken up 'with most ad-'mired disorder,' by the abrupt and excited exit of the royal

party. Hamlet is left alone with Horatio, exulting in the success of his project. The play has caught effectually the conscience of the king, and in Hamlet's view he stands self-convicted of the unnatural crime. In the strange excitement produced by this complete confirmation of his worst fears, Hamlet, with a sort of assumed gaiety, indulges in snatches of verse, fragments of well-known ballads, that express in a fitful, disjointed way the feelings of the moment:—

'*Ham.* For thou dost know, O Damon dear,
This realm dismantled was
Of Jove himself; and now reigns here
A very, very—*peacock*.'

The readings of the Quartos and Folios are variously *pajock*, *pajocke*, and *paiock*, *paiocke*; but all agree that these are only various spellings of the same word, that word being peacock. Here, however, the real difficulty commences. The majority of critics maintain that the word, in such a connexion, has no meaning, and makes nonsense of the verse. Some of the earlier editors, it is true, attempted to explain it; but the explanations were feeble, if not wholly irrelevant, and have not been generally accepted. Thus, Pope says the allusion is to the fable of the birds choosing the peacock instead of the eagle as their king. Collier, while admitting the difficulty, suggests that the fable alluded to may be that of the crow adorning itself with peacocks' feathers. Theobald rejected the word altogether, substituting for it *paddock*, or toad. Other suggested emendations are *hedgehog*, *padge-hawk*, *polack*, and, amongst the latest and strangest, that by Dr. Leo, of *hiccups*, as a stage direction. But these suggestions are only so much wasted ingenuity. The Folio word is not only the right one, but peculiarly emphatic and expressive. In discussing the passage the critics have forgotten the character assigned to the peacock in the natural history of the time, as well as in popular opinion and belief. Looked at from this point of view, the word peacock expresses in a concentrated form the odious qualities of the guilty king, the bird being, in fact, the accredited representative of inordinate pride and envy, as well as of unnatural cruelty and lust. The most popular manual of natural history in Shakspeare's day, for example, gives the following account:—

'And the pecocke is a bird that loveth not his young, for the male searcheth out the female, and seeketh out her egges for to break them, that he may so occupy him the more in his lecherie. And the female dreadeth that, and hideth busily her egges, lest the pecocke might soone find them. And Aristotle sayth that the pecocke hath an unsteadfast and evill shapen head, as it were the head of a serpent, and with a crest.

And he hath a simple pace, and a small necke, and areared, and a blew breast, and a taile ful of bewty, distinguished on high of wonderfulle fairnesse: and he hath the foulest feet and riveled. And he wondereth at the fairenesse of his fethers, and areareth them up as it were a circle about his head, and then he looketh to his feet, and seeth the foulenesse of his feet, and lyke as he wer ashamed he leteth his fethers fall sodeinlye: and all the taile downward, as though he tooke no heed of the fairenesse of his fethers: and he hath an horrible voice. And as one sayth, he hath a voice of a feend, the head of a serpent, and the pace of a theefe. And Plinius sayth that the pecocke hath envie to man's profit, and swalloweth his owne durt: for it is full medicinable, but it is seldom found.'

This last is a curiously dark touch of malevolence added to the generally repulsive character of the bird. In the whole fauna of the time, therefore, Hamlet could not have selected the name of bird or beast that expressed with greater emphasis the hateful union of corrupted passion and evil life that now usurped the throne and bed of the buried majesty of Denmark.

We turn for a moment from the popular fauna to the wild and provincial flora of Shakspeare's day. It is needless to say a word about the poet's love of flowers, and his intimate acquaintance with the richer garden varieties, as separate works have been published to illustrate this feature of his writings. But Shakspeare's fondness for wild flowers, and subtle appreciation of their place and influence as elements of natural scenery, are equally noteworthy. He had the keenest enjoyment of outdoor life, and in his long country rambles in the neighbourhood of Stratford the sweet wayside 'nurselings of 'the vernal skies' had touched his imagination and his heart, and left an impression never to be effaced. Nor does he scruple at times to describe his humble favourites of the meadows, the hedgerows, and the water-courses, by the local names through which he first became familiar with them. This has been a source of some confusion and perplexity in the interpretation of his allusions. We may illustrate this point in relation to a line on which perhaps more ink has been spilt than on any other line of Shakspeare's dramas. It occurs in the invocation of Iris to Ceres in the Masque of the 'Tempest':—

> '*Iris.* Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
> Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and pease;
> Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
> And flat meads thatch'd with stover, them to keep;
> Thy banks with *pioned* and *twilled* brims,
> Which spongy April at thy hest betrims,
> To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; and thy broom-groves,
> Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves.'

Here the chief difficulties are the words italicised in the fifth line, especially the first. What *pioned* means, or can mean, has been the great crux with the commentators. An early suggested emendation was *peonied*; but the objections to this are that the peony is not a wild flower, does not grow in marshy grounds, has, in fact, no connexion with river brims, and does not bloom in April. Other emendations have, from time to time, been suggested, but, curiously enough, the one which has found as much acceptance as any, is what may be called the hedging and ditching explanation—that *pioned* means dug down, and *twilled*, ridged, or staked up, as though the river brims were rural dykes or suburban drains. Even supposing the meaning here assigned to the disputed terms were legitimate or even possible, the explanation certainly savours far more of the commentator's prose than of Shakspeare's poetry. Without noticing any of the other explanations and emendations that have been attempted, we proceed to offer an interpretation that, while preserving the Folio text, gives it a consistent and poetical meaning. The chief difficulty, as we have seen, lies in the word *pioned*, and we had long felt that the solution must be looked for in the local use of the term. We could not but believe that there must be some flower, most probably a water-flower, or one living in marshy ground, that was provincially known as a peony. In confirmation of this view, we were informed some time since by a clergyman who was for many years incumbent of a parish in the northern part of the county, that peony is the name given in Warwickshire to the marsh marygold. Knowing that he had long resided in the neighbourhood of Stratford, taking an active interest in country life, we asked if there was any wild flower that the country people called a peony, and he promptly answered there was, and it soon appeared from the description that it must be the marsh marigold. Here was at last a ray of light. And on a little reflection it was not difficult to see why the name of the peony should have been transferred to the marsh marygold. The flowers, though differing in colour, have a remarkable similarity in general growth and shape, especially in the early stage, when the fully-formed bud is ripe for blowing. The buds of both present the unusual appearance of perfectly rounded globes or spheres at the extremity of a thick leafless stalk, the sepals being firmly locked or folded together over the substance of the flower into a bud as round as a marble. Indeed the helibore, which belongs to the same class, having its sepals tipped with red, might easily be mistaken for a wild peony. In their early stages, moreover,

when the peculiar state of the bud naturally attracts attention, the peony and marsh marygold are alike, not only in growth and form, but in colour also. The main point of agreement, however, the globular buds, is so distinctive in the marsh marygold that it has been seized on as a ground of naming the flower, and is embodied in many of its more popular designations. The garden variety, for example, differing hardly at all from its sister of the marsh, is called the globe flower. In many parts of England, again, marsh marygolds are called *blobs*, or, from the size of the flower, horse-bobs, *blob* being an archaic word for rounded knob; only another form, in fact, of *bleb*, an older term for foam-bell or water-bubble. Thus, water-blobs is a local name for water-lilies, on account of the rounded cup-like shape of the bud. In the same way, the marsh marygold is locally the horse-blob. Clare, the Northampton poet, for example, says—

> 'Beneath the shelving banks' retreat
> The *horse-blob* swells its golden ball.'

The same peculiarity of shape is embodied in the French *bassinet*, from the likeness of the flower to a small bowl or basin. Cotgrave makes *bassinet* a generic term for the buttercup tribe, including under it the 'crow-foot, king-cob, gold-'crap, yellow-craw, butter-flower.' He adds, 'There be many 'kinds, that which we call bachelor-buttons being one, the 'double one of them.' *Bassinet de Marais* is the special term for the marsh marygold; but even in England, from the splendid appearance of the flower, it was sometimes called the Brave Bassinet. Thus Lyte, in his 'Herbal,' says, 'The 'Brave Bassinet or marsh marygold doth grow in most places 'upon the banks and borders of ditches.'

From its dark green leaves and crowded discs of burnished gold the brave bassinet is one of the most striking and brilliant flowers of early spring, and as such it has been a favourite with the poets, who are minute observers of nature, from Chaucer to Tennyson. Mrs. Loudon, in describing the marsh marygold, says:—'This is one of the most showy of the British plants, 'and it is also one of the most common, as there are few ponds 'or slow rivers in Great Britain that have not some of these 'plants growing on their banks in April and May.' And Gerarde, a much more venerable authority, waxes almost eloquent in descanting on its size and beauty:—'Marsh mari-'gold hath great broad leaves, somewhat round, smooth, of a 'gallant greene colour, sleightly indented or purld about the 'edges, among which rise up thicke fat stalkes, likewise greene,

'whereupon doe grow goodly yellow flowres, glittering like 'golde, and like to those of crow-foot, but greater.' Parkinson, in his voluminous 'Herbal,' says that another name for these flowers is *goulds*; and under this name the flower is used by Chaucer as an emblem of jealousy:—

> 'And jelousy,
> That wered of *yolo guldes* a garland,
> And a cukkow sittyng on hire hand.'

And Gower, probably because the flower expands only in bright sunshine, and is closed or locked in cloudy weather, represents Leucothoe as turned into it by the god of day:—

> 'But Phebus, for the reverence
> Of that she hadde be his love,
> Hath wrought through his power above,
> That she sprong up out of the molde
> Into a flour was named *golde*,
> Which stant governed of the sonne.'

Of modern poets, Mrs. Loudon quotes one who, in describing a marsh celebrates its brightest flower under the less familiar classical name:—

> 'Caltha, in green and gold refulgent towers,
> And isles of splendour shine, whose radiance pours
> A glory o'er the scene.'

Tennyson's line in the 'May Queen' is quite familiar:—

> 'And the wild marsh-marigold shines like fire in swamps and hollows gray.'

Again, the marsh marigold is the Lucken Gowan, the locked or folded daisy, of Scotch poetry, celebrated for its beauty by northern writers from Allan Ramsay to Alexander Smith—by the former in the 'Gentle Shepherd,' and by the latter in one of the most pathetic of his shorter lyrics.

We may be sure, therefore, that the marsh marigold had often caught Shakspeare's eye, and it is exactly the flower which the line we have quoted, viewed in relation to the whole context, requires in order to make the meaning complete. It haunts the watery margins as the constant associate of reeds and rushes, blooms in 'spongy April,' and in common with other water flowers, is twined with sedge 'to make cold nymphs 'chaste crowns.' With regard to the form of the word, as found in the First Folio, Shakspeare simply writes it as it was universally pronounced among those who used it. In the midland and western counties, the peony is a great favourite

in rustic gardens, and is looked upon as an important element of floral decoration in all rural festivities, especially at Whitsuntide, school-feasts, and club-walkings. And we can certify from personal experience that in these districts the word is pronounced as Shakspeare spells it, pi-o-ny, with a strong emphasis on the first syllable and the full English sound of the vowel, as though it were spelt pye-o-ny.

The other obscure and disputed word of the line, *twilled*, may be disposed of more rapidly. Twills is given by Halliwell as an older provincial word for reeds, and it was applied like quills to the serried rustling sedges of river reaches and marshy levels. The word is, indeed, still retained in its secondary application, being commercially used to denote the fluted or rib-like effect produced on various fabrics by a kind of ridged or corded weaving. Twilled cloth might equally be described as reeded cloth—cloth channelled or furrowed in a reed-like manner. Twilled is, therefore, the very word to describe the crowded sedges in the shallower reaches of the Avon as it winds round Stratford. It was, indeed, while watching the masses of waving sedge cutting the water-line of the Avon, not far from Stratford Church, that we first felt the peculiar force and significance of the epithet. And, although the season was too far advanced for the reeds to be brightened by the flowers of the marsh marigold, the plant was abundant enough to glorify the banks in the early spring. The whole line, therefore, gives a vivid and truthful picture of what is most characteristic of watery margins at that period of the year.

The next head of illustration is of a miscellaneous kind, including words and phrases left unexplained, or erroneously explained, connected with the manners and customs, the social usages and appliances, of Shakspeare's day. Of these we have collected a considerable number—upwards of thirty indeed. But waning space warns us not to multiply examples, and we must be satisfied with one or two specimens at most. The first is a word that often puzzled us in the earlier days of our acquaintance with Shakspeare, but which, so far as we are aware, the commentators have not noticed. It is the word *tun* occurring in the celebrated scene between the King and the French Ambassadors in 'Henry V.,' where the latter delivers the 'merry message' and the mocking present of the Dauphin:—

> '*First Amb.* In answer of which claim, the prince our master
> Says, that you savour too much of your youth;
> And bids you be advis'd, there's naught in France

That can be with a nimble galliard won;
You cannot revel into dukedoms there.
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
This *tun* of treasure; and, in lieu of this,
Desires you let the dukedoms that you claim
Hear no more of you. This the Dauphin speaks.
K. Hen. What treasure, uncle?
Exe. Tennis-balls, my liege.
K. Hen. We're glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us;
His present and your pains we thank you for:
When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,
We will, in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.'

Here the 'tun of treasure' is evidently brought in and delivered by the ambassador, and the puzzle always was how this could be conveniently or gracefully effected, if *tun* is to be taken in its ordinary sense. The only meaning of *tun* known to our lexicographers is that of a large cask, and how a large cask filled with tennis-balls could be brought by the ambassador and delivered in the King's presence, it is not very easy to see. The difficulty is, however, removed by remembering that *tun*, or in the older spelling *tunne*, had in Shakspeare's day two widely different meanings. While the generic sense in harmony with the etymology, is that which holds or contains, still the tun denoted vessels of very different sizes and uses. In addition to a large cask containing a certain measure of liquids or solids, it was applied to a goblet, chalice, or drinking-cup, more commonly a silver-gilt goblet. Thus Minsheu, on the English side of his Spanish Dictionary, gives 'a *tunne*, or 'nut to drink in, *cubiléte*,' which is explained, 'a drinking-cup 'of silver, or such a cup as juglers use to show divers tricks 'by.' In illustration of this we may mention that in an old country town we remember an inn formerly known as 'The 'Three Tuns,' which had as its ancient painted sign three gilt goblets exactly like those used by street jugglers. From a passage given by Halliwell, it would seem that *nut* or *nutte* was used like *tun* for a drinking-cup or goblet, which in wealthy houses was commonly of silver or silver-gilt. This sense of the word *tun* is further illustrated by a letter in Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' describing an interview which the representatives of an English mercantile company had with the Emperor of Russia in the year 1555:—

'We came before him the tenth day; and, before we came to his presence, we went throw a great chamber, where stood many small *tunnes*, pailes, bowles, and pots of silver. I mean, like washing bowles, all *parsel gilt*: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I

thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold; and then into the chamber where his grace sate, and there, I thinke, were more then in the other chamber, also in cloth of gold; and we did our duty, and showed his grace our queene's grace's letters.'

The silver tunnes here described were evidently vessels of the same kind as 'the parcel-gilt goblet' on which the faithless Falstaff swore, 'sitting in the Dolphin-chamber, at the round-table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in Wheeson-week,' to make Mistress Quickly 'my lady' his wife. This distinctive meaning of the word *tun* is, however, so completely forgotten that it does not occur in any of the English dictionaries, old or new, or in any Shakspearian glossary. The only exception we are aware of is that of Mr. Halliwell, who, in his 'Provincial Dictionary,' gives, on the authority of Kennett, 'a 'little cup,' as one meaning of *tun*. The word does not, however, occur in the Bishop's published Glossary, and we presume, therefore, it must be contained in some manuscript additions that have not yet seen the light. That this is the meaning to be attached to the word as used in 'Henry V.' is abundantly evident from the older play on which Shakspeare founded his drama, and from which the incident of the tennis-balls is derived. The parallel passage in the 'Famous Victories of 'Henry the Fifth' is as follows:—

'*Archbyshop.* And it please your Majesty,
My Lord Prince Dolphin greetes you well,
With this present.

[*He delivereth a* tunne *of tennis-balles.*]

Henry V. What a *guilded tunne!*
I pray you, my Lord of Yorke, looke what is in it.
Yorke. And it please your Grace,
Here is a carpet and a *tunne* of tennis-balles.
Henry V. A *tunne* of tennis-balles?
I pray you, good my Lord Archbishop,
What might the meaning thereof be?
Archbyshop. And it please you, my Lord,
A messenger you know ought to keepe close his message,
And specially an embassador.
Henry V. But I know that you may declare your message
To a king, the law of armes allowes no lesse.
Archbyshop. My Lord, hearing of your wildnesse before your Father's death, sent you this, my good Lord,
Meaning that you are more fitter for a tennis-court
Than a field, and more fitter for a carpet than the campe.'

Here the Archbishop evidently enters the King's presence, bearing in his hand the gilded tun or chalice filled with tennis-balls, to the number probably of eight or ten, the balls being

covered with a square of carpet, and at the royal direction delivers both to the Duke of York. In 'Henry V.' the Ambassadors who take the place of the Archbishop deliver the present in the same way to the Duke of Exeter.

The last illustration we have space for is that of the phrase 'unbarbed sconce,' which occurs in 'Coriolanus.' Those who are familiar with the drama will remember the scene in which Volumnia, Menenius, and Cominius unite in urging Coriolanus to return and speak the angry populace fair, in order to avert the impending mischief. His mother entreats him to yield for the moment, to curb his pride so far as to address the mutinous crowd, cap in hand, and with bended knee crave pardon for his previous harshness and ask their gentle loves:—

'*Enter* COMINIUS.

'*Com.* I've been i' the market-place; and, sir, 'tis fit
You make strong party, or defend yourself
By calmness or by absence: all's in anger.
Men. Only fair speech.
Com. I think 'twill serve, if he
Can thereto frame his spirit.
Vol. He must, and will.—
Prithee now, say you will, and go about it.
Cor. Must I go show them my *unbarb'd sconce?* must I
With my base tongue give to my noble heart
A lie that it must bear? Well, I'll do't:
Yet were there but this single plot to lose,
This mould of Marcius, they to dust should grind it,
And throw't against the wind.—To the market-place!—
You've put me now to such a part, which never
I shall discharge to the life.'

Two main explanations of 'unbarb'd sconce' have been given: one by Stevens, to the effect that *unbarbed* means untrimmed, unshaven, to barb a man being a common expression for shaving him; the other by Hawkins, that unbarbed means bare-headed. In support of this, he says pertinently, but vaguely, that 'in the times of chivalry, when a horse was 'fully armed and accoutred for the encounter he was said to 'be barbed.' Curiously enough, of these explanations the latter, and more correct, has been almost unanimously rejected by modern editors and critics. Thus, Mr. Dyce explains unbarbed, 'unshorn, untrimmed;' the Cambridge editors give the same meaning, in the Globe Edition; while Todd, in his edition of Johnson, Richardson in his dictionary, and Nares in his Glossary, give unbarbed as unshorn, each quoting the passage in 'Coriolanus' as the example. Mr. Staunton, it is true, adopts Hawkins' more correct interpretation, but he does this without

a word of explanation or defence. Now, with an erroneo[illegible] rendering in almost undisputed possession of the ground, th[illegible]is is hardly sufficient. It is necessary to indicate at least t[illegible]he reasons that make the one interpretation right, and the oth[illegible]er wrong. It may be stated at the outset that the words barb[illegible]ed and unbarbed are used both literally and figuratively for shaven and unshorn. But in this speech of Coriolanus the term cannot be interpreted in this sense, as it would then have no real meaning or relevancy at all. So far as mere personal appearance is concerned, Coriolanus had just presented himself in the most public and official manner, both in the Capitol and the Forum, before the Senate and the citizens, with the confidence of a proud nature, and the indifference to mere pouncet-boxes and curling-irons proper to a soldier and a hero. There could thus be no possible reason against his returning on the ground of mere personal appearance. If he really were somewhat rough and unkempt, he would surely, under the circumstances, be the better pleased. Least of all would he think of calling in the barber before presenting himself again to the greasy multitude. The speech obviously refers, not to mere personal appearance, but to the accustomed and accredited signs of deference, humility, and respect. One of these—and that the most eloquently submissive—was uncovering, standing bare-headed, and bowing in a lowly manner to the assembled citizens. This the proud spirit of Coriolanus could not stomach, and he had the greatest difficulty in forcing his stubborn will into even momentary and simulated acquiescence. This was the bitterest element in the partial and mocking ceremony of submission to the citizens he had just gone through. When urged by his friends to speak to the citizens and ask their suffrages, according to established usage, he replies :—

> 'I do beseech you,
> Let me o'erleap that custom; for I cannot
> Put on the gown, stand naked, and entreat them,
> For my wounds' sake, to give their suffrage; please you
> That I may pass this doing.'

Here 'stand naked' cannot, of course, be literally take[illegible], though it might be supposed to refer indirectly to showing h[illegible]s wounds. This, however, Coriolanus did not do, and the phras[illegible]e must be understood as referring primarily to the fact that he w[illegible]s obliged to stand uncovered, bare-headed, before the 'bisson mu[illegible]l-'titude.' But his gall so rises at the degradation, that while goi[illegible]g through the form he cannot help flouting the citizens to the[illegible]ir face :—

'*Third Cit.* You have been a scourge to her enemies, you have been a rod to her friends; you have not, indeed, loved the common people.'

'*Cor.* You should account me the more virtuous, that I have not been common in my love. I will, sir, flatter my sworn brother, the people, to earn a dearer estimation of them; 'tis a condition they account gentle: and since the wisdom of their choice is rather *to have my hat* than my heart, I will practise the insinuating nod.'

Again, Volumnia, well knowing what the chief difficulty was, addresses herself most earnestly to this point, detailing to her son in eager gestures the submissive actions by which he must at once seek to regain the popular favour:—

'*Vol.* I prithee now, my son,
Go to them, with this bonnet in thy hand;
And thus far having stretch'd it,—here be with them,—
Thy knee bussing the stones,—for in such business
Action is eloquence, and th' eyes of th' ignorant
More learnèd than their ears,—waving thy head,
Which often, thus, correcting thy stout heart,
Now humble as the ripest mulberry
That will not hold the handling,—say to them
Thou art their soldier, and, being bred in broils,
Hast not the soft way which, thou dost confess,
Were fit for thee to use, as they to claim,
In asking their good loves; but thou wilt frame
Thyself forsooth, hereafter theirs, so far
As thou hast power and person.'

In this excited and intensely dramatic address we see Volumnia pointing to her son's bonnet, and showing by her own action the way in which he should use it in addressing the citizens. At last, in reply to the reiterated and united entreaties of mother and friends, Coriolanus impatiently exclaims:—

'Must I go show them my unbarb'd sconce?'

It may be easily shown that unbarbed has the meaning which the context thus requires. A war-horse protected by head and chest-pieces of defensive armour was technically said to be *barbed*, *barded*, or *bard*, these being all different forms of the same word derived from the French *bardé*, which Cotgrave renders 'barbed 'or trapped as a great horse.' Thus Holland, in his translation of Xenophon's 'Cyropædia,' says: 'Now were they all that at-'tended upon Cyrus armed as he was, to wit, in purple tabards, 'corslets, and head-pieces of brasse, with white crests and with 'swords: every man also with a javelin of corneil wood. Their 'horses were *bard*, with frontlets, poictrels, and side-pieces of 'brasse.' In other words, the horses were protected by head-pieces, breast-pieces, or plates, and side-pieces of defensive

armour. The terms *barb* and *barbed*, used in the same way for horse armour, occur continually in Harrington's translation of Ariosto, in Spenser, and generally in the chivalrous poetry of Shakspeare's time, as well as occasionally in his own dramas. But as the war-horse was rarely in this sense fully barbed, the metallic armour largely increasing the weight to be carried, the term barb came to be specially associated with the frontlet, or head-piece, which few war-steeds were without. In this way it was also applied, in a secondary sense, to any covering or protection for the head, to a cap or hood, a helmet or bonnet of almost any description. Thus Chaucer uses *barbe* for a whimple, or a hood and cape covering the head and shoulders; while Skelton applies the same term to a nun's hood, and also to the cap which covered the hawk's head when carried on the fist to the field before being unhooded at the game. It is, however, more to our present purpose to note that a special form of the word was a well-known term in mediæval times for a military cap, or defensive covering for the head. Thus Ducange gives '*Barbuta*,'—'Tegminis species qua caput tege-'bant milites seu equites in prœliis.' And Sir S. R. Meyrick quotes in illustration of *barbuta* in this sense from Hoscemius, 'erant omnes armati cum *barbutis* in capite;' and from Villani, 'I tutti armati di corazze e *barbute*, come cavalieri.' After giving these examples Sir S. R. Meyrick adds a sentence which is tolerably decisive as to the real meaning of the term in Shakspeare's phrase: 'The French call knights thus 'armed *barbües*, and the English *barbed*.' To show an unbarbed sconce is thus to show an uncovered, unprotected sconce; in other words, to appear bareheaded.

That the word in this connexion cannot possibly refer to shaving is evident, from the fact that *sconce* means head, and is never applied to the face by Shakspeare or his contemporaries. Of the seven places in which the word occurs in his dramas four are in the 'Comedy of Errors,' where sconce is played upon in a humorous scene between Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse. In the second scene of the first act it is synonymous with 'pate;' while in the second scene of the second act it is freely punned upon by Dromio after the manner so common with Shakspeare's fools, servants, and clowns:—

'*Ant. S.* If you will jest with me, know my aspèct,
And fashion your demeanour to my looks,
Or I will beat this method on your *sconce*.

'*Dro. S. Sconce* call you it? so you would leave battering, I had rather have it a head: an you use these blows long, I must get a *sconce*

for my head, and ensconce it too; or else I shall seek my wit in my shoulders. But, I pray, sir, why am I beaten?'

If our interpretation is correct, the word *sconce* is here used in three different senses: first, for head; second, for a rounded fort or blockhouse; and third, for what protects or covers the head, a cap or hood. This last sense has not been recognised by the commentators, who have interpreted 'I must get me a 'sconce for my head' in the sense of fortification. But sconce having also the meaning of covering for the head, it is more likely that in playing on the word Dromio would use it in a different sense than that he would repeat it immediately in the same signification. The glossarists do not seem to be aware that sconce has this secondary meaning of covering for the head. But that it was really so used is apparent from the following entry in Florio's Dictionary: 'Capuccio, a little round hood, 'or *skonce*, a cap, also a hood or a cowl, a friar's bonnet.' The various significations of sconce are thus all connected with the central notion of head. It is never applied to the face; and apart from the necessities of the context, the shaving or unshorn interpretation of the phrase is inadmissible.

Here we must close, having only partially accomplished the task proposed at the outset. Something, however, has been done. Several of the explanations we have offered vindicate on grounds of definite evidence the text of the First Folio, and we are confident there is still a good deal more to be done in the same direction. We shall hope, therefore, to find some other opportunity of returning to a subject of inexhaustible interest to the genuine lovers of literature.

ART. III.—*Denkwürdigkeiten aus den Papieren des Freiherrn Christian v. Stockmar.* Zusammengestellt von ERNST FREIHERR V. STOCKMAR. Braunschweig: 1872.

THIS volume is a publication as singular and interesting as the life of the remarkable individual which it relates. In itself the existence of Baron Stockmar was uneventful and even obscure. One of his friends described him as an 'anonymous and subterranean' being. But it was his fortune to attain to the closest intimacy with persons of the most illustrious position and the highest influence. He was rewarded by their unbounded confidence and affection for the zeal and unselfishness with which he devoted himself to their service. He neither sought nor obtained any of the common rewards which are bestowed on those who share the exercise of supreme power, for he was without greed and without ambition. His exertions, directed as they generally were to great and laudable objects, did not even confer upon him fame; for it was of the essence of his service that it should remain secret and concealed. His life, in short, can hardly be more accurately described than in the following passage from one of his own letters:—

'The singularity of my position compelled me always anxiously to efface my best efforts and attainments, and to conceal them as if they were crimes. Like a thief in the night often have I laid my seed-corn in the ground, and if the plant grew and was seen of men, I knew I must ascribe the merit to others, and I did it. Oftentimes even now I am told of this or that thing, and how this or that has come to pass, by men who are so far in the right that they have seen these things in the *second* stage of their production. But these good people know nothing of the *first* stage. The growth of a plant requires air, light, and warmth, &c. And so it might seem to these different elements that without the influence of each of them there would be no plant at all. But the first and chief merit clearly belongs to him who of his own motion, and solely for the eventual advantage of others, has laid the seed-corn at the right time in the right soil. If then circumstances and men commonly combine so to cast the shade of night and darkness over my best conceptions, ideas, and undertakings, that not the faintest suspicion of their original promoter is possible, that result will scarcely annoy me.' (P. 58.)

So much of the business of the world is carried on with a noise and pretension far above its real worth, and men are so ready to claim the glory of the harvest when others have sown the furrow, that it is curious to meet with an example of this self-denying activity, and to trace the influence of a man who

cherished his own obscurity as fondly as others seek for notoriety and applause. But more of the reality of power than is commonly supposed is exercised by men of whom the world knows nothing. There is a prejudice against them, because it is supposed that those who evade the obligations of public responsibility have in view some private and sinister design, and are released from many of the obligations of public life. But a sense of duty, an inviolable love of truth, and even an ardent desire of benefiting the world, are not less intense in a certain class of elevated natures when they are dissevered from public notoriety and popular applause. In such men the dignity of contemplative life controls and directs the more active faculties, and they have their reward in witnessing the success of their own ideas under other names and in other hands. Such characters are rare; but it is no exaggeration to say that the late Baron Stockmar was one of them.

If there be one place more than another where such men and such services are of inestimable value, it is in Courts. Royal personages are for the most part by education and rank excluded from many of the ordinary sources of experience and information. They see mankind in a mask of formality and etiquette. Few persons are completely natural in addressing them. It is only within a very small and innermost circle of domestic life that they can find the pleasures of genuine friendship or the benefits of absolute sincerity. But unhappy, and indeed impossible, would be the solitary lot of a sovereign to whom such intimate and informal service were altogether wanting. It has been one of the distinctive merits of the reign of Queen Victoria that her Court has been discreet, dignified, and pure. It has been alike untainted by private scandal and by political intrigue. It has been governed by the same principles which direct a well-ordered family. Even in that which is concealed there is nothing to demand concealment; and 'whatever record leap to light' hereafter, we know that posterity will only find in the more private annals of the reign fresh grounds of loyal attachment to the sovereign and of respect for those most nearly attached to her personal service.

It would seem, as we turn over the pages of this volume, that for the Queen and for the older generation of her subjects posterity has begun. A reign of five and thirty years is a long passage in history; and as we retrace in these lines the course of events long gone by, but well-remembered and familiar to ourselves, and the countless figures of those who

having played a conspicuous part in life, have vanished from the scene, we seem to be living in another sphere and to be looking back to another period of existence. There is certainly nothing for any one to be ashamed of in this publication, and but little to give pain to any one now living. But we confess that we have not read it without some sense of the indecorum of the compiler of this Memoir, who, in order to make good his father's claims to the notice of the world, has torn aside the veil which enshrouded his father's memory. There is an inconsistency in the claim for posthumous celebrity on behalf of a man who had, in his own lifetime, so firmly repudiated and renounced it. Without the assent or the authority of the highest persons interested in these peculiar transactions, Baron Stockmar the younger, being in possession of his father's confidential papers, and consequently of a key to his father's confidential intercourse with the sovereigns of Belgium and England, holds himself justified in publishing as much of them as he thinks fit. He has sometimes let slip an insinuation against illustrious reputations; he has sometimes revived the memory of disputes and differences which have long been forgotten by those they most nearly touched, and were unknown to the younger generation; and he has given an exaggerated importance to the influence exercised by his father, which, though considerable, was never preponderant. It is not our intention to dwell upon these errors of judgment; we shall not give greater prominence to them by quoting examples in support of the strictures we feel compelled to make. On the contrary, we shall pass them over in silence, and turn rather to those matters of public interest with which the work abounds. But the present Baron Stockmar, of whom we wish to speak with all possible respect, must forgive us for adding our opinion that his father, who was a man of severe discretion and stern judgment, especially in matters relating to himself, would not have sanctioned, at the present time, the whole of this publication.

In relating the life of Baron Stockmar it is fair to admit that our impressions of him are not exclusively drawn from these pages. We knew him well ourselves. We have even seen him actively engaged in those private councils and deliberations which were the chief occupation of his life, and heard the voice of the oracle as it was delivered, and received with unbounded respect, from a small chamber in Windsor Castle or Buckingham Palace, or even from a smaller lodging

in Davies Street or Holles Street, to which at one time, from some fanciful motive, he retired. The manners of Baron Stockmar were dry and pedantic. He delivered his opinions with sententious gravity, as a man who has long been accustomed to be listened to and obeyed. He was extremely dyspeptic, fastidious in his diet, and nervously afraid of cold; indeed, his medical experience, concentrated on the observation of his own health, sometimes threw him into a state of hypochondriasis. But the opinion of those who lived with him was, that, with the exception of a weak digestion, his ailments were more imaginary than real. A man of this temperament is seldom of a very genial disposition, but in the case of Stockmar, the tendency to melancholy and somewhat contracted view of life was tempered by the genuine warmth and goodness of his heart. He was capable of the most entire self-sacrifice to the welfare of those he loved, and Lord Palmerston (who did not like him for many reasons) justly and candidly affirmed that Stockmar was the most disinterested individual whom he had met with in the course of his life. One of his friends asserts in this biography that his natural bent of melancholy alternated, as is sometimes the case, with exuberant bursts of high spirits, and that, but for his hypochondriasis, he would have been neither to hold nor to bind. Of this extreme gaiety our own experience of him, in the later years of his life, furnishes no example; but we knew him as a kind-hearted and honourable man, fond of children, constant in his friendships, admirably discreet, and judicious, if not quite so wise as he was supposed to be. His son claims for him, with perfect truth, the merit of a thorough German character and heart. He was, indeed, in the highest degree national. His long residence in foreign countries had not in the slightest degree mitigated his national peculiarities. The very atmosphere of his room was German, wherever it might happen to be. He viewed all subjects from a purely German point of view; and, although he was no mean politician, living in daily intercourse with the first English statesmen, we doubt whether he took any real interest in English politics, except in so far as they affected the interest and welfare of the House of Coburg and his own greater German country. To this circumstance may in part be attributed the fact that, placed as he was in a position of extreme delicacy, he escaped all suspicions of intrigue, at least in England; he lived on terms of equal confidence with men of all parties here, and he was never accused of assuming any influence whatever in

English political affairs.* They were to him of altogether secondary interest in comparison with the interests of the Royal Family and the course of events on the Continent. These considerations and facts may not be without value in enabling the reader to form a just estimate of his character and conduct, which were blameless and without reproach, as the confidential adviser and friend of King Leopold and of the Prince Consort.

Christian Frederic Stockmar was born on August 22, 1787, of parents in the middle rank of life, who appear to have had a small landed estate on the confines of Bavaria. His mother was a woman of good common sense, chiefly remembered for quaint sayings, which remind us of the farmyard philosophy of the admirable Mrs. Poyser. One of them to the effect that 'God Almighty took care that cows' tails should not grow too 'long,' was long remembered and quoted by Princes of the House of Coburg. The young Stockmar was brought up to the study of medicine in the Universities of Würzburg, Erlangen, and Jena till the year 1810. His boyhood was, therefore, spent in that dark and dreary decade which marked the lowest degradation of his country beneath the ascendency of France, and left an indelible impression on the mind of every German. But, more fortunate than his older contemporaries, he entered upon active life at the moment of the revival of patriotic feeling and national resurrection. The dawn broke just as he began to play a part in the world, and if he learned no other lesson from his medical education, he imbibed the salutary conviction that time and nature are the best allies of the physician in the treatment, not only of physical disease, but of the social and political maladies of mankind. The following just and modest remark occurs in one of his letters to the King:—

'The King complains of medicine. I can write no apology for the art, because I have learned to know the exact limits of its power. Physicians themselves in most cases do not know what they should know, and in very few cases can they do what the patient requires. Hence the recourse to deception and lying. It is only in the *preven-*

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* His son relates a strange anecdote, for which we should be glad (or rather sorry) to have more complete authority, that a rich Englishman, a writer, and Member of Parliament, called on him one day and offered him 10,000*l.* if he would support his application to the Queen for a Peerage. Stockmar replied: 'I will go into the 'next room to give you time to withdraw. If I find you here when 'come back, I shall have you kicked out by the servants.' We cannot believe that a man in the position described would have been so absurd or so base as to offer a bribe; or that if he had offered it, Stockmar would have told the story.

tion of maladies that a good and great physician can be really of use.' (P. 52.)

His first steps to advancement in life were, however, professional. In 1812 he was attached to the military hospital in Coburg; in the following year he caught a hospital fever, which very nearly cut short his career. In 1814 he crossed the Rhine in the medical service of the 5th German *corps d'armée* which invaded France, and in this capacity he was attached to the ducal regiment of Saxony, where he became known to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, who took the young army-surgeon into his service as his own body-physician, and thus gave a totally new direction to his life.

On March 29, 1816, Stockmar joined his master at Brighton, and for the first time set foot in England, unconscious of the part he was afterwards to play here. The marriage of Leopold to the Princess Charlotte took place on May 2, and the period which elapsed between that event and her premature death in November, 1817, introduced Stockmar, to some extent, into English society at the little Court of Claremont. He was speedily admitted to the confidential intimacy of the Prince, who made him his German secretary rather than his physician: and the Princess seems to have treated him with great kindness and familiarity, and even to have conversed with him on her most private and delicate affairs. For example, he reports that she one day said to him, 'My mother is bad, but she would not 'have become so bad, if my father had not been a good deal 'worse than she is'—a speech which, for filial *im*piety, can hardly be exceeded, and which was the more strange as it was addressed to a subordinate foreign attendant, whom the Princess had only known since her marriage.

Thus it came to pass that Stockmar picked up a very minute account of the circumstances which led to the rupture of the intended marriage of the Princess with the Prince of Orange. These particulars are contained in a manuscript volume (now in the possession of Her Majesty the Queen), chiefly in the handwriting of Miss Cornelia Knight, with corrections and additions by the Princess herself. Of this volume the author of this biography has made (we know not by what authority) an unrestricted use. The story has been told by Miss Knight herself, and more than once in the pages of this Review, and we shall not repeat it here. But it may be worth while to record three or four points which are now clearly established. The Dutch marriage had been projected and approved by the Prince Regent as early as 1813, when Charlotte was only seventeen: but though she acquiesced inher father's wishes, there never

was any personal liking between the young pair. The Prince of Orange disgusted her by his coarse and vulgar tastes and manners. He lodged at his tailor's. He came home tipsy on the box of a stage-coach from some races. He appeared at the Court entertainments when the Princess was not there, and it was said of him by one of his own countrymen, 'Il n'y avait 'dans cette pauvre tête ni instruction ni idée arrêtée sur quoi 'que ce fût.' Her firm resistance to the proposal that she should live abroad very nearly broke off the negotiation: but in this respect she carried her point, for it was expressly provided by the articles of agreement signed on June 10, 1814, that she was not to leave England without the written approval of the King or Regent, or without her own consent. But within a week she raised fresh objections, and the marriage was broken off. It was about three weeks later that the Prince Regent made a descent on Warwick House and threatened to send her to Cranbourne Lodge, whereupon the Princess fled, threw herself into a hackney-coach, and drove off to her mother's residence in Connaught Place. To these well-known circumstances it must be added that in June 1814, the very crisis of the Orange negotiation, Charlotte saw Leopold for the first time, when he came to England in the suite of the Emperor of Russia, in whose service he then was. It is evident that she fell in love with him. Miss Mercer Elphinstone told Stockmar that in order to gratify the Princess's wish to see more of him, the Duchess of York gave a ball, at which the young people seem very soon to have come to an understanding. Two years elapsed before the marriage, for there were many difficulties to be surmounted; but these were overcome by the tact of Leopold and the assistance of the English Royal Family, who were more favourable to it than the Regent himself was, and, as we have said, in the spring of 1816 the marriage was solemnised.

In the retirement of Claremont, where the young married pair resided, Stockmar made daily progress in the good graces of his master, to whom he was ardently attached. The Princess took a fancy to him, and he indulged his own caustic and satirical disposition by drawing in his journal no flattering picture of the Royal Family. Queen Charlotte was small, twisted awry, with the face of a mulatto; the Regent very fat with a peruke *à la cacadou* which did not become him; the Royal Dukes stout and sensual, all talking, as the phrase is, 'thirteen to the dozen.' Even down to the appetite of the guests at table, nothing escaped him, but the anecdotes he picked up are hardly worth repeating. Of Lord Castlereagh

he observes that he was remarkable for a lighthearted indifference, which was sometimes reckoned to him for deep statesmanship—an observation still more applicable to one of Lord Castlereagh's most eminent successors. The Grand Duke Nicholas (afterwards Emperor of Russia) paid a visit to England in this year and dined at Claremont, where his magnificent presence caused Mrs. Campbell, the Princess's bedchamber woman, to exclaim: 'What an amiable creature! he is 'devilish handsome! he will be the handsomest man in Europe!' Stockmar does not seem to be aware that Court ladies are not in the habit of using such energetic adjectives.

The married life of the Princess Charlotte was entirely happy. Without education, without self-restraint, tossed to and fro by her worthless parents, and of a highly excitable temperament, she would have continued to be in all probability miserable and mischievous had she not fallen into the arms of a man of rare judgment and tact, to whom she was passionately attached. Leopold had throughout his life the uncommon gift of exercising an influence over women greater than the influence they exercised over him. Had Charlotte lived he would have become the real sovereign of this country, for though she was described at the time of her marriage as a tomboy in petticoats, Leopold had found the secret to master her character and her heart. But this life of promise was doomed to be blasted. The declared pregnancy of the Princess had, of course, given rise to the liveliest hopes of an heir to the Crown, and no one seems to have had a presentiment of the fatal result. Stockmar, however, with characteristic caution steadily refused to act as the medical adviser of the Princess, foreseeing the responsibility he would incur, as an unknown foreign practitioner, if anything went wrong. He was not in fact called in till two hours and a half before her death, when she was already in great danger. But he was of opinion (and he said so to the Prince) that the treatment of the Princess had been too lowering. However, after a tedious labour of fifty-two hours by Stockmar's computation, the Princess gave birth to a fine and full-grown boy—but the infant was no longer alive. For the three hours which succeeded the birth the mother seemed to be doing well. But what followed must be related in Stockmar's own words.

'At midnight Croft came to the side of my bed, took my hand and said that the Princess was dangerously ill and the Prince alone—that I must go to him and inform him how things were going on. The Prince had never left his wife for three days for one instant, and had only retired to rest after the birth. I found him composed as to the

death of the child and not very uneasy about the Princess. A quarter of an hour later Baillie sent to me to say he wished me to see the Princess: I objected, but at length complied. I found her in great suffering and restlessness with spasms of the chest and difficulty of breathing; she tossed herself from one side to the other, speaking alternately to Dr. Baillie and to Sir Richard Croft. She put out her left hand to me and squeezed mine twice vehemently. I felt her pulse, which was very swift and irregular. Baillie kept giving her wine: she said to me, "They have made me tipsy." Thus it continued for about a quarter of an hour more, when her breathing became a death-rattle. I was out of the room at the moment, when she called out loudly, "Stocky, Stocky!" When I came back she was quieter, but still with rattling in the throat; the limbs were drawn up, the hands grew cold, and at two o'clock in the morning of November 6, 1817, about five hours after the child was born, she was no more.'

There seems to have been no other cause for her death than extreme exhaustion caused by her previous low condition and the unusual length of the labour. It then became the painful duty of Stockmar to announce the fatal result to the Prince, who was not, as is commonly supposed, present.

'I did it in no fixed expressions. He would not believe she was dead; and in attempting to go to her, he fell back upon a chair. I knelt beside him. He said it was a dream; a thing he could not believe. He sent me again to her: I came back saying it was all over. We then went together to the chamber of death: he kissed her cold hands kneeling by the bed-side; then rising, he embraced me and said: "Now indeed I am quite deserted: promise me to remain with me always." I gave the promise! "But," says Stockmar in a letter written a few days later to his sister, "I gave a promise he may either hold me to for ever, or which he may care very little for next year."' (P. 105.)

In justice to Leopold it must be added that the promise of perpetual friendship was in this instance kept with equal fidelity by himself and by his loyal attendant. It was indeed a friendship sealed by an event so tragical, that the recollection of that night could never be effaced from either mind. 'I 'feel,' said Stockmar, 'that my part in life consists in unex-'pected turns of events, and so it will be till it is over. I 'appear to be here to take care of others more than of myself, 'and am well contented with this function.'

The next twelve years were marked by no events of much importance to Stockmar or his royal patron. He was promoted to the post of Private Secretary and Comptroller of the Household of Prince Leopold, which he held till 1831. Saxon letters of nobility had been conferred upon him in 1821; his rank as a Bavarian baron was dated ten years

later. This interval of time was, however, marked by one occurrence of great importance to the House of Coburg, and, as it afterwards turned out, to this country. After the death of Princess Charlotte the absence of a youthful heir to the Crown induced the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge to marry; and the choice of the Duke of Kent fell on the widowed Princess of Leiningen, sister of Leopold. The Duke of Kent, who was then just fifty years old, was persuaded that he should survive his brothers, live to wear the crown, and transmit it to his descendants. The pregnancy of the Duchess soon appeared to realise these expectations. With some difficulty the Duke scraped together the means to come to England in the spring of 1819, from the place he had been residing at in Bavaria, and in May at Kensington the young Princess who was destined to fulfil all her father's desires was born. But here his good fortune ended. It had been predicted to him that in the year 1820 two members of the Royal Family would die. His father George III. was the first of the two. He little thought that he himself would be the second. He had gone to Sidmouth with his family, as he expressed it, 'to 'cheat the winter;' but having caught cold from a wetting, inflammation of the lungs came on. Stockmar, who was there, was asked whether he thought the Duke was in a state to sign his will. The document was read over to him twice. He signed the word 'Edward' with an expiring effort. A few hours later the Duchess of Kent was again a widow, and the Princess Victoria, then an infant of little more than a year old, the fatherless presumptive heiress of the British Crown. The Duchess was in straitened circumstances and overwhelmed with her husband's debts. Her brother Leopold assisted her and enabled her to live at Kensington, where the young Princess was brought up. Her father's debts were eventually paid by the Queen, as is well known, after her accession to the throne.

The first event which introduced Leopold to active political life was the negotiation to place him on the throne of Greece. It had been decided by the Protocol of March 22, 1829, that Greece was to be governed by an hereditary Christian sovereign, to be selected by the Three Powers, but under the suzerainty of the Porte, to which tribute was to be paid. The northern frontier of Greece was to extend from the Gulf of Vola to the Gulf of Arta, including Eubœa and the Cyclades. Prince Leopold was the candidate most approved by the Three Powers. It seems, however, that George IV. was not of the same opinion, for he had not much affection

for his son-in-law, and the Duke of Cumberland had predisposed the King in favour of a Duke of Mecklemburg, a brother of the Duchess. The British Government was also less favourable to Leopold than the governments of Russia and France. Party-spirit ran very high, and Leopold was suspected of Whiggism, from his intimacy with the leading Whig statesmen of the day, and especially with Lord Durham. The Prince himself was strongly affected by the romantic attachment to the Greek cause, which had seized all the generous minds in Europe between 1823 and 1830—which had sent Byron to die at Missolonghi—and seemed to promise a revival of glory to the Hellenic race. To be the first sovereign of the Greek people seemed a splendid gift of fortune, even though he sacrificed to it his chance (somewhat remote) of being for a time the Regent of England in the event of the accession of his infant niece. But this laudable ambition did not blind him to the terms he thought it necessary to ask. It appeared to him essential that the islands of Crete and Samos should form part of the new kingdom, and that the northern frontier should be extended; but these terms were refused. Capodistria (perhaps from interested motives) sent the Prince a true but most discouraging picture of the state of affairs in Greece, and of the dissatisfaction of the Greeks themselves with the proposed arrangements. Leopold had always made their approval one of the conditions of his assent, and declared that he would not be forced upon the people. A few days after the receipt of this communication, he withdrew his acceptance altogether. He was resolved, as he wrote to Baron Stein on June 10, not to undertake the task without adequate means to insure its success. However wise this decision of the Prince must now be thought, it damaged his character at the time for constancy and courage. The Russians accused him of bad faith and pusillanimity, and openly attributed his refusal to the secret hope of obtaining hereafter the Regency of England. Stein contrasted his conduct with the manly resolution of the Emperor Alexander in 1812. George IV. called him the Marquis Peu à peu; he was denounced all over Europe as an irresolute intriguer. Stockmar, who was with him all the time, positively denies that the chance of the English Regency had anything to do with his decision. Stockmar claims to have seen all along that his master had been led away by the manœuvres of the diplomatists and by his own enthusiasm. He certainly was not of opinion (as another writer said) that Leopold was bound to take the crown of Greece, *because* it was

a crown of thorns. He took the common-sense view of the matter. Yet there were, it seems, times even in the after-life of King Leopold when he contrasted with some regret the government of his well-to-do Flemish burghers with the more romantic part of a prince of the Hellenes, destined perhaps to found an empire in the East. To these outbursts Stockmar replied in the following terms:—

'For the poetry which Greece might have afforded I would not give much. Men are wont to see only the bad side of the things they have, and only the good side of the things they have not got. That is all the difference between Greece and Belgium—though it is not to be denied that when the first King of Greece has perished miserably, his life may afford a very pretty subject for an epic poem.' (P. 146.)

One of the results of this Greek affair was to increase the coolness which existed between Prince Leopold and the members of the Duke of Wellington's administration. This circumstance may probably account for the extraordinary language in which Stockmar speaks of the Duke in a paper which has been preserved and published in this volume by his son.

'The manner in which a Wellington would retain and control the position which was the reward of his own merit and the gift of fortune, is the criterion of the higher faculties of his soul. It needed no great length of time and no great effort to perceive that his natural moderation, the result of inborn insensibility, had not resisted the intoxicating influence of the flattery which surrounded him. His knowledge of himself became more and more confused. His thirst for action and his love of power became daily more vehement. Besotted by the applause of his admirers, drunk with the estimation of his own strength, he impatiently and voluntarily abandoned his proud position as a general for the most arduous of human duties—the conduct of the affairs of a great nation with inadequate powers of mind and knowledge. Scarcely had he forced himself upon the State as Prime Minister with the intention of adding the fame of a statesman to that of a soldier, when his own administration shook the confidence of the multitude. With singular levity he publicly and without the least consideration committed blunders, which the most ordinary understanding could have foreseen, that filled the impartial spectator with compassionate astonishment, and caused consternation and alarm in the host of his flatterers and adherents. Yet so great and so deep-seated was the preconceived opinion of the multitude in his favour, that nothing but the demonstrative force of his own proceedings could shake it. It required the whole strength and persistency of this strange illusion of Wellington—it required all his own activity and iron resolution—with the endless repetition of his errors and mistakes, to convince the people that Wellington was one of the most incapable and pernicious Ministers England had ever lived under.' (P. 148.)

To this diatribe Stockmar adds an assertion, which we be-

lieve to be wholly unfounded, that the Duke of Wellington recommended Charles X. to make Polignac his Minister, because he feared the liberal tendencies of the Martignac government, and that he encouraged the policy which led to the Revolution of July 1830.

If this passage is to be taken as 'the criterion of the higher 'faculties' of Stockmar's judgment and wisdom, it gives us a very low opinion of them. It is in truth only the expression of his bitterness and personal resentment. Indeed we are told a few lines further on, that Stockmar lived to take a very different view of the Duke's character 'when the keenness of his 'glance was no longer dazzled by passion and self-reliance,' and he lamented his death in 1852 as that of one 'who had '*again* become a firm pillar of the realm.'

Fortunately the correspondence of the Duke himself, at this very period, is now before the public in the invaluable and deeply interesting fourth volume of his supplementary despatches. It is impossible to give a more direct contradiction to Stockmar's malignant attack. One hardly knows which is most to be admired—the modesty and tact with which the Duke applied himself to the performance of duties, for which he had declared himself to be imperfectly fitted, or the vigorous grasp with which he embraced the policy of the country, carrying Catholic Emancipation against the prejudices of his own party and his own previous life, and combating abroad with equal vigour the intrigues of Russia and of France, and recognising without a day's hesitation the Revolution of 1830 and the Orleans dynasty. The Duke knew Prince Polignac well, for that short-sighted individual had recently been ambassador in London, where he had given a good deal of trouble; and we utterly disbelieve that his appointment to high office in France was viewed with any satisfaction by the British Cabinet. It required no great discernment to foresee that it would be the death-blow to that branch of the Bourbons which the Duke had himself restored to the throne, and to whom he had always given the best advice as long as they would listen to him.

Certain it is that Polignac conceived himself to be under no obligations to the English Government, for this very volume contains a document purporting to be a scheme for remodelling the map of Europe in a sense most hostile to England, by annexing Belgium to France, giving Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, and Holland to Prussia, and placing the King of the Netherlands on the throne of a Christian empire in the East. We doubt whether this wild dream ever

had the importance Stockmar appears to have attached to it, and as the Treaty of Adrianople was signed before the draft could be communicated to the Court of St. Petersburg, the whole thing fell to the ground. What is true is, as we know from other private sources, that Polignac was actively engaged in favouring the intrigues of the Catholic party in Belgium against the union of that country with Holland; and the reason that there were only 14,000 men in Paris at the moment the Ordinances of July were signed (a force quite insufficient to subdue the people of that capital), was that a considerable army had been concentrated at Cambrai with a view to future events in the Low Countries. Bourmont was to have taken the command of this army on his return from Algiers, ready either to overcome Paris or to enter Belgium. But the impatience of the Court struck the *coup d'état* without waiting for the return of their best general. Marmont was beaten in the streets of Paris. Charles X. was dethroned; Polignac was arrested; and the Belgian revolution accomplished by means the most opposed to their policy and designs.

Thus it fell out that within little more than a year of the failure of the Greek negotiation, another throne was vacant, another people turned to Leopold in their search for a king. Warned by his recent experience, the Prince refused to listen to the overtures of the Belgian envoys until he was well assured of the recognition of Belgium by the Great Powers, and of the solution of her territorial and financial difficulties. The extremely democratic provisions of the Belgian Constitution startled him; but on this point Stockmar gave him sound advice. He said, 'The best maxim is trust in the people. 'Honesty is the best policy. Take the Constitution as it is. 'Work it fairly and conscientiously; and if it is found that it 'is incompatible with good government, send down a message 'to the Chambers to modify its provisions. You will then 'be sure to have the people on your side.' These arrangements were made. The King was chosen by the Chambers, and the eighteen articles which established the independence of Belgium were sanctioned by the London Conference, though, on the refusal of Holland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia withdrew for a time their assent. However, the Prince thought he had gone too far again to recede, and, relying on the support of France and England, he accepted the crown.

The author of this biography has here fallen into a misconception, which it is important to correct. He asserts that on the day the Prince left London, July 16, he executed an instrument by which he made a great pecuniary sacrifice, inas-

much as he renounced (*verzichtete*) the annuity of 50,000*l.* a year which had been secured to him on his marriage with the Princess Charlotte. And it appears from numerous papers of Stockmar's, that the Baron was of opinion that the continued payment of this sum to Leopold was extremely precarious, and that on the side of England the King of Belgium would not be left in peaceful possession of his English income. If this had been true it would notably have diminished the merit of the course which Leopold pursued. But it can hardly be necessary to tell any one in England, that the whole statement is absolutely unfounded. In the first place, Leopold's English allowance was secured to him, not in the form of a pension, but by Act of Parliament—the same Act by which he was naturalised and Claremont settled on the Princess and himself for life. No title could, as the Duke of Wellington observed, be more absolute and unimpeachable. To suppose that the two Houses of Parliament would have repealed such an Act, or that any Government could have proposed to repeal it, is to accuse this country of a signal breach of national faith, and it implies, on the part of Stockmar, a singular absence of knowledge of this country to imagine such a thing to be possible. But, secondly, Leopold never did renounce this allowance at all. He continued till the day of his death to dispose of it as his own. It is entirely false to assert that any moral pressure could have been put on the Prince to give up this annual stipend or to give up Claremont. The Prince himself acted in this matter with much more confidence and better sense. He wrote a letter to Lord Grey on July 15, in which he declared that it was not his intention, as the Sovereign of Belgium, to draw any part of the income settled upon him by Act of Parliament at the time of his marriage. But he intimated that his English outstanding debts were to be paid out of it, and that his trustees were then to expend a portion of it in keeping up Claremont, and in paying all the annuities, gratuities, or charities due from himself or from the late Princess Charlotte; after which the residue was to be paid back annually to the British Exchequer. In point of fact, we believe, these charges amounted during the King's life to about 8,000*l.* a year. When the Royal Family of France took refuge at Claremont in 1848, the expenses of the place were largely increased, and the last-mentioned sum was exceeded. Leopold continued to have full control over it, as he was perfectly entitled to do.*

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* A foolish motion was made by Sir Samuel Whalley in March 1834, to inquire into the expenditure of the King of the Belgians in

Had the Belgian experiment failed, or had he subsequently been compelled or induced to abdicate, he would have fallen back on the undisputed enjoyment of his English income—a circumstance which may at times have strengthened his position in Belgium, especially in 1848. But though we are surprised that Baron Stockmar should have given so erroneous a colour to this transaction, we most readily admit that the conduct of Leopold in causing the balance of his income to be returned was liberal, wise, and generous; and he has been justly applauded for it by men of all parties both in Belgium and in England.

The position of the new King on his arrival in Belgium was embarrassing. He entered Brussels on July 21. On August 1 the Dutch broke the truce, and General Chassé marched with 50,000 men on the Belgian provinces. The King appealed to France and England for assistance. Admiral Codrington appeared with the fleet off the Scheldt, but declined to go up the river. On the 10th Marshal Gérard entered Belgium at the head of a French army. But on the 12th the King, retreating to Louvain with his small Belgian forces, was defeated there by the Dutch; and when Stockmar rejoined him after that catastrophe, he found His Majesty lying on a bundle of straw in a peasant's house, singing a song to keep up his spirits.

This untoward commencement of the new reign was hailed with shouts of derision by the Tories, and by all those who were inclined to put an unfavourable construction on the conduct of Leopold and the policy of the Conference. The English Government were not eager to help him, being much moved by ancient regard for Holland and for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, but more by jealousy of French influence in Belgium. France was, in the opinion of Stockmar, still intriguing to place the Duke de Nemours on the throne: but this is another of his statements which we believe to be erroneous. If Louis Philippe wanted to place his second son on the throne, he had only to accept it when it was offered to him some months previously. With some address Stockmar (who had been sent to London) turned this jealousy to the advantage of his master; for when he found Lord Palmerston cold and intractable, he

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England. Upon this occasion Lord Palmerston wrote to Stockmar: 'I must and shall assert that the House of Commons have no more 'right to inquire into the details of those debts and engagements, 'which the King of the Belgians considers himself bound to satisfy 'before he begins to make his payments into the Exchequer, than 'they have to ask Sir Samuel Whalley how he disposed of the fees 'which his mad *patients* used to pay him before he began to practise 'upon the foolish constituents who have sent him to Parliament.'

reflected that at any rate Palmerston was not the man to submit to a permanent occupation of Belgium by French troops, and he urged that the best way to get the French troops out of Belgium was to give an energetic support to Leopold.

We do not propose in this place to follow in detail the Belgian negotiations, which occupy several chapters of this volume, though they are not without novelty and interest. But we think Baron Stockmar is made to play too important a part in them. He came to London and remained here for nearly two years as the agent of the King, and he was exclusively engrossed with the King's personal interests. But he had no official character or power. The real conduct of the political affairs of Belgium in the Conference devolved upon men, not less faithful to the King's service, but animated with far higher views and a truly national spirit. Behind them stood the Belgian people. It was mainly owing to the firmness and tact of such men as M. Gendebien, and more especially M. Van de Weyer, in those negotiations that Belgium owed her permanent independence. To their honour it must be said that they acted throughout in the strictest harmony and friendship with Stockmar. M. Van de Weyer remained intimately attached to him for the rest of his life.

From 1834 till 1836 Stockmar lived chiefly in retirement at Coburg. These years are only marked in this volume by the publication of two documents of some interest from Stockmar's portfolio. The one is a note by Lord Palmerston giving an account of the change of government in November 1834; the other is a memorandum drawn up by King William IV., for the information of Sir Robert Peel at the same time, which contains His Majesty's views on the whole course of the government since his accession. As these papers are only before us in what is avowedly a loose translation from the English original into German, we shall not attempt to quote from them. But we are informed that the originals will be published by the English translator of this work. One or two observations must be made on them.

Lord Palmerston appears at that time to have believed that the accession of the Tories to power in 1834 had been preconcerted before the departure of Sir R. Peel from England, solely to satisfy the ambition of the Duke of Wellington and the prejudices of his adherents. The King's memorandum demonstrates (what, indeed, is well known) that the step was taken by the King himself, and that neither Wellington nor Peel had anything to do with it.

The King's memorandum is written in a strong conservative

sense, remarkable enough in the Sovereign who had just passed the Reform Bill, and who owed his popularity to that great measure, and it contains some statements which can hardly pass unchallenged. Thus he states that on the death of George IV. he continued to retain and support the existing Administration, 'which never caused His Majesty the slightest difficulty or 'embarrassment,' as long as it lasted. The King must have forgotten the lamentable state of the country during the autumn of 1830, the troubled state of the agricultural districts, and the fact that he was himself advised by the Duke of Wellington not to accept the hospitality of the City of London, within a few months of his accession, for fear of a riot. The King's popularity dated from the formation of Lord Grey's Ministry. The preceding months had been extremely critical and even threatening to the Monarchy. Nor do we believe it to be the fact that Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, or any of their colleagues, ever arrived at a conviction that they had proposed a Reform of Parliament which 'went too far;' although they undoubtedly laboured, in a genuine conservative sense, to avert those dangers which would have arisen from the rejection or defeat of the measure.

The account given by the King of his conversation with Lord Melbourne on November 13 is much fuller than any previous version of it. The difficulty was to fill the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons which Lord Althorp had vacated on his father's death and his own translation to the House of Lords. Lord Melbourne proposed Lord John Russell. The King replied that he had neither the capacity nor the influence for such a place, and that he would cut a poor figure if opposed to Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Stanley in debate. The King was equally opposed to the suggestion of Mr. Abercromby and Sir John Hobhouse. Mr. Spring Rice was not proposed as the King had expected. The King further objected to Lord John Russell on the ground of his known opinions on the Irish Church: and he added that the irrational and intemperate conduct of Lord Brougham had contributed to shake his confidence in the prudence of a Cabinet in which that individual played so conspicuous and active a part. These were the exact grounds assigned by the King for what was practically the dismissal of the Whig Cabinet.

In 1836, Stockmar's talents were employed in a new and very delicate species of negotiation—the matrimonial connexions of the House of Coburg. He first tried his hand with success on the marriage of Prince Ferdinand with Donna Maria, Queen

of Portugal, who had lost her first husband after a short interval; for at that time, by a curious coincidence, three of the most ancient thrones of Europe—Portugal, Spain, and England—were filled, or about to be filled, by three young ladies in their teens, and there were Coburg aspirants to each of the three matrimonial crowns. There was a whisper of a French intrigue, which always seems to have have haunted Stockmar like a nightmare, for placing the Duke de Nemours on the throne of Portugal by marrying him to Donna Maria. But this Louis Philippe stoutly denied. We cannot help suspecting that a good deal of the extreme bitterness manifested throughout this book against France, and against the Orleans family in particular, which breaks out into fury at the time of the Spanish marriages, arose from the fact that the House of Orleans and the House of Coburg had each of them a vast number of well-grown princes to be provided for by marriage, that they were cabalting against each other at every Court in Europe where a marriageable princess was to be heard of, and that on more than one occasion a French prince and a German prince were aspiring to the hand of the same bride.

But this, at least, was not the case in the greatest and most momentous marriage in which Baron Stockmar was concerned, and that which most powerfully affected his own subsequent life and position. The hope that a marriage would one day be concluded between Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and the Princess of Victoria of England had not been strange to their common grandmother, the Duchess Augusta of Coburg, but she died in 1831, when they were but twelve years old. In 1836, when the Princess was seventeen, and her near accession to the throne of England more than probable, the King of the Belgians and his counsellor Stockmar began to give a more formal shape to the project. And here it must be said to their honour, that they were actuated by no mere ambition for the aggrandisement of the Coburg family, but by a most deep and conscientious desire to bring about a marriage which should insure the happiness of the future Queen by placing at her side a man worthy to share the duties, the cares, and the honours of so illustrious a station. Nothing can be finer or wiser than the moral and intellectual tests applied by Stockmar to the young Prince before he was fully acquainted with him; for he measured with entire truth and sincerity the whole extent of the task that lay before him.

'Albert is a handsome lad,' wrote Stockmar when the Prince was still a boy, and not much known to him. 'His features 'are, for his age, well formed, pleasant, and expressive, and if

'he goes on well, in a few years he will be a fine, vigorous man, 'of a kindly and simple, but yet dignified and becoming, bearing. 'Outwardly he has then all that must at all times and in all 'countries please a woman, and by a lucky accident his appear-'ance has already a dash of English in it.' But these outward gifts were not the principal qualities for which the keen observer looked. So little had the Prince shown in early life a disposition to politics, that he confesses that at this time he could hardly bring himself to read a newspaper.

'The next thing is what sort of mind has he? On this point, too, I hear much in his praise. But all these judgments are more or less partial, and until I have studied him longer, I cannot pronounce an opinion of my own upon his capacity and his growing character. He seems to be sensible, considerate, and already prudent. But all this is not enough. He must have not only great qualities, but also a *true* ambition and considerable power of will. To follow so hard a political career for a lifetime demands more than mere strength and love of it, it requires also that earnestness which freely sacrifices pleasure to duty. If he be not satisfied hereafter with the consciousness of having won one of the most influential positions in Europe, how often will he be tempted to deplore his engagement! If he do not from the first take to it as a weighty and serious business, knowing that his honour and happiness are at stake upon it, he will not easily be successful in it. Who knows more of the secret of such a career, who has thought and experienced more of it, than myself?

'I will observe him more narrowly, and learn to know him better. If I find that in every respect he has bottom enough for it, it is due to him in conscience to point out to him in every point of view the difficulty of the undertaking. If this do not deter him, I then think two things are necessary: the first is a systematic and consistent plan of education for his future career, with constant reference to the very peculiar country and people he is to live with; the second is to obtain the good will of the Princess before the actual proposal, and to base the proposal upon her good will.' (P. 310.)

How entirely these wise and careful prognostications were fulfilled, the life and character of the Prince himself have amply demonstrated. Never perhaps was a plan, not exempt from personal and political impediments, more elaborately formed, more happily conducted, more successfully worked out, so that at last the judicious design of one or two silent masters of events budded and blossomed into a romance of passionate attachment and life-long devotion, and crowned the lives of those who were the objects of their care with a lustre of domestic happiness which eclipsed the lustre of their throne. The Queen herself has related in the volume entitled the 'Early Years of the 'Prince Consort' by what incidents the course of events was fulfilled. For once in the history of our lives everything went

right. For one-and-twenty years the Court and royal house of England presented the fairest picture of love, and faith, and duty, which the world had ever beheld in high places: until at length the blow came which struck the loftiest figure in the group, and told us that this too was perishable.

But we have been led to anticipate. Before these things were accomplished an interval of nearly three years was to elapse between the accession of the Queen in May 1837, and her marriage in February 1840—a period which the Queen has described in her own natural and striking words, when she said: 'A worse school for a young girl, or one more detrimental to 'all natural feelings and affections, cannot well be imagined than 'the position of a Queen at eighteen, without experience and 'without a husband to guide and support her.' The Queen, at least, did pass through that critical and perilous ordeal, aggravated to her by some circumstances of peculiar difficulty, without any serious mistakes and wholly unspoiled in purity of mind and strength of character. While her future husband, by the advice of Stockmar, was learning the lesson of his coming life at the Court of Brussels, at the University of Bonn, and in travels through Southern Europe, Victoria was already bound to the more serious tasks of her reign. She rose with extraordinary promptitude to the fulness of her position. It was remarked from the very day of her accession, even at the first Council she held, that nothing escaped her which it became her to remark, and that nothing she had to do was left undone. But to her natural aptitude for what has been called the 'art of 'reigning,' she brought the aid and advice of two men, well-fitted to be her counsellors. The one was Lord Melbourne, of whom it is unnecessary in this place to speak, and on him devolved the whole conduct of political affairs and no small share in the personal transactions of the Court. The other was Baron Stockmar, and the country will now learn with surprise how great was the place he filled at that time in the confidence of the young Queen of England.

It has more than once been a question of great delicacy and difficulty to determine whether the King of England should have a private secretary, and, if so, what are to be his position and his powers. The immense amount of private, as well as public, work and correspondence to be got through by the Sovereign obviously requires assistance; and a confidential servant trusted in many things, must be trusted in all. No line can be drawn, except by the good judgment of the person so employed. Sir Herbert Taylor was such a man. During the later years of the actual reign of George III., when his infirmi-

ties and blindness were growing upon him, no services could be greater than those which Taylor rendered to the King. George IV. had appointed Colonel Macmahon to be his private secretary, which was objected to in Parliament, and afterwards Sir William Knighton, who had been his physician, was promoted to the offices of Keeper of the King's Privy Seal and Receiver of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster: in this capacity he lived at court, and sometimes discharged the duties of the King's private secretary. But George IV. in reality both feared and disliked him, and complaints were made at the time of Knighton's inability to write a letter.

Under William IV. Sir Herbert Taylor was again employed, and the published correspondence of the King with Lord Grey shows with what consummate ability and integrity he discharged the duties of an office almost too great for a subject. Upon the accession of the Queen, we have heard it stated, that she sent for Sir Herbert to ask his advice on the point. 'Is Your 'Majesty afraid of the work?' was his answer to her question. The Queen replied she meant to work. 'Then,' rejoined the old servant of so many kings, 'don't have a private secretary.' And she took his advice.

Nevertheless it was absolutely necessary that Her Majesty should have some aid in the transaction of non-official business, and in private matters this was afforded her by Baroness Lehzen, her former governess. But a person was still needed to manage a multitude of affairs by writing or conversation which were not settled by the Prime Minister, and to carry on her intercourse with her constant friend and adviser, her uncle Leopold. This was the peculiar and difficult position filled for about fifteen months after the accession by Stockmar. Every one who recollects that time can remember the unjust unpopularity and suspicion which attached itself to Baroness Lehzen, who was erroneously supposed to be an important personage at Court, which she really was not. The name of Stockmar was not mentioned, and to the public unknown.

'His just insight into the relations of life led him carefully to avoid all participation in English political affairs of State. If he had been guilty of it, he would have acted in direct opposition to the opinion of his own chief, King Leopold, and he would at once have made his position in England impossible. That he had large opportunities for an insight into affairs of State, without exciting jealousy or suspicion on the part of the Government, was the result of his personal good understanding with one of the most powerful Ministers, namely, the Premier Lord Melbourne, who had been a party to Stockmar's coming over, and with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston. They appreciated his capacity as well as his character, and

placed entire confidence in his good sense, discretion, and disinterestedness. "Lord Melbourne," says the Queen (*Early Years*, p. 188), "had the greatest regard and affection for, and the most unbounded "confidence in, him. At the commencement of the Queen's reign the "Baron was of invaluable assistance to Lord Melbourne." Of Lord Palmerston Bunsen relates, that the conversation turned one day on the rarity of men capable of purely disinterested action in political life. Palmerston exclaimed, "I have only met with one totally disinterested man of that sort, Stockmar."' (P. 324.)

The only person who seems to have thought it became him to remonstrate against this singular position of the German Baron at the English Court was our old friend, Mr. Abercromby, then Speaker and afterwards Lord Dunfermline. Melbourne told him that Stockmar was in the place he occupied with his own full knowledge and assent. However, the Premier added on another occasion: 'King Leopold and Stock-'mar are very good and intelligent people, but I dislike very 'much to have it said by my friends that I am influenced by 'them. We know it is not true: but still I dislike to have it 'said.'

Stockmar left England in the summer of 1838, probably because he was called upon to take a more active part in the contemplated marriage. He accompanied Prince Albert to Italy, and only returned home just before the nuptials. It must be confessed that the reception which awaited the youthful bridegroom from a considerable party in this country was unamiable and ungracious. The English people, warmly attached to their young Queen, cared nothing for this unknown foreigner, whom they regarded with their habitual superciliousness and suspicion. The Tory party, irritated to excess by the strong Whig principles of the Court and by their own exclusion from office in the preceding summer, misconstrued a marriage in which they had no hand. The Prince was too young, they said; he was an infidel; he was too near a relation to the Queen. Nothing was too absurd to be credited. Even Lord Palmerston wrote to Stockmar to ask whether Prince Albert belonged to any Protestant sect whose tenets would prevent him from receiving the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England? Stockmar instantly replied that the Prince not only did not belong to any *sect*, but that there was no essential difference between the German Protestant Church and the Church of England as to the celebration of the Sacrament. 'God knows,' he adds, 'hat horrible nonsense would have come of all this raging 'aticism if I had not given Palmerston a peremptory 'wer.'

Two other points of more difficulty soon arose. It had been intended to secure to the Prince for his life the same annuity that had been given to his uncle Leopold—viz., 50,000*l.* a-year—and this sum was proposed by Government to the House of Commons. The Tories and Radicals combined in opposition, and the vote was reduced from 50,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* on the motion of Colonel Sibthorp, supported by Joseph Hume, and even by Sir Robert Peel. This unpleasant incident gave rise to the following characteristic speech of Lord Melbourne:—

'As I was leaving the Palace, says Stockmar, I met Melbourne on the staircase. He took me aside and then spoke these words, memorable, true, and free from party-spirit. "The Prince will be very angry with the Tories. Yet it is not the Tories alone whom he has to thank for cutting down his income; but rather the Tories, the Radicals, and a good many of our own people." I put out my hand to him for his rare sincerity, and said: "That is what I call an honest man. I hope you will say the same thing to the Prince himself."'

Lord Melbourne himself felt that the exclusive Whig colour which the Court had assumed was, to some extent, inconsistent with the true position of a constitutional sovereign, who may have to choose her servants from either party in the State. Stockmar had more than once pointed this out to him, and Her Majesty has since recorded her opinion to the same effect in the 'Early Years of the Prince Consort.' Accordingly, Lord Melbourne told the Prince ten days after his marriage, that he thought 'the time was come for an amnesty 'to parties, and especially to the Tories, and to put forth the 'olive-branch.'

The Queen and the Prince acquiesced in the diminution of income with dignity. The Prince merely observed that he was sorry his means of helping poor artists and men of letters would be curtailed. But the Queen attached more importance to the rank of her future husband, and that was the greater difficulty of the two. Money may be voted to a person without making any one else the poorer; but rank and precedence cannot be bestowed on an individual who had none in this country, however high his station might be in his own, without taking it away, in some 'degree, from those who were previously entitled to it. It was originally proposed in the Naturalization Bill of the Prince to give him by Act of Parliament rank next to the Queen. But it was pointed out that this was to place him before the Princes of the Blood Royal and before the future Heir Apparent. We believe that the Duke of Sussex had consented to this arrangement, but the P·

Hanover and the Duke of Cambridge did not. Stockmar entreated Lord Melbourne to withdraw the clause, and not to risk a second defeat on a point which the Queen had so much at heart, and suggested that the rank of the Prince might be fixed by Order in Council, as it had been by George IV. for Prince Leopold in 1816. We suspect he was technically wrong, for there is no such Order in the Council Register; but in fact the clause was withdrawn, and the rank of the Prince was settled by Patent some months afterwards, with a reservation of the right conferred on Princes of the Blood and others by the Act of Henry VIII. for placing the Lords in Parliament and Assemblies of Council. This Patent was held to be operative in all other places.

Each succeeding year brought new duties to Stockmar. In 1840, after the birth of the Princess Royal, 'the nursery gave 'him as much trouble as the affairs of a kingdom.' In 1841 the change of Government took place which placed the Tories in office. As early as the month of May in that year, Prince Albert had opened communications with Sir Robert Peel, with the sanction of Lord Melbourne, to avoid the recurrence of those difficulties as to the ladies of the Queen's household which had proved so embarrassing in 1839. In like manner, the question of the Regency, in the event of the Queen's death, had been settled in favour of Prince Albert by an amicable understanding with the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, carried on through Stockmar; no objection was openly raised by any one except the Duke of Sussex. When, therefore, the Tories came into office, with some mistrust of the Queen's feeling towards them, Sir Robert Peel looked to the Prince as his best friend, and Albert was not sorry (as is hinted in these pages) to requite by a generous support the man who had contributed to reduce his annuity by 20,000*l.* a-year. Lord Liverpool, who was an old friend of Stockmar's, had taken an opportunity to recommend him to the new Ministers as a most trustworthy and confidential member of the Queen's Court, 'who may in truth be regarded as a sort 'of second father to the Queen and the Prince;' and Peel, anxious to place himself in a more favourable position at Court, gladly profited by this opening, and the relations of Stockmar to the new Government became of the most amicable kind. In spite of the genial and *poco-curante* character of Lord Melbourne, the principles and policy of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, and the Duke of Wellington were in truth much more congenial to men trained in the continental school of politics than those of the leaders of English liberal-

ism. The direction given to the foreign policy of this country by Lord Aberdeen was precisely that which the Prince and his personal advisers would have most desired—friendly relations with all the continental Powers, but especially with those of Germany; a cordial understanding with France, or at least with the great statesman who at that time conducted her affairs; and a disposition to smooth over the difficulties which had sometimes been inflamed by the genius of more energetic ministers. Never, perhaps, were the relations of the European Powers more sincere and intimate than from the year 1841 to 1847.

It was in the middle of this halcyon epoch that the Emperor Nicholas visited England. The notes of his conversation taken at the time by Stockmar are curious. The Czar's great complaint against Leopold was that he had admitted Polish officers into the Belgian service.

'The Poles are, and remain, rebels. Should a gentleman (Nicholas was fond of using the word) take into his service men who are rebels against his friend? Leopold has taken rebels under his protection. What would you say if I took O'Connell under my protection and made him my Minister? Tell the Queen that as soon as Her Majesty informs me that the Poles have quitted the King's service, the very next day my Minister shall be ordered to proceed as soon as possible to Brussels. . . . . .

'Louis Philippe deserves well of Europe: that I admit. But I can never be his friend. His family is said to be honourable and amiable. But what has he done? To make his position and strengthen it, he has sought to undermine and ruin my position as Emperor of Russia. I am no Carlist. A few days before the Ordinances, when I warned Charles X. against a *coup d'état* and predicted its results, he gave me his word of honour that he contemplated no *coup d'état*; the Ordinances were published directly afterwards. I will never support Henry V. When I was sounded to know whether I would receive Henry V., I replied that I would only do so as a private person, and so his friends thought it better to let the visit alone. I don't approve the farce Henry V. has been playing in England. He may carry with him the consciousness that he is what he is, namely, the lawful King of France. But more can he not do; to play the Pretender is absurd.

'Turkey is a dying man. We may try to keep life in her, but it won't succeed. She will and must die. That will be a critical moment. I foresee I shall have to march my armies. Austria must do the same. I am afraid of no one but France in the matter. What will France want? Much I fear in Africa, in the Mediterranean, in the East. Remember the expedition to Ancona; why should she not do the same in Crete or at Smyrna? Must England not be there with her whole naval powers?—a Russian army, an Austrian army, a

huge English fleet in those regions! So much gunpowder so near the fire; who will take care of the sparks?

'I don't like Guizot. I like him less than Thiers, who is a *fanfaron*, but frank, and less mischievous and dangerous than Guizot, who behaved very ill to Molé (*hinc illæ lacrymæ*, adds Stockmar), the most honourable man the French have.

'In his conversation with Sir Robert Peel the Emperor spoke so loud near an open window, that the people outside could hear him, and the Premier begged him to retreat into the back of the apartment. The Emperor spoke with great warmth; praised Prince Albert with the tears in his eyes; and said he knew that he was himself considered an actor, though for all that he was an honest man.' (P. 397.)

Dreams! dreams! dreams! Of all these shadows which we have ourselves seen flit across the canvas, what remains? Two men only. The one now a President of the Third French Republic; the other an octogenarian philosopher who watches with undisturbed faith the storms of an ocean he has ceased to navigate. It is remarkable that Sir Robert Peel declared to the Emperor that one of the great objects of his foreign policy was to secure the peaceful transmission of the Crown of France to the heir of Louis Philippe upon his demise. A dream again! The transaction of the Spanish marriages and the return of Lord Palmerston to power fatally impaired the relations of the two governments, and the conduct of France has nowhere been judged or related with greater bitterness than by Stockmar in these pages. The subject is too long to be entered upon at the close of this article. But from the extreme personal eagerness shown by Stockmar in this matter we suspect that he returned from Coburg in the autumn of 1846 with a strong disposition to support the pretensions of a Coburg prince to the hand of the Queen of Spain, and that he was disappointed by the result. His son appears to share these feelings, for he has devoted no less than fifty pages of this volume to a narration of the Spanish marriages, not taken from his father's papers but from other published documents. Nothing really new has been added to the facts already known.

The interruption of the intimate relations which had subsisted for some years with France, concurred with several other circumstances to promote that which was in reality the most cherished political desire entertained by Prince Albert and his friends, namely, to strengthen the connexion between England and Germany, and to use the influence derived from that connexion for the furtherance of liberal institutions and national unity among the German States. In no people is

national character more deeply ingrained than amongst the Germans. It is an indestructible element of their constitution, and we never remember to have met with a German who had thrown it off, or desired to throw it off. It would seem to him a violation of filial duty to deviate from the standard of manners, tastes, and life under which he was born. The life of Stockmar was chiefly spent in foreign countries and at foreign courts; his most intimate associates were foreigners; yet never did he modify by a hair's breadth the old Stockmar of Coburg, either in thought or expression. The same may, without the least disparagement, be said of Prince Albert. Young as he was when he came to this country, and attached as he was to her welfare and her greatness by the dearest and closest ties, his allegiance to the land of his adoption in no degree weakened his allegiance to the land of his birth; his tastes ever remained more German than English, and it was in the dear old sounds of his mother tongue that he was wont to give expression to the innermost sentiments of his heart. This biographer has expressed the same idea in much stronger and coarser terms than we care to use. He says:—

'It cannot be denied that to a part of the English nation the Prince was not sympathetic. Before all things he was a foreigner, a German, which the insular mind with its intolerant instincts cannot easily forget or forgive. For the intolerance of this insular instinct raises the common forms and habits of daily life to the rank of tenets, from which only the highest and most cultivated persons can, at least in theory, free themselves. Those who looked deeper saw a stronger opposition between the true German nature of the Prince and the somewhat narrow contracted conservatism of England; on the other hand he was equally distasteful to brute radicalism, since he invariably insisted on culture, morality, and religion as the conditions of all true progress. To the conservative class in England what are termed German notions are excessively unwelcome, and when they assume a somewhat philosophical form of expression, they are called German metaphysics, and are then regarded as downright intolerable and terrific.' (P. 659.)

These German sympathies and early impressions were carefully fostered by those about the Prince's person and by Stockmar in particular. Stockmar returned to England in 1847, after having spent seventeen months at Berlin and Coburg, full of fresh strong German feeling. Bunsen was then at the height of his popularity as Prussian Minister at this Court, labouring with passionate enthusiasm and with that genial influence which was peculiar to him, to bring about the closest possible union between Germany and England. The visit of the King of Prussia at the christening of the Prince

of Wales had inaugurated his appointment to the intense disgust of his suite, by whom Bunsen was unjustly abhorred. The private secretary to Prince Albert, Dr. Meyer, was also a German of the strongest patriotic feelings. Nothing could exceed the confidential intimacy which existed between these eminent and illustrious persons. It is stated in Bunsen's memoir that he had at this time daily and almost hourly access to the Prince, either personally or through Stockmar; and it was natural that every event which occurred should be viewed in its relation to the great cause of German unity and freedom. It is not too much to say that in these conversations at Windsor and London lay the germ of very important events. The coming time was full of them.

On February 3, 1847, the King of Prussia published the Patent which convoked the United Diet of his kingdom. That was the first day of a great era. We seem still to hear the jubilant voice of Bunsen, as, on his return from a levee in full court dress, he pulled the 'Staatszeitung' out of his coat pocket, and read the new Constitution aloud to his applauding family in Carlton Gardens. Nor was it less cordially received by Prince Albert, whose correspondence at that time with the King of Prussia was frequent and important, for the Prince was not only a much wiser man than the King, but he had also had the benefit of seven years' experience of constitutional government. But to how many checks and disappointments were these generous anticipations exposed! Stockmar had been of opinion ever since the establishment of the German Bund in 1815 that the cause of the political decline of Germany lay in her territorial subdivisions; that the dualism of Prussia and Austria was injurious to both of them, and could not last; that Germany could never be ruled by Austria because her centre of gravity lay elsewhere; that under Austria the genuine life of Germany could never flourish; that Prussia was destined to be the central German Power; and that the minor states must submit to large restrictions in the interest of national unity.

Twenty years were to elapse before these far-sighted propositions of the old Baron were to find their fulfilment; but as the event has shown, they did contain the key to the political reconstitution of Germany. But they involved a convulsion for which some at least of his listeners were not then prepared. To Prince Albert nothing was more sacred than the faith of treaties and the union of the German Bund. He viewed with indignation the seizure of Cracow by the three Northern Powers in 1846, and protested against it in the pages of *this*

Journal, not that he had much sympathy with the Poles, but because he regarded it as a dangerous inroad on the public law of Europe. Nor did he ever share the hatred of Bunsen against the House of Austria, or the desire to thrust Austria out of the Germanic body—a result only to be attained by a Germanic war—though it appears that in 1849 he was reluctantly drawn on to that opinion.

But greater things were at hand. The Revolution of February 1848 let loose all the revolutionary powers of Europe. Nothing in history can compare to that amazing paroxysm of confusion. Throughout the Continent civil war and anarchy raged in their direst forms, and one knew not which was worst —the excess of popular violence or the excess of military repression. Since then we have seen Sebastopol, we have seen Sadowa, we have seen Sedan; yet nothing equals the all-embracing fury of that terrific conflagration of 1848 and 1849. The friends of Germany at the English Court, undismayed by the democratic violence of the movement, sought to turn the wild elements which had assembled at Frankfort, in the direction of national unity and constitutional government. Stockmar himself was elected member for Coburg, and took his seat on May 16. Far from seeking to expel Austria from the Confederation, at that time, we believe that Gagern's proposal to call the Archduke John to Frankfort as the Reichsverweser or Warden of the Empire originated with Prince Albert himself: it had at least his hearty concurrence. Stockmar, however, who was in Germany, thought it would end to the advantage of Prussia by showing the unfitness of an Austrian Prince for the post; and in the scheme he drew up for the future constitution of the country he distinctly states that if the German provinces of Austria cannot be retained, it will be better for the other thirty-two millions of Germans to organise themselves round a Prussian centre, and leave the seven millions of Austro-Germans out of the question, as he adds 'they will come to us hereafter.' Some time elapsed before the extravagance of the Frankfort Parliament convinced all men that nothing was to be hoped for in that quarter. Bunsen to the last regretted that his master, the King of Prussia, had rejected the imperial crown offered to him by the men of the revolution. But in fact the weakness and folly of the King of Prussia was only surpassed by that of the anarchists. Stockmar has preserved to us a note of a conversation with the King of June 10, 1848, in which the Baron advised His Majesty to march vigorously upon the Berliners,—a measure to which the King and his ministers were alike unequal.

These blind and abortive efforts, like the war between Piedmont and Austria on the Ticino and the Adige, were nevertheless the harbingers of the two greatest political results of this century—the independence of Italy under the House of Savoy, and the unification of Germany under the House of Hohenzollern. But in 1849, it must be confessed, that the one seemed as unattainable as the other. In this country especially, the failure of the Frankfort Parliament increased the want of faith with which the efforts of German politicians were regarded. Lord Palmerston was opposed to the creation of one huge German State, which must, he foresaw, overturn the whole balance of European power, and in all probability cause a general war. Lord Aberdeen viewed with equal distrust and regret the triumph of a policy peculiarly hostile to Austria and fatal to the Treaties of Vienna. From neither side, therefore, did the friends of German regeneration in England obtain any encouragement. But at one moment their influence at Frankfort was so great that Bunsen was spoken of as head of the German Ministry, and Stockmar actually held for a short time the office of Foreign Minister. Stockmar, however, was not deceived as to the result, for he was not subject to Bunsen's self-delusions. The following passage from one of his letters of August 25 deserves to be preserved:—

'I am afraid we must pass through a hard school, and that this time of trial will be a long one. There is in all Germany neither the necessary political intelligence nor the true patriotic feeling, to read and obey the lessons of history, or to listen to the few wise men, now living amongst us. The patriots demand unity, which is impossible without order and peace within, and a mere name without strength and independence abroad. Against them are arranged the dynasties, the bureaucrats, and the armed shopkeepers, who desire nothing but the restoration of the very things which have just perished. In this chaotic confusion, the result of which no man can foresee, one thing appears to me certain and manifest; namely, that the majority of the German people have decidedly adopted democratic opinions, opinions which will remain, whatever be the termination of the present crisis.' (P. 535.)

Yet before the close of his life he wrote in a more hopeful tone:—

'The Germans are a good people, easy to govern, and the German Princes, who do not understand this, do not deserve to rule over such a people. Be not alarmed. You youngsters are not able to survey the enormous progress which the Germans have made towards political unity in this century; I have lived through it. I know this people.

You are advancing to a great future. You may see it. I shall not. But then remember the Old Man.' (P. 41.)

In 1849 another topic arose which could only widen the breach between the policy of England and that of the German patriots. The dispute with Denmark about the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had been raging for some years, was regarded in Germany as the most sacred test of national feeling, and there was hardly a German of any rank or condition who dared to speak a word against the contemplated spoliation of the Danish dominions. Prussia in the fever of revolution had thrown herself into the cause, but she saw reason to conclude the Truce of Malmoe on August 26, and the struggle was then to be carried on between the Frankfort Parliament and Denmark. This, at least, Stockmar condemned, for he saw that for Germany to make war without Prussia was an absurdity. But Stockmar, Bunsen, and even Prince Albert, shared to the full the national enthusiasm in favour of the German party in the Duchies and against the claims of the Danish Crown. Here then they found themselves, for the first time, at open variance on an important question of foreign policy, even with those statesmen who were most favourably disposed to the liberal cause in Germany. Russia and France were equally hostile to them, and in this country they were frankly told by men of all parties, that if the close alliance of Germany and England was to be purchased by our connivance in the spoliation of Denmark, that was a price we would never pay for their friendship. Even as late as the Crimean war, long after the humiliating result of the first Prussian invasion of Schleswig, hints were given in London that if the Western Powers wished for the active cooperation of Prussia, they might obtain it by abetting the sacrifice of a Danish province. To such a suggestion but one answer could be given. Very little is to be found on this subject in the pages now before us, but we have a lively recollection of the fact that the passionate eagerness with which the acquisition of these territories was pursued by the Germans had a very powerful effect in alienating from them their best friends in this country, and in undoing the work on which Bunsen had been engaged, with the aid of Stockmar, during the earlier years of his mission to England. The conduct of Prussia in that transaction, followed by her conduct in the Crimean war, caused a rift between the two States, which impaired our relations with her for many years, and indeed the cordiality of feeling, which existed between England and

Germany before those occurrences, has never to this day been entirely restored.

The extracts from Stockmar's correspondence which fill the remainder of this volume are of the greatest interest and form no mean addition to the materials of contemporary history. They relate to the important events which placed Louis Napoleon on the throne of France, which drove Lord Palmerston from the Foreign Office, brought on the Crimean war, and caused successive changes in the British Government. The biographer has thought it within his province to introduce some incidents which had better been forgotten; but even on these occasions the conduct of Stockmar was ever fair and dispassionate, and his judgment penetrating and sound. Our limits compel us to pass lightly over these passages.

The last visit of Stockmar to England was paid in 1856 and 1857, and the last occurrence he witnessed here was another marriage—that of the Princess Royal—whom he had known and loved from her infancy, to the accomplished heir of the House of Hohenzollern, the future head and centre of all his fondest hopes. Nothing could have been more appropriate than such a termination to his life at the Court of England. The Queen and the Prince were then thirty-six years of age. He felt that they stood in no need of his guidance; all he had to offer them was his friendship. And thus at seventy he said, 'I must take leave, and this time it is for ever. Well it 'is with me that I can do so with the clearest conscience. I 'have worked as long as I have strength for a purpose without 'reproach.' The Queen and the Prince visited the old man at Coburg in 1860, and that was their last happy interview. Better that he should have died then (as he said himself) than lived to bear the sharp pang of the ensuing year. The death of the Prince, which blighted so many hopes of the future, and left so broad a gap not to be filled in this generation, was to Stockmar not only the keenest wound to his affections, but the undoing of his whole life. 'The building,' he said, 'which had been conscientiously raised for the accom- 'plishment of a great end, with a pious sense of duty and the 'labour of twenty years, is to its foundations overthrown.' All that remained were a few portraits of him he loved so well, as he said to the Queen, when she last saw him at Coburg after the catastrophe, 'My dear good Prince—how happy I 'shall be to see him again! And it will not be long!' On July 9, 1863, he followed him to the grave.

We cannot close the narrative which has this pathetic ending without a pleasing reflection on lives so pure, so honourable,

so virtuous. No doubt they were not exempt from those defects which are inseparable from human nature. But they were dignified by a lofty purpose, which raised them alike over great temptations and over little failings. Of Prince Albert it was said by the late Lord Clarendon, that no man had ever proposed to himself a higher standard of duty, and no man, having so high a standard, had ever more nearly lived up to it. To think well, and to act as well as he thought, were the objects of his existence. These things, which are really within the reach of every man, are nevertheless more rare than the highest gifts of rank and fortune. And to the devoted friend, guide of his youth and counsellor of his manhood, a part of that rare excellence is due.

ART. IV.—1. *Contributions to Terrestrial Magnetism.* By General Sir EDWARD SABINE, K.C.B. Published in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1868 and 1872. London.

2. *Terrestrial and Cosmical Magnetism.* (The Adams Prize Essay for 1865.) By EDWARD WALKER, M.A., F.R.S. London: 1866.

'THE variation of the compass is of that great concernment 'in the art of navigation, that the neglect thereof does 'little less than render useless one of the noblest inventions 'man has yet attained to.' So wrote Halley in 1683. Yet, strange to say, it is only within the last fifty years that the Government of the first maritime nation in the world has learnt to regard the prosecution of magnetical research in the light of a national undertaking. This indifference is the more remarkable when we consider that the first expedition ever sent out expressly for magnetic observation, namely, that of Halley in 1698–9, sailed under the auspices of the English Government; and it cannot be pleaded in excuse that the results of that expedition were so meagre and so unimportant as to discourage any further efforts in the same direction. All that can be said is, that the course of public events during the eighteenth century was not such as to encourage any appeal to the public purse for scientific purposes. Its early years found our statesmen preoccupied with the dynastic struggles of Western Europe. Then came the change of dynasty at home, and its consequent anxieties; whilst later still, an almost unbroken succession of war budgets rendered any grant for scientific objects not connected with the destruction of human life a thing rather to be wished for than expected. But what-

ever the cause, it was not till after the peace of 1815 that an revival of interest in the advancement of the science of Terrestrial Magnetism took place, at least in this country. The first indication of this revival was the equipment by the British Government, chiefly at the instigation of the Royal Society, of that series of expeditions for 'Geographical discovery and scientific research in the North Polar regions,' which was commenced in 1818; and from that time to the present scarcely a year has passed in which the progress of the science of Terrestrial Magnetism has not been marked and decided.

The better to appreciate the advance that has actually been made, it may be well to state briefly the known facts of the science as it existed at the commencement of the present century.

These facts were—

(1.) That at any place on the earth's surface a magnetised bar, suspended horizontally, assumes a position proper to the place of observation, and not necessarily coinciding with the geographical meridian, its angular deviation from which is called the *declination*.

(2.) The *secular change in declination*; i.e., that at the same place the declination is not the same from one year to another. At London it had varied from 11° 15′ E. in 1580 to about 24° W. in 1800.

(3.) The *diurnal* and *annual* variations in declination; i.e., that the position of the needle is subject to small periodical fluctuations, depending on the hour of the day and the season of the year.

(4.) That a magnetised bar, swinging freely in the magnetic meridian on a horizontal axis passing through its centre of gravity, will, when at rest, assume a position proper to the place of observation, and not necessarily horizontal; its angular deviation from horizontality being called the *dip* or *inclination*.

It was further known that in our latitudes, and generally in the northern hemisphere, it is the *north* end of the needle which dips below the horizon, whilst the contrary is the case in the southern hemisphere. Of the *intensity*, in some respects the most important element of all, nothing whatever was known, though in consequence of some very imperfect experiments by Mallet it was generally believed to be invariable—an opinion which was doubtless strengthened by the fact that Borda in his expedition to the Canary Islands in 1776, could detect no difference in the magnetic intensity, as tested by the

dipping needle when vibrated at Brest, Cadiz, Teneriffe, and Gorée (in Senegambia), i.e., over a space of 35° of latitude, a result which could only be due to instrumental imperfection. The first recognition which we find of the importance of deciding this question of the invariability, or the contrary, of the earth's magnetic force, is contained in the instructions drawn up by the Academy of Science in France for the expedition of La Perouse, which was fitted out in 1785 at the expense of the French Government. The total loss of this expedition, probably among the icebergs of the Antarctic Ocean, has deprived us of a series of observations which would have been of inestimable value, as their comparison with those of Sir James Ross in the same quarter, fifty-five years later, would have enabled us to form some idea of the progress of secular change in localities which, magnetically, are amongst the most important on the globe. From a letter addressed to Condorcet, then secretary of the French Academy, by Lamanon, the scientific head of the expedition, it appears that the instructions of the Academy were being faithfully carried out; and, moreover, it is stated as one of the results of his observations, that the magnetic force of the earth, as expressed by the number of vibrations of the dipping needle, varies, and increases with the latitude on proceeding from the tropics to the poles. This letter of Lamanon, for some unexplained reason, was laid aside, and the law which it announced was forgotten, till it was rediscovered eighteen years afterwards by Humboldt during his sojourn in tropical America between the years 1799 and 1804. With respect to the *law* of variation of the magnetic force, the first received opinion, though a natural one, was undoubtedly erroneous. In crossing the line of no dip between Micuipampa and Caxamarca, on the Peruvian Andes, Humboldt found that the force increased both to the north and south of this point, and he was therefore led to conclude—

(1.) That the point of minimum intensity in any meridian coincides with the point where that meridian is cut by the line of no dip, or, in other words, that the lines of minimum intensity and of no dip are coincident.

(2.) That the points of maximum intensity coincide with the points where the dip angle = 90°.

The latter of these suppositions may be considered as conclusively disproved by the observations of Sir Edward (then Captain) Sabine during Sir John Ross's voyage to the Polar regions in 1818. He found that on ascending Davis's Strait, or any of the adjacent countries or seas, on a meridian, or nearly

so, the magnetic force *diminished* as the latitude *increased*; showing that even the most southerly of the stations (between the parallels 60° and 70°) was north of the point of greatest intensity. But the *dip* in the same localities *increased* with the latitude between these same parallels. Hence it was evident that the points of maximum dip and maximum force were not coincident. This discovery may be regarded as the first fruits of England's renewed interest in magnetic research. Of course it involves the fate of supposition No. (1.), even if there were no direct evidence on the point. But, in fact, we have very accurate determinations of both the line of no dip and the line of least intensity, and a single glance is sufficient to show that their courses are systematically discordant. In one part (to the west of Africa) they are separated by 20° of latitude, or about 1,200 geographical miles!

The next magnetic discovery in the north polar regions, due to the same series of British expeditions, was that of the point where the dip-angle = 90°, or, as it is usually called, the *Magnetic Pole.* This discovery was made in 1831 by Sir James Ross, and the position of the point in question, according to his determination, is Lat. 70° 5′ 17″ N. and Long. 96° 45′ 48″ W. We must here state, in passing, that the term magnetic pole seems to us objectionable, as being connected with the untenable hypothesis of a single magnetic axis of the earth. It has been sometimes proposed to use the term *pole of verticity*, to distinguish it from the points of greatest intensity. This would be undoubtedly a better name for a point which has nothing very remarkable about it, except as being the point where the direction of the earth's magnetic force coincides with that of gravity; and as there is no known connexion between these two forces, it is difficult to understand why, in the present state of the science, so much importance should be attached to it. In the early days of science, if science it could be called, before the period of inductive research, when speculation ran riot, and fancy piled up huge masses of magnetic rock round the geographical poles, it was naturally supposed that here all the difficulties of the subject would receive their solution; and we can understand the term 'magnetic pole,' and the interest attaching to these regions. Even after the 'rock' theory was exploded, which for the credit of science, we are happy to add, was at a very early date (Gilbert, in his work 'De Magnete,' in 1633, ridicules the idea as utterly unphilosophical), the interest attaching to these points was revived, by their supposed coincidence with the points where the magnetic force is the greatest. But now, when this illusion also has been dispelled,

and they are known to coincide neither with the geographical poles, nor with the points of maximum intensity, it really does seem strange to meet with writers who, in works of a professedly scientific character, still speak of '*the two magnetic* '*poles*,' and that without a word to limit the meaning and application of the term. If it be used in its original sense, it can only mislead; and if it be used merely as a term, this should be stated, and then it may take its place by the side of '*vis-viva*,' and many other terms in our scientific vocabulary, which still do good service as such, having long survived the fallacies which gave them birth.

In the year 1819 a fresh impetus was given to the study of terrestrial magnetism by the publication of Hansteen's remarkable work, 'Magnetismus der Erde,' in which from the facts of the declination he showed the impossibility of reconciling these facts with the then universally accepted doctrine of a single magnetic axis of the earth, having two poles, one in each hemisphere. But in truth this discovery really dates from 1683, and is due to our own countryman, Halley, who, notwithstanding the limited number of observations then available (and these confined solely to the declination), was able to detect the true features of terrestrial magnetism, and showed that the facts before him clearly implied the existence of *four poles* or centres of maximum force on the earth's surface. So much interest did the revival of this theory by Hansteen excite in his own country, that the Norwegian Storthing fitted out an expedition in 1828 for the purpose of testing by actual observation the conclusions he had arrived at as to the existence of a pole of intensity in Siberia. This expedition, under Hansteen and Due, traversed the whole of Northern Europe and Asia as far as Irkutsk, descending the Obi and Jenesei to the Arctic circle. Another well-known explorer, Erman, was traversing the same region at the same time, and the result of their combined labours was to establish fully the truth of Hansteen's anticipations as to the existence of a Siberian Pole of intensity.

The year 1828 was also memorable as the commencement of what may be called a new era in the history of magnetic investigation, and its hero was the Baron Alexander Von Humboldt. As far back as the beginning of the present century he had become convinced, as he tells us, that continuous observations at short intervals for several days and nights would yield a richer harvest than the single observations of many months. He, therefore, in 1806–7, in conjunction with his friend Oltmanns, commenced at Berlin a series of hourly, and often half-hourly

observations on the movement of the needle for five or six days and nights in succession, principally at the times of the equinoxes and solstices. It was not long before he observed the recurrence, often at the same hour, for several nights together, of irregular perturbations of the needle, to which he gave the name of *magnetic storms*. In the absence of any previous observations on this class of phenomena, being uncertain whether or no these 'storms' were of a purely *local* character, he was led to desire the establishment of stations east and west of Berlin, where similar observations might be carried on simultaneously. The disturbed state of Europe prevented the fulfilment of his wishes at the time, and it was not till his return to Berlin, after an absence of eighteen years, that he found means to accomplish his long-deferred project by carrying on a series of continuous horary observations on the declination at the times of the equinoxes and solstices, in conjunction with Arago and Reich, at Paris and in the mines of Freyburg respectively. The notion of a purely local origin of these 'storms,' or disturbances, as they are usually termed, was soon dispelled by the fact that they would sometimes be felt simultaneously at each of the three stations, whilst at other times a disturbance at one of the stations would not be accompanied by a similar disturbance at the others. A magnetic expedition into Northern Asia, undertaken soon afterwards at the command of the Emperor of Russia, gave Humboldt the opportunity of laying his views before the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh, who at once acceded to his request, and a chain of magnetic and meteorological stations was formed throughout the Russian empire, under the superintendence of Professor Kupffer. Such was the origin of the first Magnetic Association. The results obtained from the various affiliated stations were quite in accordance with the previous experiences of Humboldt, as showing the recurrence for each particular station of perturbations at the same hour, often for several days and nights in succession, whilst a comparison of distant stations showed, that with so much of general synchronism as precluded the idea of their being accidental or due to merely local causes, they nevertheless appeared to present special features depending on the place of observation.

The labours of this which we may call the *Berlin Association* were taken up and extended, in 1834, by one still more widely known, which, under the able direction of Gauss and Weber, had its centre of operations at Göttingen. The work so happily commenced by the older association was energetically carried on, and the methods of procedure were improved in

several important particulars. It had become evident that the instrumental means hitherto employed were inadequate to the accurate determination of the minute changes now under consideration, and in particular no means existed for detecting the variations in the *intensity*; and yet it was extremely improbable that this element should be unaffected by the irregularities which manifested themselves in the declination. The first improvement, which we owe to Gauss, was the introduction of a new class of instruments, capable of a precision hitherto supposed unattainable; whilst the bifilar magnetometer, also the invention of Gauss, rendered possible a corresponding record of the changes in the horizontal force. The number of term-days (i.e. set days for continuous observation at each of the associated stations) was at first six in the year, though afterwards reduced to four; and the interval between the observations was five-minutely instead of hourly. The term-days of the Association, which were limited to the observations of the declination only, commenced in 1834, and were kept regularly till 1841, when they were discontinued. Enough, however, had been done already to show that whilst previous results were fully confirmed, a still more extensive and complete organisation was necessary before we could hope to disentangle the manifold intricacies of the phenomena. That organisation was not long wanting. For some time, strange to say, England had taken no part in the labours of the Göttingen Association; but in 1836 the national interest was awakened by an appeal from Humboldt to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, who was then President of the Royal Society, and in 1837 the subject was formally brought before the British Association, at their meeting at Liverpool, by the masterly report of General Sabine, justly characterised by Humboldt as the most complete work of the kind. The author passed in review the observations already made, stating the conclusions to which they lead, and pointing out what still remained to be accomplished. The most important of the conclusions arrived at, and which, it must be remembered, were deduced mainly from observations in the Northern hemisphere, so far as the higher latitudes were concerned—may be summed up as follows:—

(1.) The systematic non-parallelism of the lines of equal force and equal dip; these lines everywhere indicating the existence of two centres of unequal force, not situated on opposite meridians; i.e. not differing by 180° in longitude.

(2.) The unsymmetrical distribution of the intensity. If

the globe be divided into Eastern and Western hemispheres by a plane coinciding with the meridians of 100° and 280°, the Western hemisphere, or that containing the Americas and Pacific Ocean, has a much higher intensity generally distributed over its surface than the Eastern, or that containing Europe, Africa, and the adjacent parts of the Atlantic Ocean.

(3.) The position of the maximum of intensity in the North American quarter does not coincide with that of maximum dip.

(4.) The arrangement of the lines of intensity in the Southern hemisphere seems, so far as observation has gone, to support the conclusions arrived at for the Northern hemisphere.

Foremost among the matters which still awaited accomplishment were placed the complete survey of that part of Canada which was known to contain the maximum of intensity in the North American quarter, and the 'filling up of the void existing 'in the Southern hemisphere, particularly in the vicinity of 'the parts of this hemisphere which are of principal magnetic 'interest. This could only be done by a naval expedition, for 'which it was natural that all countries should look to England.' This report met with the warm approval of the Association, which body, in conjunction with the Royal Society, represented to Her Majesty's Government the desirability of a Southern magnetic survey, as well as the establishment of magnetic observatories in various parts of the British Empire, to take part in the Göttingen system of simultaneous observation. The result was the formation by the Government of magnetic observatories at Toronto, St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, and Hobarton, and the despatch of the Antarctic expedition, consisting of the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' the former of which was under the command of Capt. James Ross, and the latter under that of Commander Crozier. The expedition started in September 1839, and returned to England in 1843, having successfully accomplished what we have no hesitation in describing as the most extensive, most important, and most perilous survey ever undertaken. The observations extended over nearly two-thirds of the globe in the Antarctic regions, and were carried as far South as 74° 4′, further progress being prevented by difficulties absolutely insuperable. When the records of the expedition were examined, it was found that a portion of the Southern hemisphere, between the latitudes of 60° and 65° and longitudes 0° and 130°, was not included in the survey. To supply this hiatus the 'Pagoda' was hired at

the Cape of Good Hope, by direction of the Admiralty, and placed under the command of Lieut. Moore, R.N., who had been one of the officers of the 'Terror' in the Antarctic expedition, and therefore well versed in conducting operations of the kind. The 'Pagoda' started from the Cape in January 1845, and returned in June, having accomplished its mission, and thus completed the survey of the Southern hemisphere. The observations from the four colonial observatories, as well as from the Antarctic Expedition, were regularly forwarded to this country, where, under the able supervision and untiring industry of General Sabine, they soon bore fruit in copious additions to our knowledge of this branch of physical study.

One of the first results of his labours was to clear away a fallacy respecting the diurnal variation in declination, which was entertained by nearly every magnetician at that time. It had long been known that in the middle Northern latitudes the needle is to the east of its mean position in the forenoon, and to the west of it in the afternoon; and that the opposite is the case in the middle Southern latitudes. Hence, it was argued, there *must* be some line on the earth's surface where the causes, whatever they are, which produce these opposite motions in the two hemispheres neutralise each other, and where, therefore, there is no diurnal variation. The next question was, *Where is this line?* Is it, as Arago asks, the *geographical equator*, or the *line of no dip*; or, as was imagined by some, the *line of least intensity?* The determination of this question had its influence in the choice of site for two at least of the colonial observatories—St. Helena and the Cape—as well as for that at Singapore, which was founded by the East India Company. St. Helena is near the point of least intensity on its meridian, whilst it is at some distance from the Equator and the line of no dip. The Cape, though rather farther from the line of least intensity, was chosen for the same reason; whilst Singapore was selected as being near both the Equator and the line of no dip. The first five years of observation enabled General Sabine to announce to the world the unexpected fact that this so-called *line of no horary variation*, about whose existence all had been agreed, was not only *not found*, but *never would be found*, for the simple reason that *it did not exist*. In a paper read before the Royal Society in 1847 he shows, from the observations at St. Helena, that at that station the motion of the needle accords with that observed in the Northern hemisphere during the period from April to September, whilst from October to March it exhibits the features of the Southern hemisphere. The change of direction

takes place soon after the sun crosses the Equator, the motion during what may be called the equinoctial months—i.e. March, April, September, and October—partaking more or less, from one day to another, of the character of both seasons; but at all other times the contrariety is decided. Subsequent investigations showed that a semi-annual variation similar to the above exists at all stations where observations have been made; i.e. that in the Northern hemisphere, from April to September the easterly motion of the forenoon, and the westerly motion of the afternoon, are *increased*; whilst the contrary takes place from October to March; and that in the Southern hemisphere the westerly motion of the forenoon and the easterly motion of the afternoon are *decreased* from April to September, and the contrary from October to March; showing this remarkable fact, that whilst the *mean diurnal variation* changes its direction in passing from one hemisphere to the other, yet the direction of the *semi-annual variation* remains the same; this direction depending on the position of the sun with respect to the Equator, and not to the zenith of the place of observation, since it changes sign soon after the Equinoxes. If it be asked why no reversal takes place in our latitudes, the answer is easy. We may regard the diurnal variation as the resultant of *two* variations, one of which we may call the *mean solar-diurnal* variation, and the other the *semi-annual inequality*; and the *actual* diurnal variation as it presents itself to our *observation* will result from the superposition of these two. Now, in the middle Northern latitudes the mean solar-diurnal variation ranges from 9′ to 10′, whilst that of the semi-annual inequality is only from 3′ to 4′. The former will, therefore, be the dominant variation, the effect of the latter being merely to alter the *amount* of variation, *increasing* it during one half of the year, and *decreasing* it during the other half. As we approach the tropics the range of the mean solar-diurnal variation diminishes, whilst the semi-annual inequality remains constant in *direction* and *amount*. We shall, therefore, have stations where, as at St. Helena, the latter constitutes nearly the whole of the diurnal variation, and where, consequently, we meet with the semi-annual reversal which has been proved to exist at that station. A semi-annual variation has been found to exist likewise in the values of the dip and the intensity, depending on the relative positions of the earth and sun, and having its periods of maxima and minima nearly coincident with the solstices; and it appears that in both hemispheres the needle is most nearly vertical and the magnetic intensity is the greatest *at the same time*, i.e.

when the earth is nearest the sun and moves with the greatest velocity in its orbit. We need hardly remark that, on the theory which refers these changes to temperature, they ought to occur at *opposite* periods of the year in the two hemispheres, whereas the reverse is in fact the case.

These discoveries, besides having given us a clearer insight into the true nature of the diurnal variation, are of deep interest theoretically, from the indications which they contain of the cosmical features discernible in some at least of the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism, and hitherto quite unsuspected. These features were brought still more prominently into notice by the remarkable discovery, due to General Sabine, of the periodical character (when considered in their mean effects) of those irregular perturbations of the needle which had hitherto baffled all attempts to reduce them to law. It will be remembered that one of the principal objects sought by the establishment of the British colonial observatories was the study of these perturbations on the system commenced by the Göttingen Association. In furtherance of this object the observations taken at the different observatories were regularly forwarded to Woolwich for examination, arranged in monthly tables. Even a slight examination of these tables showed that at any particular station the disturbances did not occur *arbitrarily*, or with *equal frequency* at all hours; also that the hours principally affected were not the same at different stations; and moreover that whatever law they might follow, it was certainly not that of the regular diurnal variation. It therefore became necessary, in the first place, to devise some means of separating the disturbed observations from the rest. This, of course, could never be done completely; but by fixing a limit (constant for the same station), beyond which all observations should be considered as disturbed, a sufficient number could be set apart for an examination of the laws of disturbance; whilst it might be expected that from the remaining portion of the observations, thus freed from the effects of the larger disturbances, a more correct knowledge of the regular variations might be obtained than would have been the case had this elimination not been effected. The result of this experiment was first brought before the Royal Society, in January 1851, in a paper by General Sabine on the 'Periodical laws discoverable in the mean effects of the larger 'magnetic disturbances.' The stations selected for comparison were Toronto and Hobarton, as being both extra-tropical, in opposite hemispheres, and having nearly the same North and South latitudes respectively. The disturbances discussed wer

those of the declination; and it appeared that when these were divided in *easterly* and *westerly*—i.e. those increasing the easterly and westerly deflections respectively, and these again arranged according to the *months of the year*, or again according to the *hours of the day*—they showed at both stations periodical changes depending on *seasons* and *hours*, and therefore evidently pointing to the *sun as their primary source*. The years included in this first analysis were the three 1843—5. On extending the investigation to the next three years, another and still more noteworthy feature presented itself. It appeared that not only was there a variation in the disturbances from month to month and hour to hour, in any particular year, but that the aggregate amount of disturbance varied from one year to another. From 1843 to 1849 there had been a *progressive annual increase of disturbance*, and that to an extent which could not be supposed accidental; the amount in 1848–9 being more than double that in 1843–4. Concurrently with this increase of disturbance there had been a similar though smaller increase in the range of the diurnal oscillation of each of the three elements. But for this, the cosmical features of the phenomenon might have remained undiscovered for some time longer, as the period granted to the colonial observatories had expired and the hourly observations broken off. Fortunately there were records of the diurnal range in the declination for 1841–2. This range proved to be greater than that for 1843–4, which might, therefore, be fairly assumed to be the epoch of minimum range, and therefore, probably, of minimum disturbance; and it also appeared that the range for 1850–1 was less than that for 1848–9, thus giving that epoch the character of a maximum. This naturally raised the question whether there might not be a *period* of disturbance of which the interval from minimum to maximum was five years. Any doubt that might have been felt as to the answer to be given to this question was set at rest by the publication, about the same time, of Schwabe's table of the variations of the solar spots from 1826 to 1850, showing that during that interval these spots had shown a period of between ten and eleven years, having maxima in 1828, 1837, and 1848, and minima in 1833 and 1843, of which 1843 and 1848 were known to be periods of minimum and maximum magnetic disturbance respectively; and as the connexion between the disturbances and the sun was evident by their conformity to solar hours, there could no longer be any hesitation in assigning to them a period coincident with that of the solar spots. This discovery was first communicated to the Royal Society in March 1852;

and subsequent observation from that time to the present has shown that the coincidence then pointed out was not accidental, but that there is such a mutual interdependence between these two classes of apparently dissimilar phenomena as to compel us to regard them as the results of some common cause.

We look upon this discovery of the periodical character of the disturbances and their cosmical origin as, without exception, the greatest advance ever made towards a true understanding of the magnetic phenomena. Whether we regard it from a practical or a theoretical point of view, it is impossible to overestimate its value. Practically it has produced a complete revolution in the principles of the methods employed in dealing with magnetic observations. It was at one time supposed that by simply multiplying the number of observations, the irregular perturbations might be expected to neutralise one another to a certain extent, and that thus their effects would partially disappear from the result. This view of the matter, which would have been justifiable had the disturbances occurred arbitrarily, is quite inadmissible now that we know their periodical character. It is now certain that in order to arrive at a true knowledge of the regular variations, the disturbances must be *eliminated*, at least as far as practicable; and the method now universally adopted is that devised by General Sabine for the treatment of the colonial observations. The disturbances of each element have to be taken separately, and again subdivided into six distinct categories—those which *increase the easterly* and those which *increase the westerly* deflection, those which *increase* and those which *decrease* the dip, and those which *increase* and those which *decrease* the intensity. Each of these classes is found to have distinct, and apparently independent laws, requiring separate study and analysis. Each element has its proper hours of principal disturbance, well defined at each particular station, but varying, apparently without limit, in passing from one station to another. To confine our attention to the most observed of the three elements, the declination; at some stations there is a predominance of easterly disturbance, at others of westerly. Moreover, when we come to form the curves of easterly and westerly disturbance, we find two forms, and two only, prevailing without exception at all places where the analysis has been made, one characterising the easterly and the other the westerly disturbances; indicating seemingly the existence either of different (and probably only two different) sources of disturbance or different forms of activity emanating from the same source, whilst the features which

characterise the easterly deflections at one station are transferred to the westerly deflections at another, and *vice versâ*, as though they lay on opposite sides of the principal meridian of disturbance; also at some stations the principal hours of disturbance fall during the day, and at others during the night, producing what Humboldt calls the 'nocturnal episode' in the diurnal variation of the needle; which nocturnal episode is not found where the principal hours of disturbance occur during the day; whereas on the old theory which referred the diurnal motion of the needle to the *changes of temperature* produced by the passage of the sun from east to west, and again from west to east of the meridian, there must of necessity be a *double progression everywhere* in the twenty-four hours, one maximum and one minimum falling during what may be termed the night hours. The elimination of the disturbances is thus shown to be absolutely necessary for restoring to the diurnal variation its normal character. In some localities, indeed, it is hard to recognise the well-known features of the diurnal curve when the disturbances are left in. A remarkable instance of this occurs at Point Barrow. One of the most striking features of the undisturbed diurnal variation in declination is the regularity with which, in the Northern hemisphere, the needle reaches its westerly extreme at about 1 P.M., and Point Barrow forms no exception to this rule when the disturbances are eliminated, whereas, when they are retained, the greatest westerly deflection is sometimes not attained till between 10 and 11 P.M.! It may be stated that no point on the earth's surface has yet been found where magnetic disturbance exhibits so much activity as at Point Barrow, and where there is so constant a display of its almost universal concomitant, the aurora borealis.* We here take occasion to

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* When H.M.S. 'Plover' (Captain Maguire) was stationed at Point Barrow for nearly two years, between 1852–4, the aurora was observed six nights out of seven (in round numbers) during the months December, January, and February, for two successive years (1852-3).

The connexion between the aurora borealis and magnetic disturbance was, we believe, first observed by Hiorter at Upsal, 1741, though it had been suggested as probable by Halley as early as 1716,—another instance of the remarkable penetration of this great man. The effect of the aurora upon the magnetic needle has been examined at great length by Arago in his 'Meteorological Essays.' The principal results of his investigations may be summed up thus—(1.) The aurora affects the needle even in places where it is not visible. (2.) In general, the west declination increases before the appearance of the aurora, and sometimes even continues to increase after its appearance; then the

repeat what we have said of the extreme importance of the discovery which has shown the connexion between terrestrial magnetic disturbance and the physical aspect of the sun, as opening up a new field of research by suggesting the possibility of relations hitherto unsuspected between our planet and the other bodies of the solar system; and we are persuaded that here if anywhere will be found the clue which will enable us to disentangle the various phenomena, and assign each perturbation to its proper source. Already the increased attention paid to solar physics has resulted in a more perfect knowledge of the period and laws of increase and decrease of the solar spots. The labours of Messrs. De la Rue, Balfour Stewart, and Loewy, together with those of Professor Wolf at Berne, have determined the mean length of the sun-spot period as being rather more than eleven years (11·1 is Professor Wolf's determination). It also appears that this period is not equally divided between the times of *increasing* and *decreasing* activity of spots, the mean period from minimum to maximum being about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, whilst that from the maximum to the next minimum is about $7\frac{1}{2}$, or more than double; the ratio of the two periods being 2·15. From this law, which seems to connect each period of sun-spot increase with the next period of decrease, combined with the fact that the shorter the period the greater the energy of spot-production, whilst a lengthening of the period is compensated for by diminished activity, seems, in the opinion of Mr. Balfour Stewart, to point to the conclusion that the energy of spot-production, wherever it may be situated, is for every period constant. Of the ultimate source of this energy we are at present ignorant; but our knowledge has been advanced one step farther, to the point of establishing a connexion between the times of maxima and minima of spots and the configuration of the solar system. M. Fritz, who has investigated the comparative influences of the planets both singly and together, finds the greatest coincidence of maxima of spots with the

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oscillations become very large, and the needle begins to return towards the east, and only stops when it has passed its normal position, which it does not usually regain for some hours. It appears from the observations of MM. Lottin and Bravais at Bossekop, in 1838–9, that the degree of disturbance of the needle varies with the intensity of the aurora. When this is faint and generally diffused, there is often no disturbance; but when the coruscations are very brilliant and coloured, the oscillations of the needle will sometimes range through several degrees. The needle will often predict the aurora by an abnormal motion westwards during the whole day.

time when Jupiter and Saturn are in quadrature, and the greatest coincidence of minima when they are in conjunction. There is also a minor coincidence of maxima when Jupiter and Venus are in quadrature. According to Mr. Balfour Stewart, who has very carefully examined the behaviour of sun-spots with regard to increase and decrease as they cross the sun's disk, it appears that with respect to the planets Venus and Mercury, the size of a spot attains (on the average) its maximum on the side which is turned away from these planets, and its minimum when it is in their neighbourhood. Mr. Stewart also states that he has found no indication of any such behaviour with respect to the planet Jupiter.

The late Professor Hornstein of Prague announced, not long since, the discovery that each of the three magnetic elements is subject to a periodical variation of about $26\frac{1}{3}$ days, which he regards as the effect of the sun's rotation; the true periodic time of which, as deduced from the above period, is 24·55 days, very nearly agreeing with the time of rotation of spots in the sun's equator as derived from astronomical observations.

It may well happen that more extended inquiry will induce a modification of some of the laws just enunciated, which, in the present state of our knowledge, it must be admitted are simply empirical.* Nevertheless, that magneticians should have turned their energies in this direction, we cannot but regard as a hopeful augury for the future. But whilst the sun and planets are claiming so large a share of our attention, it would be hard if our nearest neighbour and satellite, the moon, were left out in the cold. That the moon produces sensible though small variations in the magnetic elements, was first announced to the Bohemian Society of Sciences by M. Kreil in 1841, but it is only of late years that lunar action has received the attention it merits, and even yet the inquiry cannot be said to be by any means exhausted. The most remarkable feature in the lunar diurnal variation is the *double progression* for each of the three elements in the twenty-four hours, the maxima and minima being separated by about equal intervals of six hours each; the actual turning hours being different at different stations, but never far distant from the hours of upper

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* The Astronomer Royal, in a recent communication to the Royal Society, states that a careful examination of the observations of several years at Greenwich has not enabled him to detect any period of the kind [illegible] Professor Hornstein, whose investigation is limited to of [illegible] 1870.

and lower culmination. It appears, however, from the researches of Mr. Chambers at Bombay and Dr. Neumayer at Melbourne, that we get a very imperfect idea of the real magnetic action of the moon from the mean annual variation. Mr. Chambers thinks it necessary to distinguish between the cases where the sun and moon have the *same* or *opposite* declinations, again subdividing each of these into others according as the moon's declination is *increasing*, *north* or *south*, or *decreasing*; and in each of these sixteen cases he determines the variation for each of the four lunar quarters, making in all sixty-four varieties for consideration. Each of these presents distinct, and sometimes opposite features, which become obliterated in the mean annual variation, but in nearly every case, the leading feature of the lunar variation—*the double progression*—is clearly exhibited.

Dr. Neumayer, though his grouping is less minute than that of Mr. Chambers, agrees with him as to the necessity of considering the moon's declination as well as that of the sun; as when they are both on the same side of the Equator the variation is more regular than when their declinations are of opposite kinds. In every case the maximum of easterly deflection occurs near the time of the lower transit, and the minimum about six hours afterwards, with secondary maxima and minima at about one hour and nineteen hours respectively. In the year 1863 Dr. Bache announced the existence of a semi-annual inequality in the lunar-diurnal variation of declination, as shown by the observations at Girard College, Philadelphia; the amplitudes of the deflections (both east and west) being less during the six months from October to March than from April to September, while the times of maxima and minima fall nearly an hour earlier during the former than during the latter period. A semi-annual inequality has also been detected by General Sabine in the lunar-diurnal variation both at Kew and Hobarton. The results at Kew are in accordance with those at Philadelphia as regards the amplitudes, but not as regards the turning hours, these falling rather earlier apparently in the April–September than in the October–March period. Whilst at Hobarton the results are opposed to those at Kew in both particulars. It is worthy of remark that no trace of the so-called decennial period, which affects every inequality depending on the sun, has yet been found in the lunar-diurnal variation. The shortness of the time, however, during which observations of the requisite accuracy have been carried on, forbids us to assume too confidently that no such period exists, and may hereafter be discovered.

It would, indeed, be strange if the careful examination, to which the magnetic elements are now subjected by so many able observers, should fail to detect, and that before long, any such inequality if it exist. With respect to the *secular change* the case is different. Of this it may be said, with as much truth as when Halley wrote two hundred years ago, that 'it is a secret reserved for the industry of future ages.' It is true that we know what Halley did not. In his time the direction of secular change (in this country at least) was westwards, and had been so from the time of the earliest recorded observation. There was nothing, therefore, as far as observation went, to preclude the supposition, that in process of time the needle would be directed to every point of the compass in turn. For us this question is set at rest. The westerly progression was arrested in this country in 1818, when the declination was 25° 30′ W. in London, since which time the secular change has been eastwards, the declination at Kew being now not quite 20° W. As, however, the last epoch of greatest easterly declination is unknown, we are still in ignorance as to the whole period of oscillation. Nor are we entitled to assume that the easterly retrogression will at all correspond to the previous progression towards the west. Otherwise, as we know that the declination was 0° in 1660, we might infer the epoch at which it will again vanish. Still less may we assume that the subsequent easterly motion will accord with the westerly, either in extent or duration. But though any such conjectures would be quite unwarranted in our present state of ignorance as to the sources and laws of the secular change, still the strictly *progressive* character of this change compels us to regard it as the expression of some determinate cause or causes. The question then arises, where are these to be found? Now, from whatever point on the earth's surface we contemplate the phenomena, we find ourselves in the presence of two distinct magnetic systems. This was first clearly recognised by Halley as a necessary consequence of even the scanty information then at his command, and the accumulated observations of two hundred years have corroborated in a very remarkable manner the conclusions at which he arrived,—that of these two systems, one was *fixed*, and the other in *motion*; and that the direction of the needle at any place resulted from the superposition of one of the systems on the other. It is well known that in order to get over the difficulty of 'a magnet having 'four poles,' as he expresses it, and to 'give a reasonable 'account' of the secular change, Halley imagined the earth

to be composed of an outer shell, having two magnetic poles, one in each hemisphere, and within the shell a solid nucleus or 'terrella,' having also two poles; and he further supposed that the terrella revolved round its axis, independently of the outer shell, and with a different velocity of rotation. By this arrangement a satisfactory explanation could be given of all the magnetic phenomena then known. Whatever value may attach to this conjecture as a physical theory, it undoubtedly possesses high merit as a recognition of the *systematic* and *progressive* character of the secular change, and as an assertion of the unquestionable truth that such effects *must* result from a cause equally systematic. In any case it was an earnest attempt to evolve law out of apparent confusion, and such attempts should, we imagine, meet at least with sympathy at our hands; certainly they deserve better treatment than to be dismissed contemptuously as 'geognostic dreams'—a sneer unworthy of Humboldt. To Halley belongs the merit, most unquestionably, of having first recognised the fact that something more is necessary to explain the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism than the fixed magnetism of the globe itself.

In the absence of any evidence as to the existence of cosmical magnetic influences acting at the earth's surface, Halley naturally looked *within the earth* for a solution of his difficulties; but had he known what we know, that the position of the needle is influenced by the sun in his daily and annual courses, that it trembles in sympathy with every rent in his photosphere, and that the magnitude and frequency of these rents are connected with the configuration of the planetary system, it is scarcely possible to doubt that he would have recognised in cosmical action a machinery sufficient to account for all the phenomena of secular change. It is true we know not at present all the relations existing between the various parts of this complicated machine, nor the exact combination which finds its counterpart in the progressive magnetic changes at the earth's surface; still we have no doubt that here, as elsewhere, Nature will at length yield up her secrets to patient and honest inquiry. Forty years back, who dreamt of connecting the solar spots with magnetic disturbance? and this discovery, important as it is, can yet only be considered as the first step towards the solution of the problem. The question still remains, what common cause is it which manifests itself simultaneously in such (apparently) very different forms, in bodies separated by an interval of nearly one hundred millions of miles? In its final shape the question will doubtless

resolve itself into this, *What is magnetism?* and here, possibly we shall have reached the limit assigned to human inquiry in this direction. As the eloquent author of 'Modern Painters' has well observed, there is always a point where the cloud intervenes, and all beyond is shrouded in mystery.

But short of this ultimate form of the inquiry we see no reason to doubt that all the laws and cosmical connexions which govern the magnetic phenomena on the surface of our globe will at length be completely unravelled, though many ages may elapse before the goal is finally reached. In the meantime it will be the duty of each succeeding generation to note carefully all the changes to which the magnetic elements are subject, by comparing their values with those which they had at former epochs. This is the object sought by the magnetic surveys, which of late years have been carried out over extensive portions of the earth's surface. The results of these surveys are made visible to the eye by charts, on which are traced the lines of equal *declination*, *dip*, and *intensity*. This mode of representation was first employed by Halley in his celebrated chart of the declination lines published in 1701, and has since been universally adopted. Such surveys, when repeated at sufficient intervals of time, give the best means of tracing the march of the various lines over the earth's surface.

The first complete work of this kind was the survey of the British Isles, which was commenced in 1836 at the request of the British Association, and finished in 1838; the observations being reduced to the mean epoch 1837. The same Association, when assembled at Cheltenham in 1856, passed a resolution to the effect that it would be desirable to have the survey repeated, and appointed a committee to carry the resolution into effect.

This was done during the years 1858–61, so that 1860 became the middle epoch of the survey. The result has shown that even the comparatively short period of twenty-three years is quite sufficient to exhibit the changes which have taken place in the direction of the magnetic lines in these islands. The declination lines have moved towards the west, i.e. the westerly declination has diminished; the average annual rate of decrease at Kew being 7′ 39″ between 1858–62. The decrease, however, is being accelerated at the present time, and indications of this acceleration are shown during the four years in question, as the decrease was 6′ 46″ between 1858–9, and 8′ 33″ between 1861–2. The isoclinal lines were found to have increased the angle which they make with the geographical meridian by about 6° 17′, having changed their

direction from N. 65° 5′ W. to N. 71° 22′ W.; showing that during the interval between the two surveys, the secular diminution of dip has been greater in the west than on the east side of the island. Thus at Lowestoft on the east coast, the average annual diminution had been 2′·36, whilst at the Land's End it was 2′·09. A similar change, but of smaller amount, was observed in the isodynamic lines, which had increased the angle which they make with the geographical meridian by about 2° 40′, having varied in direction from N. 54° 54′ E. to N. 57° 35′·5 E. Hence we infer that in the northern parts of England the secular increase of the force had been greater than in the southern parts during the period in question.

It will be recollected that in the report presented to the British Association in 1838 special mention was made of the desirability of a magnetic survey of Canada. The establishment of an observatory at Toronto in 1840 afforded peculiar facilities for carrying out the recommendations of the committee. Accordingly in 1843–4 the survey was undertaken and successfully accomplished by Lieut. (now General) Lefroy, R.A. The interest attaching to this work arises from the fact that in the district surveyed is situated the North American Pole of greatest intensity. The position of this pole, as calculated from Lieut. Lefroy's observations, was found to be long. 260° 1′ E., lat. 52° 10′ N. The position of the Siberian Pole, as resulting from the survey of Northern Asia by Hansteen, Due, and Erman, is not so accurately determined. Its longitude in 1828–30 was probably about 115° E. Of its latitude we are still less certain, but at that time it lay probably somewhere between 63° and 70° north latitude.

Amongst the various surveys which have been made in recent times may be mentioned Captain Elliott's survey of the Eastern Archipelago in 1846–9, extending from 16° lat. N. to 12° lat. S., and from 80° to 120° long. E., Schlagintweit's survey of High Asia, extending from Galle in Ceylon, 6° 2′ lat. N. to the Karakorum pass, 35° 47′ lat. N., and from Shikarpore, 68° 52′ long. E., to Dibragarth, 94° 53′ long. E., Dr. Lamont's surveys in France, Spain, and Bavaria, this latter, like the survey of the British Isles, being coextensive with the limits of the country, and complete in all the three elements. A survey of the West of France by the Rev. S. Perry, whence it appears that the mean annual secular decrease of declination between 1858–68 was 9′·6, whilst from 1825–58 the mean annual decrease was only 5′, showing a rapid diminution of declination, with a mean annual accelera-

tion of ·22. But of all works of this kind none can compete in importance with the great South Polar Survey (due to British enterprise alone), extending as it does from the South Pole to 40° lat. S. The results of this truly national undertaking have been discussed, and the positions of the magnetic lines for all the three elements laid down by Sir Edward Sabine in No. XI. of his invaluable series of 'Contributions 'to Terrestrial Magnetism,' a series forming by itself the most complete manual extant of the subject in its recent developments. We are glad to hear that an addition to the series has just been presented to the Royal Society in the shape of a similar survey of the Northern hemisphere, from the Pole to lat. 40° N., combining the results of all preceding partial surveys, and reduced to the same epoch 1842–5. The remaining space between lat. 40° N. and lat. 40° S. will doubtless in due time be filled up on the same plan—we trust by the same hand. We shall then possess, what has never been possible before, a complete representation of the magnetic state of our globe (as expressed by the lines of equal declination, dip, and intensity) corresponding to one and the same epoch. The basis will thus be laid for a revision of Gauss's 'Allgemeine theorie des Erdmagnetismus,' which as originally applied entirely fails to give a correct delineation of the magnetic lines in the Southern hemisphere. This probably is the result of insufficient numerical data, which were for twelve meridional points on each of seven parallels of latitude, the greater part of which were in the Northern hemisphere, and of those in the Southern hemisphere none went beyond the twentieth parallel. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that fact and theory should be found so widely at variance in the middle and higher southern latitudes. With an extension of the formulæ and corrected numerical elements, there seems no reason to doubt that the facts of both hemispheres will be given with equal accuracy. But, after all, we cannot disguise from ourselves that no theory can be accepted as final and satisfactory which does not contain *within itself* the means of adjustment to *epoch*, or, in mathematical language, which does not involve t explicitly. But to construct such a theory it will be necessary to know the *cause or causes* of the *secular change*; and to arrive at a knowledge of these *causes*, we must fully ascertain what are the *experimental laws* which govern the phenomenon; and as one of the first steps towards this is the determination of its *period*, the complete solution of the problem is probably reserved for a very remote future indeed.

ART. V.—1. *Correspondence relative to the Fiji Islands.* Presented to Parliament. May, 1862.

2. *Correspondence relative to the Deportation of South Sea Islanders.* August 10th, 1869; February, 1871 and 1872.

3. *Correspondence and Documents relating to the Fiji Islands, in so far as the same relate to their Annexation to the Colonial Empire of this Country, or otherwise affording Protection to British Subjects resident in these Islands.* Presented to Parliament. August, 1871.

DURING the past session of Parliament two questions connected with the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and especially with the Fiji group, have been prominently before the public, and have been more than once made the subject of legislative debate. The first and most pressing of these related to the practice entitled in Parliamentary Documents the 'Deportation of South Sea Islanders,' which has been held by a large number of our fellow-countrymen to be nothing more or less than the polite phraseology to describe a system of entrapping and consigning to slavery these unfortunate creatures. Inasmuch as this system had, up to the present year, been mainly (though not exclusively) carried on by vessels sailing under British colours, the opinion had for some time been gaining ground that the honour of the British Empire was concerned in the suppression of a traffic which cannot be less nefarious in the Pacific than upon the west coast of Africa, or in other regions in which British blood and British money have been freely lavished for the same laudable purpose. It was therefore plain enough, during the session of 1871, that public opinion would support any attempt in this direction which might be initiated by Her Majesty's Government, and, indeed, the necessity of making such an attempt was earnestly urged upon them in the course of the debate upon a motion for papers upon the subject made by Mr. P. A. Taylor upon the 11th of August. In answer to the allegations made in the course of that debate, reflecting upon the conduct of the authorities of Queensland, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, whilst defending the action of the Queensland Government, fully admitted the existence of the evils complained of, and announced the intention of Her Majesty's Government not only to present further papers upon the subject, but to invite legislation during the coming session of Parliament. The year, however, was not to terminate without an additional proof being afforded of the

necessity of interference with the system—if system it can be called—under which this traffic had been conducted. Upon the 26th of December, a despatch from Lord Canterbury was received at the Colonial Office, conveying the melancholy intelligence of the murder by natives of the Bishop of Melanesia (Bishop Patteson) and some of his companions. The undoubted cause of this murder was briefly stated in a paragraph of the 'Melbourne Argus' of November the 7th, to have been that 'the schooner's crew believe the murders 'were committed in revenge for recent outrages by slavers, 'several of which were about the island.' This is not the place for either a biographical sketch or a panegyric, however well-deserved, upon the lamented Bishop; and yet it is impossible to make mention of his name without allusion to his great and eminent services in the cause of Christianity. From the year 1856, in which the Rev. John Coleridge Patteson went out to New Zealand with Bishop Selwyn, his life was one of entire self-denial and steadfast devotion to missionary work. He laboured incessantly for and amongst the native population of the islands of the Pacific, he was thoroughly familiar with as many as sixteen or seventeen of the different languages spoken by them, and his visits were everywhere hailed with acclamation and productive of the best possible effect upon those on whose behalf they were undertaken. But the very influence and popularity of the Bishop were employed by the kidnappers in the furtherance of their nefarious projects. We learn from the papers presented to Parliament that their almost invariable practice, in order to decoy the unsuspecting natives on board their ships, was to declare that 'the Bishop was on board,' and on more than one occasion persons dressed in surplices paraded the deck of the slave trading vessel in order the better to lull suspicion and entrap the intended victims. The success of these perfidious attempts could not fail to excite among the natives distrust and suspicion of the white man, and, unfortunately, this distrust and suspicion were followed by their natural results in murders perpetrated by way of retaliation. One of the articles of the creed of these ignorant people is the infliction of revenge for an injury committed, to be wreaked upon the family, nation, or race of the aggressor. No matter that, as in the case of Bishop Patteson, the victim had no cognisance of the offence and would have been the first to protest against it; he was of the same race and colour as those who had wantonly inflicted injuries upon the islanders by kidnapping their friends and relatives, and, according to their inexorable law, his life

was forfeit. It would seem, indeed, that the Bishop had some foreboding of his fate, or, at all events, that he contemplated the probability — nay the certainty — that outrages such as had been committed in so many instances by the kidnappers would inevitably bring vengeance upon the heads of white men visiting the islands. In a memorandum to be laid before the Church Synod in New Zealand, bearing date January 11, 1871, Bishop Patteson makes use of these prophetic words :—

'In conclusion, I desire to protest, by anticipation, against any punishment being inflicted upon natives of these islands, who may cut off vessels or kill boats' crews, until it is clearly shown that these acts are not done in the way of retribution for outrages first committed by white men. Only a few days ago, a report reached me that a boat's crew had been killed at Esperito Santo. *Nothing is more likely. I expect to hear of such things. It is the white man's fault, and it is unjust to punish the coloured man for doing, what, under such circumstances, he may naturally be expected to do.*'

In this memorandum, as in a former letter to Sir G. Bowen, dated July 4, 1870, the Bishop had enforced the necessity of legislation upon this subject. It is worthy of note that his views were not those of the worthy but somewhat impetuous gentlemen who have all along clamoured for the entire abolition of the labour-traffic. In the letter alluded to Bishop Patteson remarks: 'I do not advocate the suppression, but 'the regulation, of this traffic;' and in the memorandum from which we have already quoted, he says: 'Imperial legislation 'is required to put an end to this state of things; stringent 'regulations ought to be made, and enforced by heavy penal-'ties, as to the size and fittings of vessels licensed to convey 'natives to and from the South Sea Islands and Queensland 'and Fiji. Two small men-of-war ought to cruise constantly 'in the islands, and especially in the neighbourhood of 'Queensland and Fiji, to intercept vessels bringing natives 'to those parts, and to examine into the observance or non-'observance of the regulations.' It will thus be seen that Bishop Patteson was alive to the necessity of action being taken by the Imperial Parliament, and anticipated evil and bloodshed from the lawless behaviour of the slave-traders, unless such action should be speedily taken. Alas, that his anticipations should have been so sadly realised, and that in his own person his prophecies of evil should have been fulfilled! The murder of a Bishop who had won universal esteem from all those with whom he had been thrown in contact, occurring at a moment when the public mind had been agi-

tated by recent disclosures concerning the atrocities committed in connexion with the labour-traffic, naturally increased that agitation in no trifling degree. Meetings upon the subject were held both in London and in the Australasian Colonies, and resolutions were forwarded to Her Majesty's Government calling upon them to introduce such legislation in the Imperial Parliament as might put an end to those practices which had led to the murder of the Bishop and which could but be productive of still further disasters unless promptly checked with a strong hand. Under these circumstances it was a matter of no surprise that the 'gracious 'speech from the throne,' delivered upon the 6th of February in the present year, contained the following paragraph:—

'The slave-trade, and practices scarcely to be distinguished from slave-trading, still pursued in more than one quarter of the world, continue to attract the attention of my Government. In the South Sea Islands the name of the British Empire is even now dishonoured by the connexion of some of my subjects with these nefarious practices; and in one of them the murder of an exemplary Prelate has cast fresh light upon some of their baleful consequences. A Bill will be presented to you for the purpose of facilitating the trial of offences of this class in Australasia; and endeavours will be made to increase, in other forms, the means of counteraction.'

In accordance with the intention thus announced, a Bill 'for the prevention and punishment of criminal outrages upon 'natives of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean' was early in the session introduced in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of the Colonies, and, with the addition of certain amendments by which its stringency was increased, was safely carried through both Houses of Parliament and duly passed into law. It is not our purpose to enter here into further details of the outrages alleged, and to a greater or less degree proved, against which this legislation has been directed.

It cannot, unfortunately, be denied that these crimes have been great and scandalous, and moreover that the implication in them of British subjects has been established beyond doubt. It is but just, therefore, to remark that an impartial perusal of the papers upon the subject presented to Parliament will show to any candid inquirer that the Government of Queensland has cleared itself from any blame in the matter. Individual instances of hardship there may have been, an occasional lack of vigilance, and possibly a want of caution in the difficult task of making the imported natives understand the conditions upon which they were asked to leave their homes. But the evidence establishes beyond all reasonable doubt that the

Government of Queensland, recognising the necessity of the employment of native labour within the colony, and of the consequent importation of South Sea Islanders, has fairly and honestly endeavoured to regulate that importation, and has shown itself ready and anxious to conform to any suggestions made by Her Majesty's Government with a view to the greater security and protection of the imported natives. There are doubtless many persons in this country whose indignation at the crimes committed (no matter by whom or in what particular locality), and whose horror of the very name of slavery, would induce them to suppress this 'labour-traffic,' even in Queensland, once and for all; nor indeed have such views been without their supporters in the colony itself, where humanity has perhaps been occasionally inflamed by a certain jealousy of the (cheaper) native labour on the part of the white workmen. If, however, the abuses of the traffic can be otherwise checked, its total suppression would inflict a needless injury upon the colony. Inasmuch as the natives of the South Sea Islands are able to perform without distress, in the cotton and sugar plantations, work which cannot be performed by Europeans, a demand for native labour has naturally sprung up in Queensland, and increased simultaneously with the increase of sugar and cotton cultivation. In Lord Normanby's despatch of October 19, 1871, he states that he had visited various plantations, and had spoken to the Polynesian labourers with the view of ascertaining their feelings and condition. He says:—

'In no case could I make out that they made any complaints as to their treatment in Queensland, or as to the mode in which they were brought here. Many of them had been sent back to their own islands, after having served their time, and had again enlisted for a second period; whilst others expressed their intention of returning again as soon as they had visited their homes. They all seemed happy and contented, and are intelligent and quick in learning their work. Their masters uniformly spoke most favourably of their conduct, and assured me that they gave them no trouble whatever. They appear to be well supplied with food, and though, I must confess, that the amount of clothes that they wear is often somewhat scanty, this is caused, not from any want of clothes, which are supplied by the masters, but in consequence of the disinclination of the men themselves to wear them.'

After this evidence in favour of the good treatment and contented condition of the imported natives in Queensland, Lord Normanby, adducing as an additional proof the number of those natives who had returned a second time to the colony, informs Lord Kimberley of his determination to 'keep

'a vigilant watch over the matter,' and prevent any injustice or irregularity. The concluding words of this despatch are worth quoting as evidencing the importance to Queensland of native labour:—

'The question is one of vital importance, at any rate to the northern portion of this colony, as without a certain amount of black labour of some kind, I fear all the bright anticipations of future wealth and prosperity which are entertained must necessarily fall to the ground, and the whole of that large district must remain an uncultivated wilderness, only suitable for cattle-stations; *as in that climate, I believe, that it is found quite impossible to grow sugar without the assistance of blacks,* white men being unable to bear the heat in the fields; at the same time the employment of blacks, so far from diminishing the demand for white labour, positively creates it; as I found on each plantation a large proportion of white men (probably about one-third) engaged at very remunerative wages.'

Lord Normanby had already given the strongest assurances that the Government of Queensland, for the interests of the colony as well as from the higher motive of humanity, was ready and anxious to do everything in their power to suppress any irregularities in this traffic, and in a subsequent despatch he touches upon the real difficulties of this question. Writing upon November 24, 1871, he mentions his visit to the 'Ly-'thona,' which had arrived at Brisbane with Polynesians, and his conversation with Mr. Gadsden, the Government agent on board, who had informed him that they had 'experienced no 'difficulty in obtaining the men they had on board, as they 'all came most willingly, and that many of them even swam 'off to the vessel for the purpose of engaging themselves.'

'He at the same time, however (continues Lord Normanby), told me that there could be no doubt that a system of kidnapping was being carried on among the islands, *not by Queensland, but by Fiji vessels.* From the conversation I had with Mr. Gadsden, and from other circumstances which have come to my knowledge of late, I think that there can be no doubt that the state of things among the islands is at present very bad, and that gross atrocities are being committed against the natives. At the same time I have every reason for hoping that the vessels belonging to this colony are in no way implicated. Every precaution is taken, not only by placing an agent on board each vessel, but also by strict investigation on her arrival in port, and I feel sure that not only my Government but the employers of labour themselves would be most anxious to check any irregularities and to bring the perpetrators to justice. Your Lordship will, however, see that *this colony has no power of interfering with the evil practices of the Fiji vessels,* and that it is only by Her Majesty's Government stationing cruisers in those seas that these depredations can be put a stop to. I believe, however, that the presence of Her Majesty's cruisers

in those seas would not only put a stop to the practices which now exist, but that it would secure the Queensland vessels from the imputations under which they now lie, and facilitate the engagements of labour by the legitimate trader.'

It will thus be seen that, according to Lord Normanby, Queensland had done all in her power to secure the carrying on of the labour-traffic necessary to her sugar plantations under proper regulations, but that her vessels were exposed to imputations of being engaged in the evil practices against which those regulations were directed, because the aforesaid practices were carried on by the vessels of a country over which Queensland had no control. The more closely this question is examined, the more clearly it will appear that, unless Fiji and her inhabitants have been greatly wronged, much of the evil complained of has come from thence, and much of its success has resulted from the fact of this group of islands being beyond and outside the authority, not only of Queensland, but of Great Britain herself. It is comparatively easy to remonstrate with a colony, and to suggest such improvements in her laws as may appear necessary or desirable; the case is quite different in the case of an independent country, and doubly difficult when that country is, as to its Government, in so uncertain and unsatisfactory a condition as has long been the case with the Fijian group. It is therefore interesting, as well as necessary, in considering the question of the deportation of South Sea Islanders and the possibility of checking the abuses which have been consequent thereupon, to enter upon that which is indeed a question of a larger and more important nature, namely, the character and state of the Fijian group, their position with regard to ourselves and our Australasian Colonies, their past history, and the probabilities of their future. In order to do this in a satisfactory manner, it will be necessary to retrace our steps and take up the thread of our history at a date somewhat earlier than those transactions to which we have recently referred.

Passing over the early history of missionary labour in Fiji, and coming down to that period when Fijian affairs first came prominently before the notice of British statesmen, we find that upon February 18, 1859, Mr. Hammond of the Foreign Office forwarded to the Colonial Office, to be laid before Secretary Sir Edward Lytton, a despatch from Mr. Pritchard, Her Majesty's Consul in the Fijian Islands. In this despatch Mr. Pritchard speaks of Thakombau as 'King of the Fiji 'Islands,' which he terms 'the richest and most extensive 'group of islands in Western Polynesia.' He says that he

has been 'careful to ascertain whether the King's title is un-'questionable,' he assures the Home Government that 'the 'people' of the islands 'are anxious to become British sub-'jects,' and in forwarding the request of Thakombau to that effect, observes that 'Thakombau and his people *do not seek* '*merely a protectorate*; they cede the full sovereignty and 'domain in and over Fiji to Her Majesty; their object is to 'become a part of the British Empire, and *bonâ fide* British 'subjects.' In the same despatch Mr. Pritchard enlarges upon the natural fertility of the Fiji Islands, their commercial advantages, and their political importance. Upon the receipt of this despatch Sir Edward Lytton referred to the Admiralty for information as to certain parts of the question upon which that department could best furnish the facts. Accordingly, Mr. Washington, the Hydrographer of the navy, was directed to make a report, which he did upon March 12th, to the effect that a great part, though not all, of the available harbours in that part of the Pacific would be obtained by the acquisition of the Fiji group; that these were natural harbours, not requiring artificial development; that the Fiji Islands lay nearly in the direct track from Panama to Sydney; that a steamer touching at one of these islands for coal would lengthen her voyage only about 320 miles, or one day's run out of thirty-two days in a distance of 8,000 miles; and that if, as was reported, coal existed upon these islands, it would at once double their value as a station. The Hydrographer further stated that he had been 'much struck by the entire want by 'Great Britain of an advanced position in the Pacific Ocean.' We have valuable possessions on either side, as at Vancouver and Sydney, but not an islet or a rock in the 7,000 miles of ocean that separate them. He pointed out that it might hereafter be found very inconvenient that England should be shut out from any station in the Pacific, and that an enemy should have possession of Tongu-tabu, where there is a good harbour, within a few hundred miles of our homeward-bound gold ships from Sydney and Melbourne. 'Neither forts nor 'batteries,' he says, 'would be necessary to hold the ground; 'a single cruising ship should suffice for all the wants of the 'islands; coral reefs and the hearty good-will of the natives 'would do the rest.' After the receipt of this report, the next step appears to have been a reference by Sir Edward Lytton to Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary, in which, after stating the question to be 'one not hastily to be decided, 'as involving various considerations of importance and ex-'pense,' he asks whether in Lord Malmesbury's opinion our

occupation of these islands 'may not lead to embarrassment 'or complication with Foreign Powers who have rights or 'claims in that part of the Pacific Ocean?' Lord Malmesbury replied that he was not aware that such occupation would involve the violation of any such rights or claims; and about the same time Mr. Pritchard submitted his scheme for the Government of Fiji, namely, the appointment of a superintendent or governor, a colonial secretary and a judicial secretary, and the permanent station of two steam gun-boats in the group, which he thought would be a competent force to control the whole of Fiji, and to repress the local troubles that might occasionally occur. No further step appears to have been taken in the matter until December 1859, when Mr. Pritchard forwarded to the Home Government a document emanating from a council of chiefs which ratified and renewed the previous act of cession of Thakombau. Mr. Pritchard stated at the same time that the white population had rapidly increased in Fiji, that the chiefs felt their inability to control and guide their state affairs, and that they had 'an extreme and restless 'anxiety to place themselves under British rule.'

Previously, however, to the receipt of Mr. Pritchard's despatch, the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, had selected Colonel Smythe of the Royal Artillery for 'the delicate and important duty of reporting whether it would 'be expedient that Her Majesty's Government should accept 'an offer which has been made, to cede to Her Majesty the 'sovereignty over the Fiji Islands.' Ample and definite instructions were addressed to Colonel Smythe, who was directed to state in full both the advantages and disadvantages which, in his view, would attend such acceptance, and in what manner and on what terms the acquisition, if decided on, had best be effected. In these instructions allusion was made to the conditions upon which the sovereignty had been offered to Her Majesty; namely, that Thakombau should retain the title and rank of 'Tui Viti,' or King of the Fijis, in so far as the aboriginal population was concerned; that Her Majesty should pay for him the sum of 45,000 dollars, demanded of him by the Government of the United States, in respect of certain claims made against the chief by the captain of an American vessel; and that in consideration of such payment he should make over to Her Majesty not less than 200,000 acres of land. Colonel Smythe arrived at Levuka, the principal port of the Fiji group, early in July 1860, and in his very first communication to the Secretary of State he says:—

'In one important point I have ascertained that the information

supplied to Her Majesty's Government, and embodied in my instructions, is inexact. Thakombau, the Chief of Bau, although probably the most influential chief in the group, has no claim to the title of Tui Viti or King of Fiji, *nor would the other chiefs submit to his authority except through foreign compulsion.*'

In his next despatch Colonel Smythe confirms this statement, and reports that the group is composed of a great number of independent kingdoms, 'the rulers of which are 'moved, not less by jealousy of one another than by fear of 'foreign aggression,' to solicit the domination of England. On May 1, 1861, Colonel Smythe forwarded to the Duke of Newcastle his report upon the matters into which he had been directed to inquire, accompanying it with a letter in which he reiterated his statement as to Thakombau's position in these words:—

'Thakombau has no claim to the title of King of Fiji. There is, in fact, no such title. He is only one, although probably the most influential, of the numerous independent chiefs of Fiji, and has consequently no power to cede the sovereignty of the entire group to Her Majesty. He is of an ambitious disposition, and his object seems to be, through the assistance of England, to become the ruler of Fiji, and to be protected at the same time from France and the United States of America, of both which Powers he has great apprehensions. He is most desirous to get quit of the claims of the Government of the latter country, for which the United States' officers, for their own convenience, have made him responsible, although the amount of the claims has been apportioned by them among several tribes. He could not convey to Her Majesty 200,000 acres of land as consideration for the payment of the claims for him, as he does not possess them, nor does he acknowledge to have offered more than *his consent that lands to this extent might be acquired by Her Majesty's Government for public purposes in Fiji.*'

Colonel Smythe goes on to say that Thakombau's cession may, however, be considered valid as having been acquiesced in by the other chiefs; he disputes the justice of the American claims upon him, and 'with these preliminary remarks,' lays before the Duke of Newcastle his careful and elaborate report. In this document will be found a fair and accurate account of the condition of the Fiji group at the time of the proposed transfer to Great Britain. Colonel Smythe begins with a geographical description of the islands, about two hundred in number, of which less than one half are inhabited. Two of them (Viti-Levu and Vanua-Levu) are much larger than the rest, and almost every island is surrounded by a coral reef. Their population is estimated at 200,000, of whom 60,000 are numbered as Christian converts: their principal occupation

is 'the cultivation of their yam and taro plots, sailing in their 'canoes, fishing, and *frequently fighting.*' Out of some forty independent tribes there are twelve of superior influence, and over each the rule of their chief is absolutely despotic. At the date of Colonel Smythe's report the permanent white residents amounted to about 200, who were principally British subjects. The principal articles of produce are cocoa-nut oil, tortoise-shell, pearl-shell, and arrow-root. The sugar-cane and coffee-tree also grow well. Colonel Smythe recapitulates the reasons stated in his instructions as having been urged in favour of accepting the sovereignty of the Fiji Islands—namely, their probable utility as a station for steamers between Panama and Sydney, the supply of cotton which might be obtained from them, and the importance of their possession to the national power and security in the Pacific. With reference to the first reason he points out that the line from Panama to Sydney *viâ* Fiji, would be 260 miles longer, and infinitely more difficult and dangerous than the line by New Zealand. With regard to the second point he states that the cotton plant is not indigenous in Fiji, that it was only introduced some twenty-five years ago, that the habits of the people are indolent, and that it would be difficult to obtain the labour required in a cotton plantation. He therefore thinks that 'the supply of cotton from Fiji can never be otherwise than 'insignificant.' As to the third reason for acceptance, Colonel Smythe points out that the influence of a great Power in the Pacific is dependent entirely on its naval force; that by the possession of Australia and New Zealand, England completely commands the western portion of the Pacific; that the Fiji Islands do not lie in the path of any great commercial route; that their possession might even be a source of embarrassment in time of war; and that all that England really requires is an island with a good harbour midway between Auckland and Panama, in the steam-packet route. Colonel Smythe goes on to say that 'cannibalism, strangula-'tion of widows, infanticide, and other enormities prevail in 'Fiji to a frightful extent.' In order to suppress these practices, which would be a necessary consequence of the establishment of British authority, and for the general support of the Government, 'a force of not less than the wing of a regiment 'would be required, in addition to a ship of war, with a tender 'of light draught, both steamers.' The necessary expenses of a civil establishment would probably not fall short of 7,000*l.* a year, and the raising of revenue would be, for some time at least, attended with considerable difficulties.

Upon a review of the whole circumstances of the case, Colonel Smythe came to the conclusion that whilst it would not be expedient that Her Majesty should be advised to accept the offered cession, *the resources of the Fiji Islands could be best developed, and the welfare of their inhabitants secured, by a native Government aided by the counsels of respectable Europeans.* Colonel Smythe added to his report suggestions for the conferring upon the British Consul magisterial powers, the erection of a stone lock-up house for the safe custody of offenders, and the appointment of two English constables. He further advised, in a letter bearing date November 28, 1861, that should Her Majesty's Government decide on declining the offer of the cession of the sovereignty of the Fiji Islands, their decision should be conveyed to the chief in a formal way accompanied by such expressions of friendly interest in the affairs of the natives as would remove any painful feelings caused by their offer being declined. This advice was followed, and in July 1862, in obedience to instructions from the Duke of Newcastle, Commodore Seymour despatched Her Majesty's ship 'Miranda' for this special service, and Captain Jenkins, the officer commanding, formally communicated to Thakombau and the other chiefs the decision at which Her Majesty's Government had arrived.

This proceeding appears to have set the matter at rest for some years; but Fiji had attractions which drew settlers from time to time from New South Wales, Victoria, and other places, and the white population appears to have gradually but steadily increased. In August 1868, the Earl of Belmore sent home a despatch from Mr. Thurston, acting British Consul in Fiji, detailing an attempt made by the agents of a projected company in Melbourne to obtain from Thakombau (under the title of 'King of Fiji'), the grant of 200,000 acres of land which he had no right whatever to give, and which in fact he did not possess. In this despatch Mr. Thurston alluded to Colonel Smythe's report, in the conclusions deduced from which he entirely agreed, and furthermore stated that 'so slight is the authority of Thakobau' (who appears to have dropped the 'm' from his name since 1862), 'that he cannot protect from robbery or violence those 'European settlers who have bought lands in the districts he 'assumes to control; grievances of this nature can only be 'redressed by the exercise of British or other civilised autho-'rity.' Mr. Thurston also expressed his fears that from this cause, and also from the fact that Fiji was without any form of government—'a mere congeries of savage tribes, incapable

'at present of entering into civilised relations,'—complications would inevitably arise in the future. These fears certainly cannot be said to have been entertained without some foundation. In a late despatch (November 1869) Lord Belmore speaks of 'the state of utter lawlessness which prevails in 'Fiji,' and there can be no doubt that the want of settled government was producing serious evils.

Although Colonel Smythe had stated in his report that the cotton plant was not indigenous in Fiji, and had suggested various difficulties in the way of its cultivation, persons had not been deterred from embarking in designs for the establishment of cotton plantations. Indeed, in 1859, the Executive Committee of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association had reported upon samples of Fiji cotton, transmitted to them by Mr. Pritchard, in terms which were tolerably certain to stimulate enterprise in this direction. These samples, they declared, 'are found to be of qualities 'most desirable for the manufactures of this country, and 'the Committee have formed an opinion in all respects 'favourable to these samples, and believe *that such a range* '*of excellent cotton is scarcely now received from any cotton-* '*growing* country which supplies this requisite raw material 'to Great Britain.' Their report concluded with a resolution to the effect that if Mr. Pritchard's representations were correct as to the cotton-producing powers of Fiji, 'the 'resolution of Her Majesty's Government ought to be directed 'to securing for this country the means of obtaining those 'supplies.' It was not surprising that the stamp of approval thus bestowed upon Fiji cotton was followed by an influx of white settlers. Plantations appear to have sprung up in various islands, and attempts were made to develope their resources by private energy and enterprise. The want of adequate protection to life and property was, however, so keenly felt by the white population, that they seem continually to have turned their attention to the possibility of placing themselves under the dominion or at least the protectorate of one of the Great Powers. In 1869 seventy persons petitioned the American Government upon this subject, through Mr. Brewer, the United States Vice-Consul; but their petition appears to have met with no response, and in a despatch of March 16, 1870, Lord Clarendon states that he 'has reason to believe that the United States Govern- 'ment have no intention to establish a protectorate over the 'Fiji Islands.' So great, however, was the anxiety felt by the settlers, that early in 1870, a number of the latter drew up an

address 'to the white residents in Fiji,' which Mr. March, who had now succeeded to the British Consulate in those islands, forwarded to the British Government through the Governor of New South Wales. In this document it was stated that there were at that time some 2,300 white inhabitants in the group of islands. The various futile efforts to obtain the protection or acquisition of the group by some one of the Great Powers were recapitulated, and it was suggested that a general meeting should be held in order that, such efforts having failed, the settlers should combine for mutual protection, elect a president and a 'governing committee,' and, in fact, set up for themselves. But although the result of this meeting appears to have been the gift of a charter by Thakombau (or, as his name appears in this document 'Epeniza Cakobau'), the proceedings of the settlers were declared illegal, and no further steps seem to have been taken. Meanwhile the white population continued to increase, new cotton plantations began to spring up in the various islands of the group, and Fiji gradually became the rival of Queensland in the competition for native labour.

It was not until the month of June 1871 that a movement was set on foot to establish a regular government which has, for good or evil, lasted to the present time, and has been the subject of much correspondence and discussion upon information which is in reality even yet imperfect. There can be no doubt that for a considerable time past the Fiji group of islands had been the Alsatia of persons whose pecuniary embarrassments rendered the air of the Australasian Colonies unwholesome. A great number of persons whose character was at best doubtful had from time to time taken refuge in these islands, the want of laws and regular government being to them the reverse of disagreeable. The allegation, then, of the opponents of the 'so-called Fijian Govern-'ment' has from the first been that the whole affair was nothing more than the attempt of certain needy adventurers to make use of the authority of King Cakobau to rebuild their own ruined fortunes and to obtain position, power, and wealth under the pretext of the establishment of a constitutional government under that monarch. On the other hand, the friends of the 'so-called government' have all along maintained that their appointment was the legitimate attempt of the white population to co-operate with the recognised native authority, and to establish a form of government mutually beneficial to each. Opinions as to the truth and justice of the allegations on either side will probably be materially influenced

by the result of the transactions which have occurred since the initiation of the Government of King Cakobau, and at present it appears hardly fair either to approve or to condemn. Certain it is, no doubt, that the feeling of the white population has been far from unanimous in favour of the Government, and they have not succeeded in gaining the confidence of the British Consul, Mr. March, and of many others of their own colour. The history of their installation is somewhat enveloped in obscurity; but it was in the beginning of June 1871 that the inhabitants of the Fiji group first became aware of the existence of this Government by the publication of a 'Figi Government Gazette.' The first number of this remarkable document bears date 'Levuka, Monday, June 5th, '1871,' and commences with an address (both in the Fiji and English language) from King Cakobau 'To my subjects and 'foreign residents in Fiji.' In this address the worthy monarch states his views and intentions in the following language:—

'The daily increasing foreign population in my dominions, introducing the customs, habits, and commerce of highly civilised nations, has caused me serious consideration. Many foreigners have acquired by purchase and lease considerable areas of land, upon which they are expending much capital and exercising great skill and labour. It is, therefore, clearly evident that to preserve that perfect harmony which should exist between the two races, to facilitate the increasing European commerce, to establish foreign relations, a properly constituted government has become an absolute necessity. I have, therefore, accepted the services of the gentlemen named in my proclamation to form an Executive to administer the Government in accordance with the constitution adopted in 1867 at the earnest desire of the foreign residents, and accepted by my chiefs who have since been ruled by those laws alone.

'This constitution is similar in principle to that of the Hawaiian Government, which has been in successful operation (upon a very moderate expenditure) nearly forty years; it provides for a House of Representatives, Civil and Religious Liberty, simple and inexpensive Courts of Justice, and equal rights.'

His Majesty then recapitulates various measures to which the attention of his Government will be at once directed, and concludes by 'confidently commending' it to his people, 'conscious of its deep importance to yourselves, and, under 'Divine Providence, the great future which its careful and 'just administration will open for Fiji.' The 'constitution' of 1867 herein referred to is one about which we have little information, but appears to have been one of those abortive efforts at government which would probably have been little

heard of but for this revival of the attempt in 1871. The address of King Cakobau was accompanied by the publication in the same Gazette of a Royal Commission, appointing the Executive Government as follows: Sydney Charles Burt ('a 'member of our Executive Council') as Premier and Minister of Finance; George Austen Woods, Minister of Interior Affairs; John Temple Sagar, Minister of Trade and Customs; Ratu Savanaca, Minister of Native Affairs; Ratu Timoci, Minister of War and Police; James Corban Smith and Gustavus Hennings, Members of the Executive Council, with no particular office assigned to them. This Royal Commission is signed 'W. M. Moore, Interpreter, and W. H. 'Drew, Private Secretary;' and herein we see the establishment of the 'so-called Government of Fiji.' Upon June 10 a second Gazette was published, in which appeared an address to the 'Foreign Residents in Fiji,' signed 'Sydney 'Charles Burt, Premier.' Mr. Burt, commencing with a declaration that 'Ministers think it advisable that they should 'now offer some explanation of the causes that led to the 'appointment of the Executive by the King,' recapitulates these causes: viz., the largely increasing European population —the growing want of confidence in commercial matters, and the general desire for some regular form of Government—and proceeds to say that 'Cakobau, *after much thought*, saw no 'way out of the difficulty, except by the formation of a Go-'vernment in conformity with the Bau Constitution of 1867. 'A member of the present Executive, after much persuasion, 'undertook the responsibility *upon the express understanding* '*that no public meeting was to be called.* Cakobau's ex-'perience of such meetings only leading him to believe in 'repeated failures and entire want of co-operation amongst 'the white residents.' He then states that the gentlemen named in the Royal Commission had accepted office 'with 'much reluctance,' but that 'the daily reproach of the Colonial 'newspapers upon our supposed lawless state, *the refusal of* '*Great Britain and the United States to accept a cession of* '*the Islands*, the want of unanimity amongst the foreign 'residents, left no course open but the one adopted.' This appeal concluded by an allusion to a document published in the same Gazette, purporting to be the acceptance of the oath of allegiance to Cakobau, taken in 1867 by all the ruling chiefs in the Fiji Islands, whose signatures were attached to the said document, and whose acceptance was held by Mr. Burt to be conclusive of the right of Cakobau to the supreme sovereignty of the group.

'Unanimity amongst the foreign residents' does not, however, appear to have been promoted by this assumption of authority by Mr. Burt and his Executive. Not sharing the objections of the latter to public meetings, a Committee of white residents was appointed on the very day the formation of the Government was proclaimed, to consider and report upon the course taken, and in less than three weeks the report of the Committee, disapproving the Ministry, was almost unanimously adopted at a large public meeting. It would appear that the antecedents of the Premier, Mr. Burt, who had been unsuccessful in his business of an auctioneer in Sydney, and had quitted the Colony of New South Wales in some consequent financial difficulties, did not inspire the white residents of Fiji with confidence, whilst their indignation had been excited by the secrecy of the proceedings of this gentleman and his colleagues, and their assumption of power without the consent and authority of the white population of the islands. It was alleged that the latter were quite ready to agree to the appointment of European advisers to act with the native officers of King Thakombau, but that they wished that the selection of such advisers should rest with the white residents, and that the great powers which would be wielded by such a Government should be placed in the hands of men of known good repute and ability, and such as could command the confidence of the people. Simultaneously, therefore, with the formation of the Government there sprang into existence an opposition of formidable character, which has never been wholly withdrawn. Despite this opposition, however, the Government proceeded boldly in the administration of affairs. They announced their intention to establish a bank, to secure an efficient mail service, and, above all, to provide for the administration of justice. They lost no time in carrying out this last proposal, for they forthwith appointed judges, and early in July their 'Supreme Court' held its first sitting, dealt with several serious charges, and condemned three prisoners to death. It became, therefore, abundantly evident that those who had undertaken the task of Government under King Thakombau had done so in earnest, and were determined to uphold their authority by every means in their power. But before tracing further the history of this movement, so far indeed as it may be traceable at the present time, it will be well to see the feelings with which the condition of Fiji was at this time regarded by those great Australasian Colonies who had mainly supplied the white population, and had been the chief means of commencing the development of the resources of the Islands.

On June 20, 1870, an Intercolonial Conference assembled at Melbourne, to discuss various questions of interest to the Australasian Colonies in general, and the existing relations between those Colonies. Amongst other subjects, the condition of the Fiji group was brought under discussion, and the members of the Conference agreed to the following determination :—

'This Conference, being of opinion that the geographical position of the Fiji Islands renders their protection of the very highest consideration as regards Australia, and both British and Australian commerce, resolves that it is of the utmost importance to British interests that these islands should not form part of, or be under the guardianship of, any other country than Great Britain, and that a respectful address to this effect be prepared for transmission to the Imperial authorities.'

Upon August 12 this resolution, embodied in a memorandum from the Chief Secretary of Victoria (Sir James McCulloch), was forwarded to the Colonial Office by Lord Canterbury, Governor of that colony. In his accompanying despatch Lord Canterbury observed that 'the interest felt by 'the Australian Colonies in the development of the resources 'and in the civilisation and security of the Fiji Islands, has 'been considerable, and is rapidly increasing.' He goes on to state that within the last few months 'many symptoms 'have been apparent of largely extended intercourse with 'these islands;' that 'a steamer of considerable tonnage, with 'a large cargo and numerous passengers,' was about to be despatched thither; and 'the establishment by any foreign 'Government of supreme authority there would naturally and 'necessarily be distasteful, and prejudicial commercially in 'time of peace to the Australian possessions of the Crown, 'and might be dangerous to them in time of war.' The answer to this despatch, forwarded from Downing Street on March 16, 1871, assures Lord Canterbury that careful consideration had been given by Her Majesty's Government to the above memorandum. It was acknowledged that matters had so far changed since the date of Colonel Smythe's report, that a larger European community now existed in the Fiji Islands, better able to govern and protect themselves. Otherwise, says Lord Kimberley, 'the same difficulties remain. 'The islands are under the jurisdiction of several chiefs, and 'even if they all concurred in an act of cession to the Queen, 'the experience of other colonies shows that disputes would be 'sure afterwards to arise, especially as to the occupation of 'land by the settlers. It would be impossible for this country

'to undertake the responsibility of the government of the 'islands without a sufficient force to support its authority, 'and Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to station 'a military force for this purpose in the Fijis.' On these grounds, therefore, the Home Government refused the request contained or implied in the resolution of the Inter-colonial Conference, and Lord Kimberley took the occasion to remark that the meaning of Her Majesty extending her 'protection' over the Fiji group was not very clear; but that if it meant something short of direct annexation, it was even more open to objection, 'as while it would not really diminish the re- 'sponsibility this country would incur, it would weaken and 'embarrass the exercise of British authority, and would be 'certain, after a period, more or less protracted, of uncertainty, 'and possibly discredit, to end in annexation in circumstances 'less favourable than the present.' Lord Kimberley, however, expressed the readiness of the Home Government to give such aid as might be in their power, through the Consul, for the maintenance of order 'until the European community 'can establish a regular government,' and declared that they were 'considering measures with a view to increase the autho- 'rity of the Consul over British subjects by conferring upon 'him magisterial powers.'

The interest, however, taken by the Australian Colonies in the affairs of Fiji was not confined to Victoria. On March 28, 1871, the Foreign Office forwarded to the Colonial Office a despatch from Mr. March, British Consul in Fiji, enclosing a petition which had been addressed to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in the previous September by Dr. Dunmore Lang, in which that gentleman stated his opinion that there already existed 'ample authority for annexing and 'establishing a regular government in the Fiji Islands as a 'dependency of New South Wales;' that such annexation would not only be 'a measure of great commercial importance, 'but one of equity and justice to this Colony, as it is only 'through the expenditure of British money in New South 'Wales for the last eighty years and upwards that the coloni- 'sation of any islands in the Pacific Ocean has been 'dered at all practicable for any Power in Christen and begging the Assembly to 'take this matter of ext 'urgency into immediate consideration.' The Parliamer papers apparently do not disclose the full history of ensuing transactions, since it is evident from the follo extracts that some non-official communications must passed between the British Government and that of

South Wales, in which the former signified to the latter its general concurrence in the annexation of the Fiji group by the Colony, should such be the result of the then uncertain state of affairs. The 'further correspondence' presented to Parliament in March of the present year commences with a despatch from Lord Belmore, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of Lord Kimberley's despatch to Victoria of March 1871, and enclosing an able letter from Sir James Martin, Attorney-General of New South Wales, containing his views and those of his Cabinet upon the subject. The Cabinet of New South Wales, says Sir James, consider that the course taken by the British Government is 'very much to be regretted.' It appears that 'Lord Kimberley and his colleagues are willing to 'recognise any regular government which the European community in the Fiji Islands may establish, but are not prepared, as British Ministers, to undertake the responsibility 'and incur the expense of converting these islands into a 'British colony or possession. *We are not aware of any precedent for such an invitation as this to a few Europeans resident in a part of the world where there is no government, to establish a separate nationality for themselves. Hitherto, the right of British subjects to throw off their allegiance, and, either alone or in conjunction with foreigners, to form themselves into an independent state, has not, so far as we are aware, been recognised.*' After calling attention to the fact that the establishment of such a government would probably lead to complications with other Powers who might interfere for the protection of their own subjects, Sir James Martin proceeds to remark upon the action of certain white residents in Fiji who had assumed power as a government 'with the concurrence of the most 'powerful native chief,' and continues: 'We are persuaded 'that this is a step which the British Government ought not 'to countenance in any way. The proposal of Lord Kimberley to increase the authority of the Consul over British 'subjects in the Fijis by conferring on him magisterial powers, 'would, if carried out, be of no advantage. *The conferring of such powers by the Imperial Parliament would itself be an act of sovereignty over the Fijis, and the exercise of such powers would be inconsistent with the recognition of the local authority now stated to be established.*' Sir James Martin concludes with these words:—

'3. We are aware, from unofficial but reliable sources, that Her Majesty's Ministers in England are anxious to have this Fijian question settled in some way or other without delay. We have been informed that powers would in all probability be conferred upon this

colony, if we desired it, to annex Fiji or take it under our protection. We cannot see how such a scheme could possibly be carried out. This colony could not hope to control the inhabitants of the Fijis, native or European, without a considerable armed force to cause its authority to be obeyed, and there is no reason to believe that the expense necessary to maintain such a force would be incurred. This colony can have no motive sufficient to warrant it in taking upon itself such a burden. The establishment of a Government in the Fijis, with a Legislature and Courts, and all the appliances necessary to keep order, preserve property, and enforce rights, would be a convenience no doubt to the inhabitants of all these colonies, but in such convenience persons in other countries also would largely participate. A new and attractive field for colonisation would be opened up, mainly for the benefit of the more populous communities of Europe, but in a very minor degree for the benefit of this or any of the neighbouring colonies.

'4. The securing of such advantages is an Imperial question, and as such should, we think, be taken up by the Imperial Government, whose naval forces are already sufficiently powerful in these seas to protect, in its early stages of development, when alone such protection would be necessary, any Government which under Imperial auspices might be created. Entertaining these views, we think it right to request that your Excellency will be pleased to communicate them to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the hope that the dangers arising from the assumption in the Fijis of legislative and executive powers by persons who can have no right to exercise such powers may be avoided, and a splendid country may be secured, while there is yet time, as a field for British capital and enterprise.'

To this despatch Lord Kimberley replied upon the 3rd November in words which so clearly define the position and opinion of the British Government that they are worth transcribing in full. Having acknowledged the receipt of the foregoing despatch, his lordship continues:—

'Her Majesty's Government have attentively considered the arguments of Sir James Martin, but they must decline to admit that, because a certain number of British subjects, proceeding for the most part from the Australian Colonies, have established themselves in the Fijis, the Imperial Government is called upon to extend British Sovereignty to these islands in order to relieve such persons and their property from the risk which they may incur.

'Sir James Martin is mistaken in supposing that the conferring upon the Consul magisterial powers over British subjects would be an act of sovereignty over the Fijis. In barbarous countries, where there is no regular Government, such powers have not unfrequently been conferred upon Consuls with the consent of the native chiefs.

'As regards the Government which has recently been set up by the white settlers in the name of King Thakombau, I have in another despatch informed you that as long as this newly-constituted Government exercises actual authority, you should deal with it as a *de facto*

Government, so far as concerns the districts which may acknowledge its rule, but that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to give any opinion as to the propriety of formally recognising it without much fuller information as to its character and prospects.

'Sir James Martin adverts to the suggestion that the Fijis might be annexed to New South Wales; and if the colony were willing to undertake the responsibility of providing for the government of the islands, Her Majesty's Government would not refuse to entertain such a proposal, if it met with the concurrence of the native chiefs.

'It is, of course, entirely for the colony to determine whether such a scheme would be for its advantage; but as Sir James Martin affirms that the establishment of a regular Government in the Fijis would be mainly for the benefit of European communities, and in a very minor degree for the benefit of New South Wales or any of the neighbouring colonies, I must observe that if this correctly represents the general opinion in the Australasian colonies, the interest of Her Majesty's Government in the question would be greatly lessened, since in their view it is principally on account of the Australasian Colonies that the affairs of the Fiji Islands are a matter of concern to this country.'

Intelligible and defensible as may be this position of the British Government from an English point of view, it is evident that, if understood, it has hardly been appreciated in the colony of New South Wales. The 'Sydney Morning 'Herald' of November 30th criticised in a hostile spirit the supposed desire of Great Britain that the colony should undertake the government of Fiji. 'So far as we are aware,' says that journal, '*there is not a single human being within the* '*territory*, except the person who has proposed this measure, 'in favour of it. If there is any secret agency at work the 'colony is deeply wronged, and the British Ministry grossly 'deceived.' And again: 'The English Government, by 'shifting off the rule of Fiji on to New South Wales, *must* '*still be responsible for the conduct of both countries.*' And the same newspaper of December 20th remarks: 'The notion 'of making a present of Fiji to New South Wales is some-'thing like the celebrated gift of the white elephant of 'Eastern story. It was a great curiosity, an animal of con-'siderable beauty, worth something to a showman, but a 'tremendous eater, whose support could only ruin the man 'honoured by its free gift.' If the latter paragraph were to be implicitly believed, it does not appear why Great Britain, any more than her colony, should be burdened with the 'white elephant;' but the meaning of the writer evidently is that the animal would be relatively less costly to the mother country than to the colony, with contingent advantages which would outweigh the consideration of expense. The position, however, of the British Government towards

Fiji having been clearly defined by the despatch already quoted, the 'so-called Government' had an opportunity of proving its capability of ruling the islands, and its right to be recognised as a *de jure* Government. It is difficult to trace the proceedings in Fiji since the close of last year, but, so far as we know, the attempt at government has been steadily progressing, though the amount of its success is variously estimated. It may be noted, however, especially with a view to the consideration of the most recent Fiji intelligence, that upon the 1st of January of the present year a little book was published at Sydney, entitled 'The Inter-'national Status of Fiji,' the author being 'Charles St. Julian, 'Hawaiian Chargé d'Affaires, &c., for Southern Polynesia, and 'Consul-General for the Australian Colonies, late Hawaiian 'Minister at Fiji.' This gentleman, who bears a high character for intelligence and ability, maintains in his book the legality of the constitution of the Government of Cakobau, its establishment in a proper and constitutional manner, and the necessity of its recognition in the interests of 'sound policy, 'of Christianity, and civilisation, and the exigencies of com-'merce.' After this publication, it is not surprising that Mr. St. Julian should have lately accepted the post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and 'Chancellor of the King-'dom of Fiji,' and afforded one of the best guarantees we have yet had of the probable stability of the Government. The circumstances under which this appointment has been made and other changes have taken place in King Cakobau's Government are related in the 'Sydney Morning Herald' of April 2nd. It appears that a number of whites, resident at Levuka, chiefly British subjects, had formed themselves into a league to resist the authority of Cakobau's Government, and published a manifesto declaring their determination to resist. The Government having nevertheless intimated its intention to enforce the constitution and laws against all domiciled foreigners, and to compel payment of taxes, and it being understood that some of the whites might be enrolled to assist as special constables in such enforcement, the British Consul (Mr. March) published a notice warning all subjects of Her Majesty against the rendering any such assistance. The special grievance of the 'British Subjects Mutual Protec-'tion Society and Volunteer Rifle Corps' was the retention of office by Mr. S. C. Burt, as Chief Secretary, and the exercise of any authority by this Fijian Government, until the same should have been formally recognised by the Government of Great Britain. There appears to have been a str-

feeling against Mr. Burt; but a deputation which waited on the King to ask for his dismissal met with a rough reception, and were told that 'the King was satisfied with 'his advisers, and if, as the deputation said, the country was 'to be ruined, he (the King) was willing to be ruined with 'it.' However, soon after this, a Mr. R. W. Smith, charged with the murder of a native chief, having come to Levuka, and a warrant having been issued for his arrest, the Volunteers interfered, marched to Smith's hotel, and posted sentries to prevent his arrest. Mr. Burt determined to make the arrest by force, but, his colleagues dissenting, he resigned. The King at first refused to accept his resignation, but afterwards did so, accompanying such acceptance with thanks for Mr. Burt's past services. Mr. Smith was then surrendered to the British Consul, and afterwards gave himself up to await his trial at the next sittings of the Supreme Court. Mr. Thurston, formerly British Consul, and well fitted for office, was summoned by Cakobau to succeed Mr. Burt, and Mr. St. Julian accepted office at the same time. The only other item of news which accompanied this intelligence is worth narrating. King Cakobau was extremely angry at the action of the Volunteers, and having summoned the white residents to meet him in the square, addressed them in a speech which certainly gives some evidence of his capacity to understand the position of affairs.

'Being now assembled together here this morning, I wish first to say this is purely my own desire and request—not that of my advisers. I have something to say to you, and I wish to say it myself. The chiefs of Fiji are now united, and our object is the good of the land. *According to our old customs we had no difficulty in getting rid of an offensive person*' (by clubbing and eating him?) '*and we understand revenge or retribution*; but such customs are bad, and we wish for a better state of things, and for that purpose laws have been made by you and approved by us chiefs, and are now in force, and were to apply to all alike. But now I hear of dissension, and amongst you! Why is this so? You know and understand what is right. You have had the like laws in your own land, and if laws are a good thing for all, is the good not to be mutually enjoyed by you and us? Or are you to have good and no evil? When a native does wrong there is no rest till he be punished. If the laws are to apply to both races, then it would be well, but if it be your mind that they are not so to apply, what is to be done? I understood all inequalities were to be levelled and brought to a smooth surface by the introduction of a new state of things; but I have heard the day before yesterday, when a man charged with killing a native was to be brought to justice, you of Levuka assembled with arms and refused to give him up. I thought law and order was a good thing, and expected and hoped for mutual

elp from all. Three natives have been killed but lately—one at unito-gaboa, one at Savu-Savu, and one at Taviuni—and nothing has een done to any of the parties yet, and you Levukans now refuse to ive up one of them. If a Fijian commits a wrong, the governors are n their several provinces, and he can soon be brought to justice; but f you refuse help and take up arms to resist, what, then, am I to do? What will be the consequence? Suppose a native kills a white man? If the laws are to apply alike to all, and we all mutually assist in their execution, there can be no difficulty. I have told you my mind. It is with you to follow it or not. I desire the peace and welfare of all in Fiji, and with this wish to end my address to you.'

As yet we have no intelligence of the effect which this spirited and sensible address of the old King may have produced upon the white residents. It is possible that the assumption of the reins of government by men like Messrs. Thurston and St. Julian may have inaugurated an era of improvement, and that a quieter state of things may now prevail. Meanwhile, a German corvette, the 'Nymphe,' has visited the group, and many civilities have been interchanged between Cakobau and his advisers and the commander and officers of the vessel. It would be a strange result of the long complications and correspondence relative to Fiji if these islands, refused by Great Britain and her Colonies, declined by the United States, and torn by the internal dissensions of their white residents, were destined at last to form the nucleus of German power in the Pacific. Stranger things have happened, and if King Cakobau should find the difficulties of his position insuperable and unendurable, he might not be indisposed to shift his burden upon mightier shoulders and to seek the peace and prosperity of his kingdom by its transfer to the sheltering power of the German Empire.

It is not surprising that a question so interesting to our great Australasian colonies, and one which had so long been a subject of correspondence between their Governments, the British Consul at Fiji, and the Home Government, should at length be brought in some tangible form before the British Parliament. Accordingly upon the 25th of June of the present year, Mr. M'Arthur, the Member for Lambeth, brought forward the following motion in the House of Commons:—'That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, 'praying Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to 'establish a protectorate at Fiji.' An animated and interesting debate followed, which will well repay perusal by those who have sufficient concern for the affairs of Fiji to ransack the pages of Hansard for this purpose. Mr. M'Arthur enlarged upon the importance of these islands both on accoun[t]

of their geographical position and their adaptability for the growth of cotton. He glanced at the history of the country for many years past, maintained that 'to acquire the islands 'at the expense of a few thousands would be a stroke of good 'policy,' and emphatically condemned the then Government of Fiji, as commanding neither the respect nor the confidence of the people. He asserted that King Cakobau would gladly welcome our authority; and advocating our protection of the Fijian group also upon economical grounds, 'as otherwise we 'should be put to a large expense in endeavouring to put 'down the practice of kidnapping,' concluded by quoting words recently spoken by Mr. Disraeli at a Conservative banquet at Manchester, to the following effect:—

'In my opinion no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land.'

Mr. M'Arthur's motion was seconded by Admiral Erskine, who brought his personal experience to bear upon the question, alluded to the fact of his having formerly reported to the Admiralty that these islands would form a valuable coaling-station for our ships in the Pacific, glanced at the rapid increase of Fiji in population and trade, and acquainted the House with the fact that he (Admiral Erskine) had, in 1849, given King Cakobau the first dollar that that potentate had ever possessed. Mr. Eastwick, Sir C. Wingfield, Mr. R. Torrens, and Sir J. Elphinstone followed in the same strain; Mr. Salt inclined likewise to the motion, and Mr. Dixon was the only member who appeared to have some idea that the 'so-called Government' of Fiji should be allowed to fail before they were superseded, and doubted the wisdom of the policy so generally advocated by previous speakers. It would appear, however, that the inclination of the public opinion of the House, as afforded in this debate, was not entirely without its effect upon the Government. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) pointed out, indeed, the difference which existed between the case of the Fiji Islands and that of other countries or tracts of countries which had been recently annexed or 'protected' by Great Britain. He combated, moreover, the idea that the British Government had erred in refusing to accept the cession of these islands in 1859, especially after the report presented by their Commissioner, Colonel Smythe. But throughout the whole of his speech the arguments for—not protection—but annexation

of the Fijian group, were put more cogently and clearly than those on the other side of the question, and he appeared rather to excuse than to defend the present refusal of the Government to annex, resting their justification rather upon the uncertainty that the desire of the population of Fiji and of Cakobau still tended in that direction, than upon those considerations of expense and of doubtful advantage which we have seen advanced elsewhere. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen declared his opinion that annexation was far preferable to a protectorate; but that having refused the cession of the country when freely offered, it would be hardly fair to step in uninvited and annex it at the present time for our own advantage. 'It was, however, by Australian energy that the 'resources of the Fiji Islands were being developed, and if 'they could be governed by one of those colonies considerable 'advantages might be the result. That was the proposition 'which the Government had made in the last despatch pre-'sented to Parliament. *It was far better to wait and to act 'with caution than to take any precipitate step.*' Having said so much, the Under-Secretary proceeded to lay down as an axiom of policy that there were higher considerations than those of economy, and that there was '*nothing wrongful in 'the acquisition of territory freely offered by the inhabitants,* 'by which good government and the promotion of civilisation 'and Christianity were secured, and new markets opened for 'trade.' He recapitulated the steps which the Government had taken with regard to the passing of the 'Pacific Islanders' 'Protection Bill' and strengthening the squadron, and bore witness to the high character of the two men (Messrs. Thurston and St. Julian), who had just succeeded to the offices of Premier and Chief Justice in Fiji, hoping that under their auspices good government might prevail in the islands. His concluding words, however, were not such as to discourage the advocates of annexation:—

'Instructions had been sent out to the English representative there to recognise the Government as a *de facto* Government; but the extent of our recognition would depend upon the ability of the Government in the islands to maintain good order, and on the sincerity of their efforts to suppress the slave traffic. We did not see what other course Her Majesty's Government could take; and *if hereafter the white population and the natives should desire the territory to be annexed, the British nation would never hesitate, when the interests of Christianity were concerned, to take whatever steps would best promote those ends.* But *it was better to be too late than too soon*; and while progress was being made in the Fiji Islands, the British Government exercised a wise discretion in not forcing a protectorate upon them.'

It is scarcely to be wondered at that Lord Sandon, in the warm 'colonial speech' with which he followed, said that 'his 'honourable friend had to a great extent conceded the point in 'dispute.' Not sufficiently so, however, for Mr. Kinnaird, who with much vehemence and excitement protested against anybody who had ever said anything against annexation, praised to the skies Lord Palmerston (who was Prime Minister of the Cabinet which refused to annex these islands in 1859), and concluded by saying that 'it was all very well 'for members of the Government to make pretty speeches 'about our colonies, but we wanted something else—we 'wanted action.' Encouraged by the general tone of the debate, Mr. M'Arthur somewhat irregularly altered the terms of his motion, which was eventually submitted to the House in the following shape:—

'That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that she may be graciously pleased to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a protectorate over the Fiji Islands, *or of annexing them, provided this may be effected with the consent of the inhabitants.*'

This alteration, together with the tone and statements of Mr. Kinnaird's speech, called up the Prime Minister, who demurred to the Government being placed in the position to decide between a protectorate and annexation, and pointed out some of the difficulties which surrounded the question. Mr. Gladstone, however, was by no means strong in his language against the possibility of annexation at some future period. Although, he observed, the Government was not prepared to accept the responsibility with which it was proposed to saddle them, this was 'not because it professed a policy of indif- 'ferentism, or had registered a vow in heaven that nothing 'should induce it to add to the territory or territorial respon- 'sibilities of this country.' He stated that 'as far as it was 'possible to lay down an abstract rule upon this question, he 'would lay down this rule, that Her Majesty's Govern- 'ment would annex no territory, great or small, *except in con- 'formity with the well-understood and sufficiently ascertained 'desire of the inhabitants of the country proposed to be annexed.*' Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech with these suggestive words:—'*If honourable members wished to take steps with 'regard to this question, let it be done by means of a motion 'calling upon Her Majesty's Government to ascertain the wishes 'of the Fiji Islands in the course they wished to see taken. This 'was the only form in which he, on behalf of Her Majesty's*

'Government, could accept any responsibility with reference to 'the question.'

In spite of the somewhat irregular course taken in the sudden alteration of the motion, and in the face of the protest of the Prime Minister, the House of Commons only rejected the amended motion by 135 votes against 84, and the feeling in favour of the acquisition of these islands was unmistakeably evinced during the debate. Whether or no the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone will be adopted, and some such motion as that which he shadowed forth be introduced early in the next session of Parliament, will probably depend in some measure upon the intelligence which may reach us in the meanwhile concerning the new Fiji Government. The importance of these islands seems to be generally admitted, and the force of the argument of expense and responsibility which would be entailed upon this country by their acquisition has been somewhat weakened by the expressed readiness of the Government to consent to their being acquired and governed by New South Wales or Victoria. For since (in spite of the anti-colonial party of which we have heard, but which has apparently disappeared and has certainly met with no favour from the present occupants of the Colonial Office), these colonies are happily still component parts of the British Empire, the acquisition of territory by either one of them is practically acquisition by Great Britain, and our responsibility in connexion with Fiji, if acquired by New South Wales or Victoria, would be precisely the same as if it were an integral part of the Australasian continent. It may be, as stated by Lord Kimberley in his despatch of November 3, 1871, that 'it is principally 'on account of the Australasian Colonies that the affairs of the 'Fiji Islands are a matter of concern to this country;' but it is worth while to remember that Australasian interests and our own are so far identical in this matter that any state of things in Fiji which injured the one would indubitably injure the other. The main argument, from a selfish point of view, against our annexation of the Fiji group may be found in the assertion that the command of the waters of the Pacific is the best and surest protection for our Australasian Colonies, and that so long as we possess that command, our fleets are sufficient for us without the acquisition of territory which might be burdensome in time of peace and easy of attack by an enemy in time of war. But, supposing that Fiji were annexed to-morrow, we should none the less command the Pacific, whilst the possession of her harbours and the establishment of a coaling station would be of no inconsiderable benefit. Nor, indeed,

would the islands be open to easy attack from an enemy, naturally protected as they are by coral reefs, unless our fleets should have been previously so disposed of that the enemy had obtained that command of the ocean which we now possess, in which case the ownership of Fiji would probably concern us but little.

It is, however, interesting to know the feelings of other nations with respect to the possession of harbours in the Pacific, and at a moment when our position with regard to the Fiji group has been so much debated, it is well worth while to call attention to recent proceedings upon the part of the United States. About three hundred miles distant from the Fiji group are situated the Navigator Islands, which have hitherto been under the rule of a native king, the European residents living in harmony with the aborigines, who, however, seem to have been in the habit of indulging in civil wars to some considerable extent. It must be premised that no papers have hitherto been presented to Parliament, to which we may refer for an official account of the recent transactions to which we are about to allude, but the circumstantial account given in the 'Sunday Morning Chronicle,' a Washington newspaper, bearing date June 2, 1872, seems to be confirmed in its main particulars by private accounts, and there is no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. The correspondent of this newspaper, writing from Apia, a town in the Navigator Islands, under date of April 18th, gives a graphic description of the situation and fertility of the country, glances at the circumstances under which a 'fratricidal war' has been desolating the country for ten years past, and proceeds to narrate the events which had then just taken place.

'On the arrival,' he says, 'of Mr. Stewart, the President of the Central Polynesia Land and Commercial Company, he at once requested a meeting of the King Malestoa and his principal chiefs, representing to them that the Company he represented had purchased large tracts of land on the island, and that it was impossible that the war could be continued longer without entirely destroying the native race. *The King at once agreed with Mr. Stuart, and signified his wish to hand over his right to the United States and the Company, and immediately an agreement was drawn up, handing over the royalty of the island to the United States.* The following day the other party met in the house of the United States Consul, and agreed to the same proposition, and in accordance thereof a treaty was drawn up, the fifth clause of which reads thus: "*We do acknowledge the absolute authority of the United States of America with regard to all matters whatsoever, and bind ourselves to adopt the common laws of America.*"'

'This agreement,' continues the writer, 'is signed by the 'two kings and one hundred and twenty chiefs, and the *British* '*and American* Consuls attach their signatures and seals as 'witnesses.'

The description of the Island of Upolo, thus said to be annexed by the United States, is then given in vivid language by the correspondent of the 'Sunday Morning Chronicle.' He says that the whole group of islands contains an area of 2,600 square miles, of which this island has an area of 1,027 miles 'of perhaps the most fertile land in the world,' and 'more than 'three-fourths of the island is suitable for cultivation. The 'very rocks seem to bring forth vegetation; the eye cannot 'discern anything but the beautiful tropical verdure.' His conclusion is too delightful to be omitted. 'Upolo is like no 'other place on our globe, and *the stranger is forced to exclaim* '*that it was the last place created. The Creator, beholding all* '*the most beautiful things in nature, centred them on the Samoan* '*group.*'

In the midst of this rhapsody, which reminds us of the South Sea enthusiasm of 'The Earl and the Doctor,' he points out the practical reasons for the acquisition of this island by the United States. 'The central position of these islands, right 'in the track of the United States, New Zealand, and Aus-'tralian mail steamers, about sixteen hundred miles from 'Auckland . . . point towards them in the future as being 'the great depôt of commerce in Polynesia. The coaling 'depôt of the steamers is to be at Samoa city, in the harbour of 'Pango Pango, and our Government has already taken posses-'sion of the magnificent land-locked bay as a naval station.'

Of course the above account must be taken with reserve, especially that part of it which alleges that the British Consul signed as a witness to the transfer of the island to America; but that some transaction of the kind has taken place is tolerably certain. The Melbourne 'Age' of April 23rd states that 'the Government of the United States has obtained the 'sovereignty of one of the Navigator Islands. The American 'frigate "Narraganset" has taken possession of Titiula, 'where a coaling station will be formed.' Thus, whilst Great Britain has been coy and bashful in the matter of Fiji, the Government of the United States has been prompt and active in the acquisition of a harbour and coaling station in waters where a similar possession is of at least equal necessity to this country. It may be that the knowledge of American action in the case of the Navigator Islands may have had something to do with the tone of the House of Commons debate of June

25th. At any rate, that tone so unmistakeably pointed t annexation, that if there be a party in Fiji who still cling t this idea, their hopes may probably be kindled anew. Shou the new Government fail in securing the reign of order an tranquillity, and the wishes of the people be once more ex pressed in favour of coming under British authority, it wou appear that Parliament would be inclined to lend a favourab ear to the proposal.

Whether success or failure has attended the new Gover ment is a question which may even at this moment be decided and will probably in any case receive its solution in the course of a few months. The latest Fiji papers give no great hopes of tranquillity, and report collisions between the police and the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society. At any moment we may hear that these collisions have become more serious, and King Cakobau may even find it at last expedient to return to his 'old customs,' and advise his native chiefs to solve the problem of government in the good old-fashioned way of killing and eating the recalcitrant foreigners. Meanwhile it is not impossible that the labour-traffic question may create further complications. True it is that in communications addressed to Lord Granville upon the 8th of June and 9th of September, 1871, the late Premier of Fiji, Mr. Burt, announced the intention of 'His Majesty King Cakobau's Exe-'cutive' to deal with this question without delay, and to 'second the efforts made by the British Government to place 'the introduction of Polynesian labourers under salutary regu-'lations.' It has not yet, however, been made clear that such regulations have been made and satisfactorily carried out, and sundry occurrences have rendered it doubtful whether Polynesian labourers are by any means secure of good treatment in the Fijian Islands. The ship 'Peri,' which was lately picked up on the Australian coast by Her Majesty's ship 'Basilisk,' with fourteen half-starved natives on board, in a miserable state of destitution, and is supposed to have been run away with by the natives, and her white crew to have been murdered, turns out to be the property of Mr. Woods, one of King Cakobau's 'Executive;' and though the circumstances may all be susceptible of explanation, there is an ugly look about the matter, savouring little of care and attention to Polynesians. We write, however, somewhat in the dark upon the present state and prospects, as well as the policy, of the Fijian Government. The course of events during the coming autumn may not improbably determine the future destiny of this fertile group of islands. It is im-

possible to believe that the civilised Powers of Europe will be content to leave to lawless anarchy and confusion a group of islands, the resources of which, in spite of all disadvantages, appear to be in course of rapid development—whose trade is steadily and continually on the increase, and in which a white population variously estimated at from 2,000 to 4,000 persons is already resident, and is scarcely likely to remain stationary even at the larger number.

The ensuing session of Parliament will probably bring before the public eye more Fijian debates, and it is not impossible that the necessity of action will be forcibly urged upon Her Majesty's Ministers. Their course must be determined by the inexorable force of events; but whether it be deemed wise still to shun probable expense and avoid further responsibility by a continued refusal to interfere in Fijian affairs in the manner desired by Mr. M'Arthur and his friends, or whether such interference be pressed upon the British Government in a manner which it may become difficult to resist, certain it is that the condition of Fiji is a subject which will not be allowed to drop, and that the future of these islands will be watched with deep interest by those who recognise and appreciate their importance to our colonial trade and to our position in the waters of the Pacific.

ART. VI.—*Miscellaneous Essays.* By HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE. With a Life of the Author by his Son. In three volumes. London: 1872.

THE name and fame of Henry Thomas Colebrooke are better known in India, France, Germany, Italy—nay, even in Russia—than in his own country. He was born in London on the 15th of June, 1765; he died in London on the 10th of March, 1837; and if now, after waiting for thirty-six years, his only surviving son, Sir Edward Colebrooke, has at last given us a more complete account of his father's life, the impulse has come chiefly from Colebrooke's admirers abroad, who wished to know what the man had been whose works they know so well. If Colebrooke had simply been a distinguished, even a highly distinguished, servant of the East India Company, we could well understand that, where the historian has so many eminent services to record, those of Henry Thomas Colebrooke should have been allowed to pass almost unnoticed. The history of British India has still to be written, and it will be no easy task to write it. Macaulay's 'Lives' of Clive and Warren

Hastings are but two specimens to show how it ought to be, and yet how it cannot be, written. There is in the annals of the conquest and administrative tenure of India so much of the bold generalship of raw recruits, the statesmanship of common clerks, and the heroic devotion of mere adventurers, that even the largest canvas of the historian must dwarf the stature of heroes; and characters which, in the history of Greece or England, would stand out in bold relief, must vanish unnoticed in the crowd. The substance of the present memoir appeared in the 'Journal' of the Royal Asiatic Society soon after Mr. Colebrooke's death. It consisted originally of a brief notice of his public and literary career, interspersed with extracts from his letters to his family during the first twenty years of residence in India. Being asked a few years since to allow this notice to appear in a new edition of his 'Miscellaneous 'Essays,' which Mr. FitzEdward Hall desired to republish, Sir Edward thought it incumbent on him to render it more worthy of his father's reputation. The letters in the present volume are, for the most part, given in full; and some additional correspondence is included in it, besides a few papers of literary interest, and a journal kept by him during his residence at Nagpur, which was left incomplete. Two addresses delivered to the Royal Asiatic and Astronomical Societies, and the narrative of a journey to and from the capital of Berar, are given in an appendix and complete the volume, which is now on the eve of publication.

Although, as we shall see, the career of Mr. Colebrooke, as a servant of the East India Company, was highly distinguished, and in its vicissitudes, as here told by his son, both interesting and instructive, yet his most lasting fame will not be that of the able administrator, the learned lawyer, the thoughtful financier and politician, but that of the founder and father of true Sanskrit scholarship in Europe. In that character Colebrooke has secured his place in the history of the world, a place which neither envy nor ignorance can ever take from him. Had he lived in Germany, we should long ago have seen his statue in his native place, his name written in letters of gold on the walls of academies; we should have heard of Colebrooke jubilees and Colebrooke scholarships. In England, if any notice is taken of the discovery of Sanskrit—a discovery in many respects equally important, in some even more important, than the revival of Greek scholarship in the fifteenth century—we may possibly hear the popular name of Sir William Jones and his classical translation of Sakuntala; but of the infinitely more important achievements of Cole-

brooke, not one word. The fact is, the time has not yet come when the full importance of Sanskrit philology can be appreciated by the public at large. It was the same with Greek philology. When Greek began to be studied by some of the leading spirits of Europe, the subject seemed at first one of purely literary curiosity. When its claims were pressed on the public, they were met by opposition, and even ridicule; and those who knew least of Greek were most eloquent in their denunciations. Even when its study had become more general, and been introduced at universities and schools, it remained in the eyes of many a mere accomplishment—its true value for higher than scholastic purposes being scarcely suspected. At present we know that the revival of Greek scholarship affected the deepest interests of humanity, that it was in reality a revival of that consciousness which links large portions of mankind together, connects the living with the dead, and thus secures to each generation the full intellectual inheritance of our race. Without that historical consciousness, the life of man would be ephemeral and vain. The more we can see backward, and place ourselves in real sympathy with the past, the more truly do we make the life of former generations our own, and are able to fulfil our own appointed duty in carrying on the work which was begun centuries ago in Athens and at Rome. But while the unbroken traditions of the Roman world, and the revival of Greek culture among us, restored to us the intellectual patrimony of Greece and Rome only, and made the Teutonic race in a certain sense Greek and Roman, the discovery of Sanskrit will have a much larger influence. Like a new intellectual spring, it is meant to revive the broken fibres that once united the South-Eastern with the North-Western branches of the Aryan family; and thus to re-establish the spiritual brotherhood, not only of the Teutonic, Greek, and Roman, but likewise of the Slavonic, Celtic, Indian, and Persian branches. It is to make the mind of man wider, his heart larger, his sympathies world-embracing; it is to make us truly *humaniores*, richer and prouder in the full perception of what humanity has been, and what it is meant to be. This is the real object of the more comprehensive studies of the nineteenth century, and though the full appreciation of this their true import may be reserved to the future, no one who follows the intellectual progress of mankind attentively can fail to see that, even now, the comparative study of languages, mythologies, and religions has widened our horizon; that much which was lost has been regained; and that a new world, if it has not

yet been occupied, is certainly in sight. It is curious to observe that those to whom we chiefly owe the discovery of Sanskrit were as little conscious of the real importance of their discovery as Columbus was when he landed at St. Salvador. What Mr. Colebrooke did, was done from a sense of duty, rather than from literary curiosity; but there was also a tinge of enthusiasm in his character, like that which carries a traveller to the wastes of Africa or the ice-bound regions of the Pole. When there was work ready for him, he was ready for the work. But he had no theories to substantiate, no preconceived objects to attain. Sobriety and thoroughness are the distinguishing features of all his works. There is in them no trace of haste or carelessness; but neither is there evidence of any extraordinary effort, or minute professional scholarship. In the same business-like spirit in which he collected the revenue of his province, he collected his knowledge of Sanskrit literature; with the same judicial impartiality with which he delivered his judgments, he delivered the results at which he had arrived after his extensive and careful reading; and with the same sense of confidence with which he quietly waited for the effects of his political and financial measures, in spite of the apathy or the opposition with which they met at first, he left his written works to the judgment of posterity, never wasting his time in the repeated assertion of his opinions, or in useless controversy, though he was by no means insensible to his own literary reputation. The biography of such a man deserves a careful study; and we think that Sir Edward Colebrooke has fulfilled more than a purely filial duty in giving to the world a full account of the private, public, and literary life of his great father.

Colebrooke was the son of a wealthy London banker, Sir George Colebrooke, a Member of Parliament, and a man in his time of some political importance. Having proved himself a successful advocate of the old privileges of the East India Company, he was invited to join the Court of Directors, and became in 1769 chairman of the Company. His chairmanship was distinguished in history by the appointment of Warren Hastings to the highest office in India, and there are in existence letters from that illustrious man to Sir George, written in the crisis of his Indian Administration, which show the intimate and confidential relations subsisting between them. But when, in later years, Sir George Colebrooke became involved in pecuniary difficulties, and Indian appointments were successively obtained for his two sons, James Edward and Henry Thomas, it does not appear that Warren Hastings took any

active steps to advance them, beyond appointing the elder brother to an office of some importance on his secretariat. Henry, the younger brother, had been educated at home, and at the age of fifteen he had laid a solid foundation in Latin, Greek, French, and particularly in mathematics. As he never seems to have been urged on, he learned what he learned quietly and thoroughly, trying from the first to satisfy himself rather than others. Thus a love of knowledge for its own sake remained firmly engrained in his mind through life, and explains much of what would otherwise remain inexplicable in his literary career.

At the age of eighteen he started for India, and arrived at Madras in 1783, having narrowly escaped capture by French cruisers. The times were anxious times for India, and full of interest to an observer of political events. In his very first letter from India Colebrooke thus sketches the political situation :—

'The state of affairs in India seems to bear a far more favourable aspect than for a long time past. The peace with the Mahrattas and the death of Hyder Ally, the intended invasion of Tippoo's country by the Mahrattas, sufficiently removed all alarm from the country powers; but there are likewise accounts arrived, and which seem to be credited, of the defeat of Tippoo by Colonel Matthews, who commands on the other coast.'

From Madras Colebrooke proceeded, in 1783, to Calcutta, where he met his elder brother, already established in the service. His own start in official life was delayed, and took place under circumstances by no means auspicious. The tone, both in political and private life, was at that time at its lowest ebb in India. Drinking, gambling, and extravagance of all kinds were tolerated even in the best society, and Colebrooke could not entirely escape the evil effects of the moral atmosphere in which he had to live. It is all the more remarkable that his taste for work never deserted him, and 'that 'he would retire to his midnight Sanskrit studies unaffected 'by the excitement of the gambling-table.' It was not till 1786—a year after Warren Hastings had left India—that he received his first official appointment, as Assistant Collector of Revenue in Tirhut. His father seems to have advised him from the first to be assiduous in acquiring the vernacular languages, and we find him at an early period of his Indian career thus writing on this subject: 'The one, and that the 'most necessary, Moors (now called Hindustani), by not 'being written, bars all close application; the other, Persian, 'is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of any use, that I seek

'its acquisition very leisurely.' He asked his father in turn to send him the Greek and Latin classics, evidently intending to carry on his old favourite studies, rather than begin a new career as an Oriental scholar. For a time he seemed, indeed, deeply disappointed with his life in India, and his prospects were anything but encouraging. But although he seriously thought of throwing up his position and returning to England, he was busy nevertheless in elaborating a scheme for the better regulation of the Indian service. His chief idea was, that the three functions of the civil service—the commercial, the revenue, and the diplomatic—should be separated; that each branch should be presided over by an independent board, and that those who had qualified themselves for one branch should not be transferred to another. Curiously enough, he lived to prove by his own example the applicability of the old system, being himself transferred from the revenue department to a judgeship, then employed on an important diplomatic mission, and lastly raised to a seat in Council, and acquitting himself well in each of these different employments. After a time his discontent seems to have vanished. He quietly settled down to his work in collecting the revenue of Tirhut; and his official duties soon became so absorbing, that he found little time for projecting reforms of the Indian Civil Service.

Soon also his Oriental studies gave him a new interest in the country and the people. The first allusions to Oriental literature occur in a letter dated Patna, December 10, 1786. It is addressed to his father, who had desired some information concerning the religion of the Hindus. Colebrooke's own interest in Sanskrit literature was from the first scientific rather than literary. His love of mathematics and astronomy made him anxious to find out what the Brahmans had achieved in these branches of knowledge. It is surprising to see how correct is the first communication which he sends to his father on the four modes of reckoning time adopted by Hindu astronomers, and which he seems chiefly to have drawn from Persian sources. The passage (pp. 23–26) is too long to be given here, but we recommend it to the careful attention of Sanskrit scholars, who will find it more accurate than what has but lately been written on the same subject. Colebrooke treated, again, of the different measures of time in his essay 'On Indian Weights and Measures,' published in the 'Asiatic 'Researches,' 1798; and in stating the rule for finding the planets which preside over the day, called *Horā*, he was the first to point out the coincidence between that expression and

our name for the twenty-fourth part of the day. In one of the notes to his Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus he showed that this and other astrological terms were evidently borrowed by the Hindus from the Greeks, or other external sources; and in a manuscript note published for the first time by Sir E. Colebrooke, we find him following up the same subject, and calling attention to the fact that the word *Horā* occurs in the Sanskrit vocabulary—the *Medinī-Kosha*, and bears there, among other significations, that of the rising of a sign of the zodiac, or half a sign. This, as he remarks, is in diurnal motion one *hour*, thus confirming the connexion between the Indian and European significations of the word.

While he thus felt attracted towards the study of Oriental literature by his own scientific interests, it seems that Sanskrit literature and poetry by themselves had no charms for him. On the contrary, he declares himself repelled by the false taste of Oriental writers; and he speaks very slightingly of 'the 'amateurs who do not seek the acquisition of useful know-'ledge, but would only wish to attract notice, without the 'labour of deserving it, which is readily accomplished by an 'ode from the Persian, an apologue from the Sanskrit, or a 'song from some unheard-of dialect of Hinduee, of which the 'amateur favours the public with a *free* translation, without 'understanding the original, as you will immediately be con-'vinced, if you peruse that repository of nonsense, the *Asiatic* 'Miscellany.' He makes one exception, however, in favour of Wilkins. 'I have never yet seen any book,' he writes, 'which 'can be depended on for information concerning the real 'opinions of the Hindus, except Wilkins's *Bhagvat Geeta*. 'That gentleman was Sanskrit mad, and has more materials 'and more general knowledge respecting the Hindus than any 'other foreigner ever acquired since the days of Pythagoras.' Arabic, too, did not then find much more favour in his eyes than Sanskrit. 'Thus much,' he writes, 'I am induced to 'believe, that the Arabic language is of more difficult acqui-'sition than Latin, or even than Greek; and, although it may 'be concise and nervous, it will not reward the labour of the 'student, since, in the works of science, he can find nothing 'new, and, in those of literature, he could not avoid feeling 'his judgment offended by the false taste in which they are 'written, and his imagination being heated by the glow of 'their imagery. A few dry facts might, however, reward the 'literary drudge. . . . .'

It may be doubted, indeed, whether Colebrooke would ever have overcome these prejudices, had it not been for his father's

exhortations. In 1789 Colebrooke was transferred from Tirhut to Purneah; and such was his interest in his new and more responsible office, that, according to his own expression, he felt for it all the solicitude of a young author. Engrossed in his work, a ten years' settlement of some of the districts of his new collectorship, he writes to his father in July 1790:—

'The religion, manners, natural history, traditions, and arts of this country may, certainly, furnish subjects on which my communications might, perhaps, be not uninteresting; but to offer anything deserving of attention would require a season of leisure to collect and digest information. Engaged in a public and busy scene, my mind is wholly engrossed by the cares and duties of my station; in vain I seek, for relaxation's sake, to direct my thoughts to other subjects; matters of business constantly recur. It is for this cause that I have occasionally apologised for a dearth of subjects, having no occurrences to relate, and the matters which occupy my attention being uninteresting as a subject of correspondence.'

When, after a time, the hope of distinguishing himself impelled Colebrooke to new exertions, and he determined to become an author, the subject which he chose was not antiquarian or philosophical, but purely practical.

'Translations,' he writes, in 1790, 'are for those who rather need to fill their purses than gratify their ambition. For original compositions on Oriental history and sciences is required more reading in the literature of the East than I possess, or am likely to attain. My subject should be connected with those matters to which my attention is professionally led. One subject is, I believe, yet untouched—the agriculture of Bengal. On this I have been curious of information; and, having obtained some, I am now pursuing inquiries with some degree of regularity. I wish for your opinion, whether it would be worth while to reduce into form the information which may be obtained on a subject necessarily dry, and which (curious, perhaps) is, certainly, useless to English readers.'

Among the subjects of which he wishes to treat in this work we find some of antiquarian interest, e. g., what castes of Hindus are altogether forbid cultivating, and what castes have religious prejudices against the culture of particular articles. Others are purely technical; for instance, the question of the succession and mixture of crops. He states that the Hindus have some traditional maxims on the succession of crops to which they rigidly adhere; and with regard to mixture, he observes that two, three, or even four different articles are sown in the same field, and gathered successively, as they ripen; that they are sometimes all sown on the same day, sometimes at different periods, &c.

His letters now become more and more interesting, and

they generally contain some fragments which show us how the sphere of his inquiries became more and more extended. We find (p. 39) observations on the Psylli of Egypt and the snake-charmers of India, on the Sikhs (p. 45), on human sacrifices in India (p. 46). The spirit of inquiry which had been kindled by Sir W. Jones, more particularly since the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, had evidently reached Colebrooke. It is difficult to fix the exact date when he began the study of Sanskrit. He seems to have taken it up and left it again in despair several times. In 1793 he was removed from Purneah to Nattore. From that place he sent to his father the first volumes of the 'Asiatic Researches,' published by the members of the Asiatic Society. He drew his father's attention to some articles in them, which would seem to prove that the ancient Hindus possessed a knowledge of Egypt and of the Jews, but he adds: 'No historical light can be expected 'from Sanskrit literature; but it may, nevertheless, be curious, 'if not useful, to publish such of their legends as seem to 'resemble others known to European mythology.' The first glimmering of comparative mythology in 1793!

Again he writes in 1793, 'In my Sanskrit studies, I do not 'confine myself now to particular subjects, but skim the surface 'of all their sciences. I will subjoin, for your amusement, some 'remarks on subjects treated in the "Researches."'

What the results of that skimming were, and how far more philosophical his appreciation of Hindu literature had then become, may be seen from the end of the same letter, written from Rajshahi, December 6, 1793:—

'Upon the whole, whatever may be the true antiquity of this nation, whether their mythology be a corruption of the pure deism we find in their books, or their deism a refinement from gross idolatry; whether their religious and moral precepts have been engrafted on the elegant philosophy of the Nyāya and Mīmānsā, or this philosophy been refined on the plainer text of the Veda; the Hindu is the most ancient nation of which we have valuable remains, and has been surpassed by none in refinement and civilisation; though the utmost pitch of refinement to which it ever arrived preceded, in time, the dawn of civilisation in any other nation of which we have even the name in history. The further our literary inquiries are extended here, the more vast and stupendous is the scene which opens to us; at the same time that the true and false, the sublime and the puerile, wisdom and absurdity, are so intermixed, that, at every step, we have to smile at folly, while we admire and acknowledge the philosophical truth, though couched in obscure allegory and puerile fable.'

In 1794 Colebrooke presented to the Asiatic Society his first paper, 'On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow,' and he

told his father at the same time, that he meant to pursue his Sanskrit inquiries diligently, and in a spirit which seems to have guided all his work through life: 'The only caution,' he says, 'which occurs to me is, not to hazard in publication 'anything crude or imperfect, which would injure my reputa-'tion as a man of letters; to avoid this, the precaution may be 'taken of submitting my manuscripts to private perusal.'

Colebrooke might indeed from that time have become altogether devoted to the study of Sanskrit, had not his political feelings been strongly roused by the new Charter of the East India Company, which, instead of sanctioning reforms long demanded by political economists, confirmed nearly all the old privileges of their trade. Colebrooke was a free-trader by conviction, and because he had at heart the interests both of India and of England. It is quite gratifying to find a man, generally so cold and prudent as Colebrooke, warm with indignation at the folly and injustice of the policy carried out by England with regard to her Indian subjects. He knew very well that it was personally dangerous for a covenanted servant to discuss and attack the privileges of the Company, but he felt that he ought to think and act, not merely as the servant of a commercial company, but as the servant of the British Government. He wished, even at that early time, that India should become an integral portion of the British Empire, and cease to be, as soon as possible, a mere appendage, yielding a large commercial revenue. He was encouraged in these views by Mr. Anthony Lambert, and the two friends at last decided to embody their views in a work, which they privately printed, under the title of 'Remarks on the Present State of 'the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal.' Colebrooke, as we know, had paid considerable attention to the subject of husbandry, and he now contributed much of the material which he had collected for a purely didactic work, to this controversial and political treatise. He is likewise responsible, and he never tried to shirk that responsibility, for most of the advanced financial theories which it contains. The volume was sent to England, and submitted to the Prime Minister of the day and several other persons of influence. It seems to have produced an impression in the quarters most concerned, but it was considered prudent to stop its further circulation on account of the dangerous free-trade principles, which it supported with powerful arguments. Colebrooke had left the discretion of publishing the work in England to his friends, and he cheerfully submitted to their decision. He himself, however, never ceased to advocate the most liberal financial

opinions, and being considered by those in power in Leadenhall Street as a dangerous young man, his advancement in India became slower than it would otherwise have been.

A man of Colebrooke's power, however, was too useful to the Indian Government to be passed over altogether, and though his career was neither rapid nor brilliant, it was nevertheless most successful. Just at the time when Sir W. Jones had suddenly died, Colebrooke was removed from the revenue to the judicial branch of the Indian service, and there was no man in India, except Colebrooke, who could carry on the work which Sir W. Jones had left unfinished, viz. 'the Digest 'of Hindu and Mohammedan Laws.' At the instance of Warren Hastings, a clause had been inserted in the Act of 1772, providing that 'Maulavies and Pundits should attend 'the Courts, to expound the law and assist in passing the 'decrees.' In all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and religious usages and institutions, the ancient laws of the Hindus were to be followed, and for that purpose a body of laws from their own books had to be compiled. Under the direction of Warren Hastings, nine Brahmans had been commissioned to draw up a code, which appeared in 1776, under the title of 'Code of Gentoo Laws.'* It had been originally compiled in Sanskrit, then translated into Persian, and from that into English. As that code, however, was very imperfect, Sir W. Jones had urged on the Government the necessity of a more complete and authentic compilation. Texts were to be collected, after the model of Justinian's Pandects, from law-books of approved authority, and to be digested according to a scientific analysis, with references to original authors. The task of arranging the text-books and compiling the new code fell chiefly to a learned Pundit, Jagannātha, and the task of translating it was now, after the death of Sir W. Jones, undertaken by Colebrooke. This task was no easy one, and could hardly be carried out without the help of really learned pundits. Fortunately Colebrooke was removed at the time when he undertook this work to Mirzapur, close to Benares, the seat of Brahmanical learning, in the north of India, and the seat of a Hindu college. Here Colebrooke found not only rich collections of Sanskrit MSS., but likewise a number of law pundits, who could solve many of the difficulties which

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* The word *Gentoo*, which was commonly applied in the last century to the Hindus, is according to Wilson derived from the Portuguese word *gentio*, gentile or heathen. The word *caste*, too, comes from the same source.

he had to encounter in the translation of Jagannātha's Digest. After two years of incessant labour, we find Colebrooke on January 3, 1797, announcing the completion of his task, which at once established his position as the best Sanskrit scholar of the day. Oriental studies were at that time in the ascendant in India. A dictionary was being compiled, and several grammars were in preparation. Types also had been cut, and for the first time Sanskrit texts issued from the press in Devanāgarī letters. Native scholars, too, began to feel a pride in the revival of their ancient literature. The Brahmans, as Colebrooke writes, were by no means averse to instruct strangers; they did not even conceal from him the most sacred texts of the *Veda*. Colebrooke's Essays on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, which appeared in the fifth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches' in the same year as his translation of the Digest, show very clearly that he had found excellent instructors, and had been initiated in the most sacred literature of the Brahmans. An important paper on the Hindu schools of law seems to date from the same period, and shows a familiarity, not only with the legal authorities of India, but with the whole structure of the traditional and sacred literature of the Brahmans, which but few Sanskrit scholars could lay claim to even at the present day. In the fifth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches' appeared also his essay 'On Indian 'Weights and Measures,' and his 'Enumeration of Indian 'Classes.' A short, but thoughtful memorandum on the origin of caste, written during that period, and printed for the first time in his 'Life,' will be read with interest by all who are acquainted with the different views of living scholars on this important subject.

Colebrooke's idea was that the institution of caste was not artificial or conventional, but that it began with the simple division of freemen and slaves, which we find among all ancient nations. This division, as he supposes, existed among the Hindus before they settled in India. It became positive law after their emigration from the northern mountains into India, and was there adapted to the new state of the Hindus, settled among the aborigines. The class of slaves or *Sūdras* consisted of those who came into India in that degraded state, and those of the aborigines who submitted and were spared. Menial offices and mechanical labour were deemed unworthy of freemen in other countries besides India, and it cannot therefore appear strange that the class of the *Sūdras* comprehended in India both servants and mechanics, both Hindus and emancipated aborigines. The class of freemen included

originally the priest, the soldier, the merchant, and the husbandman. It was divided into three orders, the *Brāhmanas*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaisyas*, the last comprehending merchants and husbandmen indiscriminately, being the yeomen of the country and the citizens of the town. According to Colebrooke's opinion, the *Kshatriyas* consisted originally of kings and their descendants. It was the order of princes, rather than of mere soldiers. The *Brāhmanas* comprehended no more than the descendants of a few religious men who, by superior knowledge and the austerity of their lives, had gained an ascendency over the people. Neither of these orders was originally very numerous, and their prominence gave no offence to the far more powerful body of the citizens and yeomen.

When legislators began to give their sanction to this social system, their chief object seems to have been to guard against too great a confusion of the four orders—the two orders of nobility, the sacerdotal and the princely, and the two orders of the people, the citizens and the slaves, by either prohibiting intermarriage, or by degrading the offspring of alliances between members of different orders. If men of superior married women of inferior, but next adjoining, rank, the offspring of their marriage sank to the rank of their mothers, or obtained a position intermediate between the two. The children of such marriages were distinguished by separate titles. Thus, the son of a *Brāhmana* by a *Kshatriya* woman was called *Mūrdhābhishikta*, which implies royalty. They formed a distinct tribe of princes or military nobility, and were by some reckoned superior to the *Kshatriya*. The son of a *Brāhmana* by a *Vaisya* woman was a *Vaidya* or *Ambashtha*; the offspring of a *Kshatriya* by a *Vaisya* was a *Mahishya*, forming two tribes of respectable citizens. But if a greater disproportion of rank existed between the parents—if, for instance, a *Brāhmana* married a *Sūdra*, the offspring of their marriage, the *Nishāda*, suffered greater social penalties; he became impure, notwithstanding the nobility of his father. Marriages, again, between women of superior with men of inferior rank were considered more objectionable than marriages of men of superior with women of inferior rank, a sentiment which continues to the present day.

What is peculiar to the social system, as sanctioned by Hindu legislators, and gives it its artificial character, is their attempt to provide by minute regulations for the rank to be assigned to new tribes, and to point out professions suitable to that rank. The tribes had each an internal government, and professions naturally formed themselves into companies. From

this source, while the corporations imitated the regulations of tribes, a multitude of new and arbitrary tribes sprang up, the origin of which, as assigned by Manu and other legislators, was probably, as Colebrook admits, more or less fanciful.

In his 'Remarks on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce 'of Bengal,' the subject of caste in its bearing on the social improvement of the Indian nation was likewise treated by Colebrooke. In reply to the erroneous views then prevalent as to the supposed barriers which caste placed against the free development of the Hindus, he writes:—

'An erroneous doctrine has been started, as if the great population of these provinces could not avail to effect improvements, notwithstanding opportunities afforded by an increased demand for particular manufactures or for raw produce: because, "professions are hereditary "among the Hindus; the offspring of men of one calling do not intrude "into any other; professions are confined to hereditary descent; and "the produce of any particular manufacture cannot be extended ac- "cording to the increase of the demand, but must depend upon the "population of the caste, or tribe, which works on that manufacture: "or, in other words, if the demand for any article should exceed the "ability of the number of workmen who produce it, the deficiency "cannot be supplied by calling in assistance from other tribes."

'In opposition to this unfounded opinion, it is necessary that we not only show, as has been already done, that the population is actually sufficient for great improvement, but we must also prove, that professions are not separated by an impassable line, and that the population affords a sufficient number whose religious prejudices permit, and whose inclination leads them to engage in, those occupations through which the desired improvement may be effected.

'The Muselmans, to whom the argument above quoted cannot in any manner be applied, bear no inconsiderable proportion to the whole population. Other descriptions of people, not governed by Hindu institutions, are found among the inhabitants of these provinces: in regard to these, also, the objection is irrelevant. The Hindus themselves, to whom the doctrine which we combat is meant to be applied, cannot exceed nine-tenths of the population; probably, they do not bear so great a proportion to the other tribes. They are, as is well known, divided into four grand classes; but the three first of them are much less numerous than the Sūdra. The aggregate of Brāhmana, Kshatriya, and Naisya may amount, at the most, to a fifth of the population; and even these are not absolutely restricted to their own appointed occupations. Commerce and agriculture are universally permitted; and, under the designation of servants of the other three tribes, the Sūdras seem to be allowed to prosecute any manufacture.

'In this tribe are included not only the true Sūdras, but also the several castes whose origin is ascribed to the promiscuous intercourse of the four classes. To these, also, their several occupations were assigned; but neither are they restricted, by rigorous injunctions, to

their own appointed occupations. For any person unable to procure a subsistence by the exercise of his own profession may earn a livelihood in the calling of a subordinate caste, within certain limits in the scale of relative precedence assigned to each; and no forfeiture is now incurred by his intruding into a superior profession. It was, indeed, the duty of the Hindu magistrate to restrain the encroachments of inferior tribes on the occupations of superior castes; but, under a foreign government, this restraint has no existence.

'In practice, little attention is paid to the limitations to which we have here alluded: daily observation shows even Brāhmanas exercising the menial profession of a Sūdra. We are aware that every caste forms itself into clubs, or lodges, consisting of the several individuals of that caste residing within a small distance; and that these clubs, or lodges, govern themselves by particular rules and customs, or by laws. But, though some restrictions and limitations, not founded on religious prejudices, are found among their by-laws, it may be received, as a general maxim, that the occupation appointed for each tribe is entitled merely to a preference. Every profession, with few exceptions, is open to every description of persons; and the discouragement arising from religious prejudices is not greater than what exists in Great Britain from the effects of municipal and corporation laws. In Bengal, the numbers of people actually willing to apply to any particular occupation are sufficient for the unlimited extension of any manufacture.

'If these facts and observations be not considered as a conclusive refutation of the unfounded assertion made on this subject, we must appeal to the experience of every gentleman who may have resided in the provinces of Bengal, whether a change of occupation and profession does not frequently and indefinitely occur? Whether Brāhmanas are not employed in the most servile offices? And whether the Sūdra is not seen elevated to situations of respectability and importance? In short, whether the assertion above quoted be not altogether destitute of foundation?'

It is much to be regretted that studies so auspiciously begun were suddenly interrupted by a diplomatic mission, which called Colebrooke away from Mirzapur, and retained him from 1798–1801 at Nagpur, the capital of Berar. Colebrooke himself had by this time discovered that, however distinguished his public career might be, his lasting fame must depend on his Sanskrit studies. We find him even at Nagpur continuing his literary work, particularly the compilation and translation of a Supplementary Digest. He also prepared, as far as this was possible in the midst of diplomatic avocations, some of his most important contributions to the 'Asiatic 'Researches,' one on Sanskrit prosody, which did not appear till 1808, and was then styled an essay on Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry; one on the Vedas, another on Indian Theogonies (not published), and a critical treatise on Indian plants. At last, in May 1801, he left Nagpur to return to his post at Mirzapur.

Shortly afterwards he was summoned to Calcutta, and appointed a member of the newly constituted Court of Appeal. He at the same time accepted the honorary post of Professor of Sanskrit at the college recently established at Fort William, without, however, taking an active part in the teaching of pupils. He seems to have been a director of studies rather than an actual professor, but he rendered valuable service as examiner in Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindustani, and Persian. In 1801 appeared his essay on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, which shows how well he had qualified himself to act as professor of Sanskrit, and how well, in addition to the legal and sacred literature of the Brahmans, he had mastered the *belles lettres* of India also, which at first, as we saw, had rather repelled him by their extravagance and want of taste.

And here we have to take note of a fact which has never been mentioned in the history of the science of language—viz., that Colebrooke at that early time devoted considerable attention to the study of Comparative Philology. To judge from his papers, which have never been published, but which are still in the possession of Sir E. Colebrooke, the range of his comparisons was very wide, and embraced not only Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin with their derivatives, but also the Germanic and Slavonic languages.

The principal work, however, of this period of his life was his Sanskrit Grammar. Though it was never finished, it will always keep its place, like a classical *torso*, more admired in its unfinished state than other works which stand by its side, finished, yet less perfect. Sir E. Colebrooke has endeavoured to convey to the general reader some idea of the difficulties which had to be overcome by those who, for the first time, approached the study of the native grammarians, particularly of Pānini. But this grammatical literature, the 3,996 grammatical *sūtras* or rules, which determine every possible form of the Sanskrit language in a manner unthought of by the grammarians of any other country, the glosses and commentaries, one piled upon the other, which are indispensable for a successful unravelling of Pānini's artful web, which start every objection, reasonable or unreasonable, that can be imagined, either against Pānini himself or against his interpreters, which establish general principles, register every exception, and defend all forms apparently anomalous of the ancient Vedic language;—all this together is so completely *sui generis*, that those only who have themselves followed Colebrooke's footsteps can appreciate the boldness of the first adventurer, and the perseverance of the first explorer of that literary labyrinth.

Colebrooke's own Grammar of the Sanskrit language, founded on the works of native grammarians, has sometimes been accused of obscurity, nor can it be denied that for those who wish to acquire the elements of the language, it is almost useless. But those who know the materials which Colebrooke worked up in his grammar, will readily give him credit for what he has done in bringing the *indigesta moles* which he found before him into something like order. He made the first step, and a very considerable step it was, in translating the strange phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians into something at least intelligible to European scholars. How it could have been imagined that their extraordinary grammatical phraseology was borrowed by the Hindus from the Greeks, or that its formation was influenced by the grammatical schools established among the Greeks in Bactria, is difficult to understand, if one possesses but the slightest acquaintance with the character of either system, or with their respective historical developments. It would be far more accurate to say that the Indian and Greek systems of grammar represent two opposite poles, exhibiting the two starting-points from which alone the grammar of a language can be attacked—viz., the theoretical and the empirical. Greek grammar begins with philosophy, and forces language into the categories established by logic. Indian grammar begins with a mere collection of facts, systematises them mechanically, and thus leads in the end to a system which, though marvellous for its completeness and perfection, is nevertheless, from a higher point of view, a mere triumph of scholastic pedantry.

Colebrooke's grammar, even in its unfinished state, will always be the best introduction to a study of the native grammarians—a study indispensable to every sound Sanskrit scholar. In accuracy of statement it still holds the first place among European grammars, and it is only to be regretted that the references to Pānini and other grammatical authorities, which existed in Colebrooke's manuscript, should have been left out when it came to be printed. The modern school of Sanskrit students has entirely reverted to Colebrooke's views on the importance of a study of the native grammarians. It is no longer considered sufficient to know the correct forms of Sanskrit declension or conjugation: if challenged, we must be prepared to substantiate their correctness by giving chapter and verse from Pānini, the fountain-head of Indian grammar. If Sir E. Colebrooke says that 'Bopp also drew deeply from 'the fountain-head of Indian grammar in his subsequent 'labours,' he has been misinformed. Bopp may have changed

his opinion that 'the student might arrive at a critical know-'ledge of Sanskrit by an attentive study of Foster and 'Wilkins, without referring to native authorities;' but he himself never went beyond, nor is there any evidence in his published works that he ever worked his way through the intricacies of Pānini.

In addition to his grammatical studies, Colebrooke was engaged in several other subjects. He worked at the Supplement to the 'Digest of Laws,' which assumed very large proportions; he devoted some of his time to the deciphering of ancient inscriptions, in the hope of finding some fixed points in the history of India; he undertook to supply the Oriental synonymes for Roxburgh's 'Flora Indica'—a most laborious task, requiring a knowledge of botany as well as an intimate acquaintance with Oriental languages. In 1804 and 1805, while preparing his classical essay on the Vedas for the press, we find him approaching the study of the religion of Buddha. In all these varied researches, it is most interesting to observe the difference between him and all the other contributors to the 'Asiatic Researches' at that time. They were all carried away by theories or enthusiasm; they were all betrayed into assertions or conjectures which proved unfounded. Colebrooke alone, the most hardworking and most comprehensive student, never allows one word to escape his pen for which he has not chapter and verse; and when he speaks of the treatises of Sir W. Jones, Wilford, and others, he readily admits that they contain curious matter, but as he expresses himself, 'very little 'conviction.' When speaking of his own work, as, for instance, what he had written on the Vedas, he writes: 'I 'imagine my treatise on the Vedas will be thought curious; 'but, like the rest of my publications, little interesting to the 'general reader.'

In 1805 Colebrooke became President of the Court of Appeal—a high, and, as it would seem, lucrative post, which made him unwilling to aspire to any other appointment. His leisure, though more limited than before, was devoted, as formerly, to his favourite studies; and in 1807 he accepted the presidency of the Asiatic Society—a post never before or after filled so worthily. He not only contributed himself several articles to the 'Asiatic Researches,' published by the Society, viz., 'On the Sect of Jina,' 'On the Indian and 'Arabic Divisions of the Zodiack,' and 'On the Frankincense 'of the Ancients;' but he encouraged also many useful literary undertakings, and threw out, among other things, an idea which has but lately been carried out, viz., a *Catalogue raisonné*

of all that is extant in Asiatic literature. His own studies became more and more concentrated on the most ancient literature of India, the Vedas, and the question of their real antiquity led him again to a more exhaustive examination of the astronomical literature of the Brahmans. In all these researches, which were necessarily of a somewhat conjectural character, Colebrooke was guided by his usual caution. Instead of attempting, for instance, a free and more or less divinatory translation of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, he began with the tedious but inevitable work of exploring the native commentaries. No one who has not seen his MSS., now preserved at the India Office, and the marginal notes with which the folios of Sāyana's commentary are covered, can form any idea of the conscientiousness with which he collected the materials for his essay. He was by no means a blind follower of Sāyana, or a believer in the infallibility of traditional interpretation. The question on which so much useless ingenuity has since been expended, whether in translating the Veda we should be guided by native authorities or by the rules of critical scholarship, must have seemed to him, as to every sensible person, answered as soon as it was asked. He answered it by setting to work patiently, in order to find out, first, all that could be learnt from native scholars, and afterwards to form his own opinion. His experience as a practical man, his judicial frame of mind, his freedom from literary vanity, kept him, here as elsewhere, from falling into the pits of learned pedantry. It will seem almost incredible to later generations that German and English scholars should have wasted so much of their time in trying to prove, either that we should take no notice whatever of the traditional interpretation of the Veda, or that, in following it, we should entirely surrender our right of private judgment. Yet that is the controversy which has occupied of late years some of our best Sanskrit scholars, which has filled our journals with articles as full of learning as of acrimony, and has actually divided the students of the history of ancient religion into two hostile camps. Colebrooke knew that he had more useful work before him than to discuss the infallibility of fallible interpreters—a question handled with greater ingenuity by the Maimānsaka philosophers than by any living casuists. He wished to leave substantial work behind him; and though he claimed no freedom from error for himself, yet he felt conscious of having done all his work carefully and honestly, and was willing to leave it, such as it was, to the judgment of his contemporaries and of posterity. Once only during the whole

of his life did he allow himself to be drawn into a literary controversy; and here, too, he must have felt what most men feel in the end—that it would have been better if he had not engaged in it. The subject of the controversy was the antiquity and originality of Hindu astronomy. Much had been written for and against it by various writers, but by most of them without a full command of the necessary evidence. Colebrooke himself maintained a doubtful attitude. He began, as usual, with a careful study of the sources at that time available, with translations of Sanskrit treatises, with astronomical calculations and verifications; but, being unable to satisfy himself, he abstained from giving a definite opinion. Bentley, who had published a paper in which the antiquity and originality of Hindu astronomy were totally denied, was probably aware that Colebrooke was not convinced by his arguments. When, therefore, an adverse criticism of his views appeared in the first number of our Review, Bentley jumped at the conclusion that it was written or inspired by Colebroke. Hence arose his animosity which lasted for many years, and vented itself from time to time in virulent abuse of Colebrooke, whom Bentley accused not only of unintentional error, but of wilful misrepresentation and unfair suppression of the truth. Colebrooke ought to have known that in the republic of letters scholars are sometimes brought into strange society. Being what he was, he need not—nay, he ought not—to have noticed such literary rowdyism. But as the point at issue was of deep interest to him, and as he himself had a much higher opinion of Bentley's real merits than his reviewer, he at last vouchsafed an answer in the 'Asiatic Journal' of March, 1826. With regard to Bentley's personalities, he says:—'I never spoke nor wrote of Mr. 'Bentley with disrespect, and I gave no provocation for the 'tone of his attack on me.' As to the question itself, he sums up his position with simplicity and dignity. 'I have been no 'favourer,' he writes, 'nor advocate of Indian astronomy. I 'have endeavoured to lay before the public, in an intelligible 'form, the fruit of my researches concerning it. I have re-'peatedly noticed its imperfections, and have been ready to 'admit that it has been no scanty borrower as to theory.'

Colebrooke's stay in India was a long one. He arrived there in 1782, when only seventeen years of age, and he left it in 1815, at the age of fifty. During all this time we see him uninterruptedly engaged in his official work, and devoting all his leisure to literary labour. The results which we have noticed so far, were already astonishing, and quite sufficient to

form a solid basis of his literary fame. But we have by no means exhausted the roll of his works. We saw that a supplement to the 'Digest of Laws' occupied him for several years. In it he proposed to recast the whole title of inheritance, so imperfectly treated in the 'Digest' which he translated, and supplement it with a series of compilations on the several heads of Criminal Law, Pleading, and Evidence, as treated by Indian jurists. In a letter to Sir T. Strange he speaks of the Sanskrit text as complete, and of the translation as considerably advanced; but it was not till 1810 that he published, as a first instalment, his translation of two important treatises on inheritance, representing the views of different schools on this subject. Much of the material which he collected with a view of improving the administration of law in India, and bringing it in harmony with the legal traditions of the country, remained unpublished, partly because his labours were anticipated by timely reforms, partly because his official duties became too onerous to allow him to finish his work in a manner satisfactory to himself.

But although the bent of Colebrooke's mind was originally scientific, and the philological researches which have conferred the greatest lustre on his name grew insensibly beneath his pen, the services he rendered to Indian jurisprudence would deserve the highest praise and gratitude if he had no other title to fame. Among his earlier studies he had applied himself to the Roman law with a zeal uncommon among Englishmen of his standing, and he has left behind him a treatise on the Roman Law of Contracts. When he directed the same powers of investigation to the sources of Indian law he found everything in confusion. The texts and glosses were various and confused. The local customs which abound in India had not been discriminated. Printing was of course unknown to these texts; and as no supreme judicial intelligence and authority existed to give unity to the whole system, nothing could be more perplexing than the state of the law. From this chaos Colebrooke brought forth order and light. The publication of the 'Dhaya-bhaga,' as the cardinal exposition of the law of inheritance, which is the basis of Hindu society, laid the foundation of no less a work than the revival of Hindu jurisprudence, which had been overlaid by the Mahomedan conquest. On this foundation a superstructure has now been raised by the combined efforts of Indian and English lawyers: but the authority which is to this day most frequently invoked as one of conclusive weight and learning is that of Colebrooke. By the collection and revision of the ancient texts which would

probably have been lost without his intervention, he became in some degree the legislator of India.

In 1807 he had been promoted to a seat in Council—the highest honour to which a civilian, at the end of his career, could aspire. The five years' tenure of his office coincided very nearly with Lord Minto's Governor-Generalship of India. During these five years the scholar became more and more merged in the statesman. His marriage also took place at the same time, which was destined to be happy, but short. Two months after his wife's death he sailed for England, determined to devote the rest of his life to the studies which had become dear to him, and which, as he now felt himself, were to secure to him the honourable place of the father and founder of true Sanskrit scholarship in Europe. Though his earliest tastes still attracted him strongly towards physical science, and though, after his return to England, he devoted more time than in India to astronomical, botanical, chemical, and geological researches, yet, as an author, he remained true to his vocation as a Sanskrit scholar, and he added some of the most important works to the long list of his Oriental publications. How high an estimate he enjoyed among the students of physical science is best shown by his election as President of the Astronomical Society, after the death of Sir John Herschel in 1822. Some of his published contributions to the scientific journals, chiefly on geological subjects, are said to be highly speculative, which is certainly not the character of his Oriental works. Nay, judging from the tenour of the works which he devoted to scholarship, we should think that everything he wrote on other subjects would deserve the most careful and unprejudiced attention, before it was allowed to be forgotten; and we should be glad to see a complete edition of all his writings, which have a character at once so varied and so profound.

We have still to mention some of his more important Oriental publications, which he either began or finished after his return to England. The first is his 'Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration, from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara, preceded by a Dissertation on the State of the Sciences as known to the Hindus,' London, 1817. It is still the standard work on the subject, and likely to remain so, as an intimate knowledge of mathematics is but seldom combined with so complete a mastery of Sanskrit as Colebrooke possessed. He had been preceded by the labours of Burrow and E. Strachey; but it is entirely due to him that mathematicians are now enabled to form a clear idea of the progress

which the Indians had made in this branch of knowledge, especially as regards indeterminate analysis. It became henceforth firmly established that the 'Arabian Algebra had real 'points of resemblance to that of the Indians, and not to that 'of the Greeks; that the Diophantine analysis was only slightly 'cultivated by the Arabs; and that, finally, the Indian was 'more scientific and profound than either.' Some of the links in his argument, which Colebrooke himself designated as weak, have since been subjected to renewed criticism; but it is interesting to observe how here, too, hardly anything really new has been added by subsequent scholars. The questions of the antiquity of Hindu mathematics—of its indigenous or foreign origin, as well as the dates to be assigned to the principal Sanskrit writers, such as Bhāskara, Brahmagupta, Āryabhatta, &c.—are very much in the same state as he left them. And although some living scholars have tried to follow in his footsteps, as far as learning is concerned, they have never approached him in those qualities which are more essential to the discovery of truth than mere reading, viz., caution, fairness, and modesty.

Two events remain still to be noticed before we close the narrative of the quiet and useful years which Colebrooke spent in England. In 1818 he presented his extremely valuable collection of Sanskrit MSS. to the East India Company, and thus founded a treasury from which every student of Sanskrit has since drawn his best supplies. It may be truly said, that without the free access to this collection—granted to every scholar, English or foreign—few of the really important publications of Sanskrit texts, which have appeared during the last fifty years, would have been possible; so that in this sense also, Colebrooke deserves the title of the founder of Sanskrit scholarship in Europe.

The last service which he rendered to Oriental literature was the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society. He had spent a year at the Cape of Good Hope, in order to superintend some landed property which he had acquired there; and after his return to London, in 1822, he succeeded in creating a society which should do in England the work which the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in 1784 at Calcutta by Sir W. Jones, had done in India. Though he declined to become the first president, he became the director of the new society. His object was not only to stimulate Oriental scholars living in England to greater exertions, but likewise to excite in the English public a more general interest in Oriental studies. There was at that time far more interest shown in France and Germany for the literature of the East than in England, though England

alone possessed an Eastern Empire. Thus we find Colebrooke writing in one of his letters to Professor Wilson:—

'Schlegel, in what he said of some of us (English Orientalists) and of our labours, did not purpose to be uncandid, nor to undervalue what has been done. In your summary of what he said you set it to the right account. I am not personally acquainted with him, though in correspondence. I do think, with him, that as much has not been done by the English as might have been expected from us. Excepting you and me, and two or three more, who is there that has done anything! In England nobody cares about Oriental literature, or is likely to give the least attention to it.'

And again:—

'I rejoice to learn that your great work on the Indian drama may be soon expected by us. I anticipate much gratification from the perusal. Careless and indifferent as our countrymen are, I think, nevertheless, you and I may derive some complacent feelings from the reflection that, following the footsteps of Sir W. Jones, we have, with so little aid of collaborators, and so little encouragement, opened nearly every avenue, and left it to foreigners, who are taking up the clue we have furnished, to complete the outline of what we have sketched. It is some gratification to national pride that the opportunity which the English have enjoyed has not been wholly unemployed.'

Colebrooke's last contributions to Oriental learning, which appeared in the 'Transactions' of the newly-founded Royal Asiatic Society, consist chiefly in his masterly treatises on Hindu Philosophy. In 1823 he read his paper on the Sankhya system; in 1824 his paper on the Nyāya and Vaiseshika systems; in 1826 his papers on the Mīmānsā; and, in 1827, his two papers on Indian Sectaries and on the Vedānta. These papers, too, still retain their value, unimpaired by later researches. They are dry, and to those not acquainted with the subject they may fail to give a living picture of the philosophical struggles of the Indian mind. But the statements which they contain may, with very few exceptions, still be quoted as authoritative, while those who have worked their way through the same materials which he used for the compilation of his essays, feel most struck by the conciseness with which he was able to give the results of his extensive reading in this, the most abstruse domain of Sanskrit literature. The publication of these papers on the schools of Indian metaphysics, which anticipated with entire fidelity the materialism and idealism of Greece and of modern thought, enabled Victor Cousin to introduce a brilliant survey of the philosophy of India into his Lectures on the History of Philosophy, first delivered, we think, in 1828. Cousin knew *and thought* of Colebrooke exclusively as a metaphysician.

He probably cared nothing for his other labours. But as a metaphysician he placed him in the first rank, and never spoke of him without an expression of veneration, very unusual on the eloquent but somewhat imperious lips of the French philosopher.

The last years of Colebrooke's life were full of suffering, both bodily and mental. He died, after a lingering illness, on March 10, 1837.

To many even among those who follow the progress of Oriental scholarship with interest and attention, the estimate which we have given of Colebrooke's merits may seem too high; but we doubt whether from the inner circle of Sanskrit scholars, any dissentient voice will be raised against our awarding to him the first place among Sanskritists, both dead and living. The number of Sanskrit scholars has by this time become considerable, and there is hardly a country in Europe which may not be proud of some distinguished names. In India, too, a new and most useful school of Sanskrit students is rising, who are doing excellent work in bringing to light the forgotten treasures of their country's literature. But here we must, first of all, distinguish between two classes of scholars. There are those who have learnt enough of Sanskrit to be able to read texts that have been published and translated, who can discuss their merits and defects, correct some mistakes, and even produce new and more correct editions. There are others who venture on new ground, who devote themselves to the study of MSS., and who by editions of new texts, by translations of works hitherto untranslated, or by essays on branches of literature not yet explored, really add to the store of our knowledge. If we speak of Colebrooke as *facile princeps* among Sanskrit scholars, we are thinking of real scholars only, and we thus reduce the number of those who could compete with him to a much smaller compass.

Secondly, we must distinguish between those who came before Colebrooke and those who came after him, and who built on his foundations. That among the latter class there are some scholars who have carried on the work begun by Colebrooke beyond the point where he left it, is no more than natural. It would be disgraceful if it were otherwise, if we had not penetrated further into the intricacies of Pāṇini, if we had not a more complete knowledge of the Indian systems of philosophy, if we had not discovered in the literature of the Vedic period treasures of which Colebrooke had no idea, if we had not improved the standards of criticism which are to guide us in the critical restoration of Sanskrit texts. But in all these branches

of Sanskrit scholarship those who have done the best work are exactly those who speak most highly of Colebrooke's labours. They are proud to call themselves his disciples. They would decline to be considered his rivals.

There remains, therefore, in reality, only one who could be considered a rival of Colebrooke, and whose name is certainly more widely known than his, viz., Sir William Jones. It is by no means necessary to be unjust to him in order to be just to Colebrooke. First of all, he came before Colebrooke, and had to scale some of the most forbidding outworks of Sanskrit scholarship. Secondly, Sir William Jones died young, Colebrooke lived to a good old age. Were we speaking only of the two men, and their personal qualities, we should readily admit that in some respects Sir W. Jones stood higher than Colebrooke. He was evidently a man possessed of great originality, of a highly cultivated taste, and of an exceptional power of assimilating the exotic beauty of Eastern poetry. We may go even further, and frankly admit that, possibly, without the impulse given to Oriental scholarship through Sir William Jones's influence and example, we should never have counted Colebrooke's name among the professors of Sanskrit. But we are here speaking not of the men, but of the works which they left behind; and here the difference between the two is enormous. The fact is, that Colebrooke was gifted with the critical conscience of a scholar—Sir W. Jones was not. Sir W. Jones could not wish for higher testimony in his favour than that of Colebrooke himself. Immediately after his death, Colebrooke wrote to his father, June, 1794:—

'Since I wrote to you the world has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Sir W. Jones. As a judge, as a constitutional lawyer, and for his amiable qualities in private life, he must have been lost with heartfelt regret. But his loss as a literary character will be felt in a wider circle. It was his intention shortly to have returned to Europe, where the most valuable works might have been expected from his pen. His premature death leaves the results of his researches unarranged, and must lose to the world much that was only committed to memory, and much of which the notes must be unintelligible to those into whose hands his papers fall. It must be long before he is replaced in the same career of literature, if he ever is so. None of those who are now engaged in Oriental researches are so fully informed in the classical languages of the East; and I fear that, in the progress of their inquiries, none will be found to have such comprehensive views.'

And again:—

'*You* ask how we are to supply his place? Indeed, but ill. Our

present and future presidents may preside with dignity and propriety; but who can supply his place in diligent and ingenious researches? Not even the combined efforts of the whole Society; and the field is large, and few the cultivators.'

Still later in life, when a reaction had set in, and the indiscriminate admiration of Sir W. Jones had given way to an equally indiscriminate depreciation of his merits, Colebrooke, who was then the most competent judge, writes to his father:—

'As for the other point you mention, the use of a translation by Wilkins, without acknowledgment, I can bear testimony that Sir W. Jones's own labours in Manu sufficed without the aid of a translation. He had carried an interlineary Latin version through all the difficult chapters; he had read the original three times through, and he had carefully studied the commentaries. This I know, because it appears clearly so from the copies of Manu and his commentators which Sir William used, and which I have seen. I must think that he paid a sufficient compliment to Wilkins, when he said, that without his aid he should never have learned Sanskrit. I observe with regret a growing disposition, here and in England, to depreciate Sir W. Jones's merits. It has not hitherto shown itself beyond private circles and conversation. Should the same disposition be manifested in print, I shall think myself bound to bear public testimony to his attainments in Sanskrit.'

Such candid appreciation of the merits of Sir W. Jones, conveyed in a private letter, and coming from the pen of the only person then competent to judge both of the strong and the weak points in the scholarship of Sir William Jones, ought to caution us against any inconsiderate judgment. Yet we do not hesitate to declare that, as Sanskrit scholars, Sir William Jones and Colebrooke cannot be compared. Sir William had explored a few fields only, Colebrooke had surveyed almost the whole domain of Sanskrit literature. Sir William was able to read fragments of epic poetry, a play, and the laws of Manu. But the really difficult works, the grammatical treatises and commentaries, the philosophical systems, and, before all, the immense literature of the Vedic period, were never seriously approached by him. Sir William Jones reminds us sometimes of the dashing and impatient general who tries to take every fortress by bombardment or by storm, while Colebrooke never trusts to anything but a regular siege. They will both retain places of honour in our literary Walhallas. But ask any librarian, and he will say that at the present day the collected works of Sir W. Jones are hardly ever consulted by Sanskrit scholars, while Colebrooke's essays are even now passing through a new edition, and we hope Sir Edward Colebrooke will one day give the world a complete edition of his father's works.

ART. VII.—1. *A System of Surgery, Theoretical and Practical, in Treatises.* By various Authors. Edited by T. HOLMES, M.A. Cantab., Surgeon and Lecturer on Surgery at St. George's Hospital, Memb. Corresp. de la Société de Chirurgie de Paris, with Illustrations. Second edition. In five volumes. London: 1870.

2. *Diseases of the Ovaries; their Diagnosis and Treatment.* By T. SPENCER WELLS, F.R.C.S. London: 1872.

3. *Lectures on the Progress of Anatomy and Surgery during the present Century.* By Sir W. FERGUSSON, Bart., F.S.S. London: 1867.

4. *Anæsthesia, Hospitalism, and other Papers.* By Sir J. G. SIMPSON, Bart. Edited by Sir W. B. SIMPSON, Bart. Edinburgh: 1871.

5. *Bleeding and Change of Type in Disease.* By Dr. ORLANDO MARKHAM. London: 1866.

A RETROSPECT of half a century in any art or science, in these days of rapid advance, gives us a striking indication of the rate at which it is progressing, and the life that is in it. Whilst, however, the gain may be patent enough to the initiated, the public, lacking any special knowledge of the sealed arts such as Medicine and Surgery, of which we are about to treat, although profiting by the general advance, can only estimate its progress generally. It is our purpose in the following article to point out, step by step, the triumphs of the curative art during the memory of living men, indeed, during the active professional life of many of the present workers, in the great art of saving human life and of alleviating suffering.

It cannot be denied that as regards medicine, previous to that date, our methods of inquiry into the nature and progress of disease were very limited and defective. The physician, who had to deal with organs concealed from the observation of the senses, groped, comparatively speaking, in the dark. Our wonder is, indeed, that treating maladies empirically, as they were obliged to do, they succeeded in even ameliorating diseased conditions, much less in repairing or curing them, as we know they occasionally did. Experience, unless it is founded on exact knowledge, where such a delicate machine as the human frame is concerned, is indeed of but little avail; *and what* intimate knowledge, we may ask, had our fathers of

the minute structure of the human frame? or, what aids had they to help them in diagnosing the condition of a part when in a state of disease? Ask an engineer to give an explanation of the defective working of some complicated machine, placed in some closed and impervious cavity, and you ask the same seemingly unanswerable question that was put to the physician of the past century touching the human machine, a thousand times more delicate and complicated than anything that has been framed by human hands. Behind the chest and abdominal walls lay the whole mystery of life, with whose faulty working our fathers could do little more than guess at; for wanting the special arms of precision, with which we are now furnished, they could only work blindly in the dark, and get at the truth by *post-mortem* knowledge. Let us imagine the modern physician deprived of the tools he familiarly uses to diagnose the conditions of a part—the stethoscope, for instance. How utterly lost he would be: the heart and the lungs, the organs by which our breath and blood circulate, would be to him as a closed book. All the delicate gradations of sound, by which he knows as clearly as though he saw with his eyes the exact departure of these organs from their normal condition and from their healthy functions, would be to him as though they had never existed. The surgeon equally was at a loss to discriminate the nature of pulsating tumours, and the condition of disease in arteries. The laryngoscope, again, enables the eye to penetrate down the larynx, and by the speculum insight is given into the uterus. By the still more wonderful aid to science given by the ophthalmoscope, we may be said to enter the very brain, and see, as it were on an index, the condition of the cerebral nerves and outer cranial circulation.

An entrance is gained in many directions into what to our forefathers must have appeared the impregnable citadel of the body. The enormous gain to the study of disease we have thereby acquired it is impossible to estimate. New instruments are leading to new trains of thought. They are teaching us how vain are many old remedies and forms of practice, a negative gain humanity should be thankful for. They are opening up new visions of the truth of which we formerly had no glimpse, and they are preparing the way to decisive triumphs, on the verge of which we may now be said to hang. If, however, we may congratulate the present age on these mechanical helps to scientific inquiry, we must not forget that they are but the necessary outcome of a previous growing knowledge. The time was ripe for them. Theoretical truths

demanded to be verified by practical proof, which by slow degrees, is being laid before us.

Neither must we forget to pay a just tribute to another instrument which supplies the very groundwork for all our just ideas of the ultimate anatomy and knowledge of the functions of the different organs of the human body—the microscope. By the aid of this wondrous instrument the oxy-hydrogen light records permanently, by means of photography, a whole world of facts of which we only formerly caught transient glimpses. The marvellously delicate organisation hereby opened up to the physiologist only fills him with deeper wonder than ever at the delicate machinery by which life is carried on, and warns him of the rough handling nature has to fight against in the proceedings of practitioners of our yet imperfect art.

To recur, however, to the more practical portion of our subject, and dealing first with the surgical art, we may broadly state that its triumphs during the last half century may be said to be three—the use of Anæsthetics, Lithotrity, and Ovariotomy. But, although these may be said to be the leading points, yet we cannot conceal from ourselves that what are termed the minor points of surgery, which make little show, possibly confer by their wide-spread operations a still greater blessing upon humanity than the greater operations; but we shall have ample occasion to refer to these hereafter.

We shall refer

1st. To the use of anæsthetics in the performance of surgical operations, whilst the patient is unconscious, or insensible to pain.

2ndly. To the invention of instruments by which a stone in the bladder may be crushed and washed away in fragments, instead of being cut out of the bladder whole.

3rdly. The removal of diseased ovaria.

To the late Sir James Simpson, of Edinburgh, is undoubtedly due the merit of having first introduced chloroform at Edinburgh as an anæsthetic agent. As early as 1831 its composition was made known by Sonkeren, and the next year by Liebig, but by these chemists the investigation was merely made as a part of scientific inquiry. The re-discovery by Simpson in 1847 was, however, entirely independent of these previous investigations, and its use as an anæsthetic was entirely due to the discrimination of our accomplished townsman.

It may be said that there is no such thing as a perfectly new *invention*, a discovery coming fresh at once from the brain like

Minerva from the brain of Jove. There are always some antecedent movements in the same direction, some play about the central idea before the final step is taken, and this was the case with chloroform. As early as 1800 Sir Humphry Davy suggested the use of nitrous oxide gas, and indeed it was used in dental surgery by Dr. Evans, in Paris, and by Dr. Horace Wells, in Halifax, United States, in 1844. Sulphuric ether was also employed at Boston in 1846; but these agents were either so disagreeable in their odour, or so inapplicable to the major operations in surgery, owing to their want of persistency, that they had no chance of establishing themselves as permanent agents in the annihilation of human suffering, either whilst under the influence of the operating knife, or during the agony of ordinary disease. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the perfect quiescence of the patient whilst under any of the great surgical operations is a matter of the utmost importance, not only to the operator, but to the patient. The very fright and terror induced by the sight of the knife, and the anticipation of the coming trial, is sufficient to depress to an alarming degree persons of a highly nervous temperament, and especially those in whom any heart affection renders the possibility of shock highly dangerous. It is well known that pain and terror prolonged for any length of time is sufficient to cause death, independently of any ill effect from the operation. Instances are indeed common in the books, in which patients have died on the operating-table, before the knife has been used, from the terrible effect of shock. Even in the natural operation of parturition, when complications or obstructions have ensued which require the aid of instruments, death is not by any means an infrequent result of the exhaustion produced by the strain upon the vital powers; and it was to obviate these mischances that Sir James Simpson first introduced this powerful agent in ameliorating the pangs of labour.

Like every new art when first introduced, it was met by some of the profession with mistrust. The world had gone on, they said, for thousands of years without any interference with the physiological pains of labour; not only were they harmless, but necessary as a safeguard for the mother. In this instance, indeed, not only a certain portion of the medical profession set their faces against the employment of the new agent, but the clergy denounced it as a wicked interference with a divine decree: 'To the woman he said, I will greatly 'multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt 'bring forth children.' This sentence was quoted as a spiritual injunction, which at once set the fiat of the Almighty against

the supposed unnatural interference with His will. We are all too familiar with similar outcries of the ignorant made against the discovery of Jenner in the last century, and which are still repeated to this day by the 'peculiar people,' who, under the influence of a crass fanaticism, suffer fine and imprisonment rather than submit to the law, which, in the interest of the individual as well as of the community, makes vaccination compulsory. The best answer to these absurd objections is to be found in the fact that chloroform has now been used in thousands of instances in relieving the pangs of maternity, not only without any evil effect, but to the relief of many of the ill consequences which follow prolonged labour-pains. In fact, anæsthenisation in midwifery is now the rule, instead of the exception. The extreme agony which the parturient woman has hitherto looked upon as inseparable to her condition is now by the aid of art wholly abolished. In different surgical operations where time is required in dissecting away diseased parts, the gain to the surgeon is of equal importance as to the patient. We may safely say that many operations are now possible that would not have been attempted before anæsthesia were employed. The requisite stillness and equanimity necessary for the performance of delicate and tedious operations, without their aid, could not have been obtained. For instance, excision of the jaw, of the scapula, and the shoulder-joint, would have entailed too much prolonged suffering to have justified any surgeon in such operations. Thus the discovery of the new agent may be justly debited with new methods of operations, especially in that new but beneficent art, so justly named by Sir William Fergusson—its principal originator—as Conservative Surgery.

But the use of chloroform has its drawbacks, and is in a measure supplanted by other and more eligible sister compounds, such as methylene. The public is indebted to Dr. Richardson for the introduction of this anæsthetic agent, which has been used by Mr. Wells, distinguished for his skill and success in the operation known as ovariotomy, nearly three hundred times.

The second great operation of the past half-century must be deemed the brilliant one of lithotrity. Fifty years ago, upon the discovery of the presence of a stone in the bladder, the time-honoured operation of lithotomy, or of opening the bladder and withdrawing the stone whole, was the only method of cure for a most painful and, if neglected, mortal disease. About forty years ago the attention of surgeons in this country was drawn by *Heurteloup* and Costello to the simple expedient of crushing

the stone by means of a peculiar instrument passed into the bladder, seizing with its forceps-like teeth and crushing the stone, sweeping out the larger particles with a scoop, and washing away the finer dust by means of an injected stream of water. The operation was so simple, as compared with the formidable application of the knife applied to such a sensitive organ as the bladder, that the very dignity of surgery seemed lowered by its introduction.

The fight between the lithotritists and the lithotomists became exceedingly lively, and in the clash of opinions the truth itself became clouded. Now, however, that time has cooled the heat of partisans, and the race of lithotomists who prided themselves on their manipulative power has passed away, and that Weiss has so greatly improved the crushing instrument, the great merits of the new operation have been finally accepted, and in no case would a surgeon propose the operation with a knife where the lithotritite could effect his purpose. It is true the operation for crushing is no longer considered so simple and harmless a procedure as at first; but the records of the two operations by the same hand show such a preponderating mortality from the use of the knife, that there is no longer any doubt as to the great gain that has accrued to surgery by the introduction of the modern mechanical process.

Sir William Fergusson, in giving his experience of the two operations, says:—

'I have personally treated 271 cases—162 by lithotomy, and 109 by lithotrity . . . of these 271, I have lost 47; and that shows a mortality of something more than one in seven—not a bad average as operations for stone go; but lithotrity cases included, I consider it low indeed. And I have now to state that which I look upon as of high interest in the modern history of surgery. Of these 271 cases, 219 were adults; 110 have been treated by lithotomy, and of that number 33 have died; 109 have been treated by lithotrity, and of that number 12 have died!'

The advantage shown by these figures in favour of the crushing process is significant enough, but some manipulators may have given even a higher proportion of successful cases. Sir Henry Thompson, whose skill in this operation has become so notorious, could, we fancy, give more favourable evidence of the modern operation than the Sergeant Surgeon; but the evidence of one hand is of immense advantage, as it leaves no loophole for the argument that the advantage was due to especial skill. The question of the advisability of the use of an anæsthetic during this operation has been much discussed; but we much question if lithotrity would have attained to it

present success in the absence of the pain-destroying agen considering the extreme sensibility of the part involved, a the necessity for quietude thereby necessitated. By its a the merits of the operation, when seen at its best, afford o of the greatest triumphs of the surgeon's art. It is, howev just possible that a still less painful operation may be t boast of the coming surgeon. It has been proposed by D Bence Jones to dissolve certain kinds of soluble stones b means of an electric current conducted into the bladder; and among the wonders performed by this new servant of man we should be by no means surprised to find it performing *this* operation in a perfectly painless manner.

The operation of ovariotomy, which may be considered *one* of the most heroic operations now performed, must be looked upon, like many others we have to mention, as only a re-discovery of an old method of cure under better auspices; and in more intelligent hands. Until within these last fifteen years, the desperate nature of the wound made—really the Cæsarian operation, as regards the magnitude of the incision required—caused it to be virtually set aside by surgeons as unjustifiable, in consequence of the impossibility in many instances of successfully carrying it through after the incision had been made, and upon the high mortality attending its performance, even in the cases most favourable to the operation. In 1838 Mr. Lawrence denounced attempts to treat diseased ovaries by surgical operation 'as dangerous to the character of the 'profession;' and the review of which Sir John Forbes was the editor said that 'whenever an operation so fearful in its 'nature was performed a fundamental principle of medical 'morality was outraged.'

It was under these discouraging circumstances, therefore, that Mr. Spencer Wells began to perform the operation in 1858. At that time it had only been performed once successfully in any of our large metropolitan hospitals; and no case of complete success had ever occurred in Scotland. Yet now Mr. Spencer Wells' operations amount to more than 500; the mortality among the whole of the private cases is 24·23 per cent., though in a series of 100 cases it was only 14 per cent., and the mortality on total of Samaritan Hospital cases is 26·66 per cent. Dr. Keith of Edinburgh has been equally successful; and Dr. Tyler Smith, Dr. Bird, and others have performed equally good service, and done their part in adding to the stores of our knowledge. The operation is now of *frequent* occurrence, and is recognised as perfectly legitimate. *The* remedy, it must be remembered, was imperatively de-

manded by the hopelessness of the disease, which gave rise to a dropsy which rendered the patient's life miserable, and which inevitably proved fatal. The temporary relief yielded by tapping could never be repeated many times, and these at short intervals, and then death closed the scene, often in young women just entering upon life. The boldness of the surgeon who revived the operation was only justified by his success. He may well be proud of the fact that hundreds of women, through his hand, have been saved from inevitable death, have recovered excellent health, and have borne children. Continental surgeons have been much struck by the admirable skill of the operator; and the compliment paid to him by Mr. Stromeyer, the German surgeon, in a lecture delivered in St. Thomas's Hospital only the other day, that 'Mr. 'Spencer Wells really, in this operation, had surpassed all 'living surgeons,' was only deserved.

It has long disparagingly been said that amputation is the opprobrium of surgery, and the removal of a large portion of the frame on account of some disease or injury to the joint seems to justify the expression. Sir Charles Bell has written a charming essay upon the human hand, that most delicate and beautiful of all instruments. Sir William Fergusson justly descants upon the perfection of the human foot and ancle-joint, with regard to the perfect adaptability of their mechanism to the part they have to play in the human machine. Yet by the old method of procedure these perfect instruments were both ruthlessly and needlessly destroyed wherever there was a failure of the joint; that is, the infinitely superior portion of the human machine was sacrificed to what by comparison may be termed a coarse hinge. This wanton waste of so important a portion of the frame had, however, long struck an original mind. In the latter portion of the last century, when a vigorous flash of originality seemed to light up the annals of surgery, Park, of the Liverpool Hospital, may be said to have accomplished the first act of conservative surgery. His patient (a sailor, to whom the loss of a foot and leg would have been tantamount to the loss of his means of getting bread) determined him to make the experiment of simply excising the diseased part, the knee-joint, and retaining the foot and leg. This he did so successfully that, to use his own words, the patient, several years after the operation, 'made several voyages to sea, in 'which he was able to go aloft with considerable agility, and 'to perform all the duties of a seaman; that he was twice 'shipwrecked, and suffered great hardships, without feeling 'any further complaint in that limb.' This was a crucial test

of success that should have stamped the operation as one of the greatest surgical triumphs of the time; but, like so many other great strides taken in that age of extreme vivification, it was in advance of its fellows, and was destined to be arrested for the better part of another half-century. Whilst the Liverpool surgeon thus showed the way to the preservation of the foot and leg, Moreau, in Paris, in 1797, following his inspiration, retained the arm and hand by simply excising the elbow-joint. These two splendid operations, which should have immortalised their originators, fell unheeded upon the profession, both at home and abroad. We can only account for this by supposing that the tremendous strain upon the human mind at this time, and indeed far over the threshold of the nineteenth century, caused a reaction in progressive surgery, as, indeed, we know it did in operative surgery in this country. Be that as it may, the operation has only been revived during the last twenty years, but is now fairly established. The elbow-joint section is now a matter of daily occurrence, but the knee-joint operation owes its striking success to our provincial surgeons. The success of Mr. Jones of Jersey, who has operated on a large number of cases with a percentage of cures far exceeding those in thigh amputations; the like success of Professor Humphey of Cambridge, Mr. Pemberton of Birmingham, and Mr. William Clarke of Bristol, prove that the failures of the metropolitan hospital surgeons in excision of the knee-joint are due to causes with which the dangers of the operation have nothing to do, and which we shall explain presently.

The conservative tendency in the professional mind in the metropolis for many years opposed a passive resistance to the knee-joint operation, which was strengthened, no doubt, by the many failures which occurred—not through the want of skill of the London surgeons, where, of course, the pick of the profession are to be found, but to the foul air of the hospital wards, which undid all that the most brilliant manipulative skill could accomplish. But against this resistance the splendid results in the provinces at length prevailed. It has been argued that at best the patient has a stiff joint; but then it must be remembered that the limb, though stiff, is yet of flesh and blood, only so slightly shortened that a thick-soled boot or shoe makes up the difference. The foot and hand, with their infinite adaptability to human wants and necessities, remain intact. What an enormous gain this to the old method of amputation, which threw us back upon the bungling re*sources* of art! We have little doubt ourselves that that

miserable apology for the human extremity which those who suffer amputation are forced to submit to—the 'Chelsea Pen-'sioner,' as the bucket and stump apparatus is termed—will become a curiosity, as far as the civil portion of the population is concerned; and that that hideous hook, which the old surgeons' handiwork needlessly necessitated as a substitute for the ever mobile and delicate articulations of the hand and wrist-joint, will day by day become a thing of the past. Amputations of the leg and arm in war must, of course, be made, as there is no time nor opportunity for delicate surgery on the field of battle; but in the future, conservative surgery will without doubt save, in civil life, an enormous number of limbs that have been hitherto sacrificed.

The extraction of large diseased bones such as the scapula, or shoulder-blade, is another operation in surgery by which amputation at the shoulder-joint is obviated. This operation was performed in 1858 by Mr. Jones of Jersey. By means of this conservative operation, instead of a short stump the arm still remains, and is capable of motion, whilst the deformity is, comparatively speaking, slight.

In what might be considered the minor operations of surgery, the progress that has been made within the last half-century is very marked indeed. The resources of the surgeon in repairing the congenital failures of nature, and the accidents to which flesh is heir to, are worthy of special notice. What malformation more disfiguring to the child than the hare-lip? Yet this deformity is now cured by simply paring the edges of the cleft, and bringing the raw edges together, with suture or spring truss, and nature speedily heals the wound. In cleft palate, the paring knife and a few stitches at once remedy deformity and change the voice and restore perfect articulation. Obliquity of vision formerly was deemed incurable; and when we think of the number of people that used to go on squinting through the whole term of their natural lives, the brilliancy of Dieffenbach's * operation for its cure may be estimated. By the simple division of the internal rectus inside of the eye, strabismus as if by magic is cured. Club-foot is treated now on a similar principle. The squint of the foot, if we may so term it, is caused by the extreme tension of a tendon the cutting of which sets the foot straight.

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* This operation is now known by the name of this German surgeon, but it is as well for Englishmen to know that as early as 1823 Sir C. Bell performed the operation on a monkey successfully; it is really, therefore, the discovery of this great anatomist.

Stromeyer, who first performed the operation, thereby initiated a new method of surgery. By means of a sharp narrow-bladed knife, he makes a subcutaneous incision, by which the muscle is divided without exposing the wound to the air. This practice is of course available in numerous operations which go under the name of the subcutaneous incision. The very objectionable departure of the eye and the foot from their normal symmetrical position was thus at a stroke as it were set right by the almost dramatic application of the surgeon's knife. But a whole world of operations have been opened up especially upon children suffering from contortion of limbs, either from congenital disease or from scrofulous affections, through this simple invention of the division of tendons. Poor wasters of humanity, tied up in knots without power of motion and utterly helpless, are daily transformed into passable specimens of men, capable of taking a part in the games of their fellows, and of doing in after life their share of the world's work.

Indeed, the human face and frame is no longer condemned as of old to pass through life with congenital deformities, neither are the blemishes that arise in after life from accident or disease permitted to remain unrepaired. The well-known advertisement of Madame Rachael 'made beautiful for ever,' is a mere piece of profitable clap-trap; but what her cosmetics and washes failed to perform, those cunning in skin diseases accomplish every day, and in more serious deformities the surgeon's knife with a few intelligent cuts puts to rights. For instance, with the exception of some deformity of the eyes, there is nothing more blemishing to the human face divine than tumours of the jaw. To say that all normal expression is lost where they occur, is but a method of stating the case mildly. The repulsive character they give to the face, independently of the terrible discomfort they inflict upon the poor patient, is sufficient to make life a burthen to him. But the knife of the surgeon speedily sets matters right. The huge excrescences which thirty or forty years ago obliterated every feature, are now no longer seen. Tumours of a malignant growth on the face generally arise from some disease of the jawbones, and it was the practice of the early operators in removing this deformity to cut away the greater portion of these bones. With his mallet and chisel the surgeon set to work removing the diseased part, to speak roughly, just as a sculptor would correct deformity in his rough statue. In these operations performed some fifty years ago, more of the bony framework was removed than in the opinion of modern surgeons was

necessary. According to Sir William Fergusson, only so much bone as is clearly diseased is removed. Here conservative surgery is truly applied, and the same effects are produced with far better expression. In these painful and tedious operations, in which such delicate surgery is involved, necessitating very careful dissections, the use of chloroform is of the highest importance; without the perfect quiet thereby induced, the removal of the diseased part, and the restitution of the face to its original delicate lines, would be impossible of accomplishment.

Whilst we are considering the means surgeons of late years have adopted for the obliteration of blemishes, we must not omit to mention the singular operation of skin-grafting, originated by M. Reverdin of Paris in 1869. We are all aware of the frightful scars, seams, and contortions which follow upon the healing of ulcers involving sometimes a large breadth of the epidermis, even when ultimately they repair themselves. The contractions which take place after severe burns often contort the limbs, and when the face is involved eliminate every element of grace and beauty it may have originally possessed. When nature refuses to heal such wounds, the effect upon the constitution is very depressing, often indeed causing death. An operation which at once repairs the blemish and re-establishes the health must be looked upon as one of the most useful and beneficent triumphs of minor surgery. As early as 1804 the experiment was tried by the Italian physician, Boromeo, of transplanting skin from one portion of a sheep's body to another, and the experiment was a success; but for some inexplicable reason it bore no fruit, and it was not until Reverdin conceived the idea that it passed into the domain of surgery. The difference between the original operation and that of the French surgeon may possibly have been the reason why it was not immediately fruitful. Boromeo transplanted a large flap of skin (just as a gardener would transplant a sod) from one place to another, an operation which was both painful and involved the making of one sore place to cure another. Reverdin, with a superior physiological instinct, merely transplanted small portions of epidermis, say a quarter of a square inch, or even less, on the raw surface, at about an inch and a half apart. These speedily took root, and spread from their centre, until these different little islands of skin met and made a continuous surface. The idea was first introduced into this country by Mr. G. D. Pollock, of St. George's Hospital, who has treated several cases by this method with admirable

results. The only conditions necessary for success are that the skin shall be taken from a healthy person, and that it *is* placed upon a healthy granulating sore. By this method he has treated a large sore eighteen inches in length, and in a few months a healthy skin has been produced. When cicatrisations (as in this case) have contracted limbs, they are straightened by extension, and by this means a permanent sore and a great deformity and lameness are removed.

Sir William Fergusson has stated in one of his lectures that surgical revivals are rarely attended with success (an assertion which we think is not borne out by the facts), and immediately gives an instance in which one at least has proved an important success of the day,—to wit, the treatment of aneurism by compression. We may here re-state what we have before asserted, that there is scarcely an operation that marks the great advance of surgery within these last fifty years that had not been tried in the previous half-century, tried and even succeeded, but, we suppose for want of favourable circumstances, passed out of the minds of practical men. Long since compression was used by Guettani and others; its renewal some thirty years ago by Dr. Hutton, of Dublin, may therefore be considered a mere revival, but practically it was a rediscovery. The success of his practice at once set the English surgeons upon the same track, and ligature of the artery is now no longer used where pressure sufficient to arrest the flow of blood into the aneurismal sac can be applied. Of late years even the method of pressure has been simplified. The application of an instrument is often injurious and painful, and only very lately the simple pressure of the finger continued two or three days, by means of relays of students, has succeeded in entirely arresting the flow of blood to the aneurismal sac, causing thereby coagulation and consolidation. The method of placing a ligature upon the artery necessitated a surgical operation often of a difficult and dangerous nature, and formed one of the most striking operations of our great surgeons, the great Hunter included. Digital pressure, in accomplishing the same purpose, seems so simple and commonplace that the dignity of the operation would appear to suffer thereby; but this is altogether a mistaken idea. The surgeon who accomplishes his end by the most sparing use of the knife, or without its application altogether, is the true hero of his profession, and the greatest benefactor to humanity. As a still later example of what may be done by a simple method we must refer to the very ingenious method adopted in 1860, in a case of popliteal aneurism situated beneath the bend of the knee-joint, by Mr.

Ernest Hart. By simply flexing the knee and keeping it bent for two or three days, he effectually retarded the flow of blood in the sac, and made a perfect cure. This method has been adopted in nearly fifty similar cases by different surgeons since its first introduction, and it may well be considered a perfect triumph of conservative surgery. It is true that this method of treatment is only applicable to arteries situated in the inward bend of joints, but for these it must supersede the old method. The fact that it can be accomplished without keeping the patient in bed is in itself not the least of its merits. In this, among others, the graver operations are receding into the minor. Again, in hydroceles and serous cysts, instead of incisions and setons being employed, injections are now found to answer the purpose perfectly. In compound fracture of the extremities and accidents to the skull, the active measures of the surgeon are now less than formerly required. Scrofulous bones are now treated by rest, diet, and cod-liver oil, instead of by amputation, issues, &c. On the other hand, many diseases once considered purely medical have been transferred to the surgeon. Ovarian dropsy, which not many years since run its course hopelessly in the hand of the physician, is now cured in half an hour's operation by the surgeon's knife.

In cases where amputation is required great improvements have taken place of late years. The great desideratum in such cases is the production of 'a good stump.' Syme, and Perigoff, the Russian surgeon, have initiated new methods for accomplishing this object. The old circular method of operation had the disadvantage attaching to it, that after excision the muscles contracted and exposed the bone. In foot amputations, Syme retained the natural pad of the heel, and Perigoff improved upon this operation by retaining the heel-bone. In amputations of the thigh, Sir W. Fergusson's oval operation, and the flap operation, afford ample material for thoroughly covering the bone and closing up the wound.

Let us hope that in modern times no such mishaps will ever occur as were familiar to the elder surgeons, who in many cases on record removed limbs supposed to be diseased, and, when too late, found to their dismay that there was no local affection at all, the hysterical temperament of the patient leading him to believe, and to convince his attendant, that mere neuralgic pains were symptoms of serious injury at the joint.

Next to the improvements in surgical operation, their after treatment must be considered. The scientific accoucheur has a well-founded hatred of what he terms a 'meddlesome mid-'wifery.' A meddlesome surgery is fast becoming equally

obnoxious to the intelligent operator. Within these last twenty years the clear sweep that has been made of the salves, the bandages, the lotions, the strapping, and plasters used by the elder practitioners, is quite refreshing. Surgeons are beginning to put faith in the healing powers of nature—a little lint and cold water how excellent it is!

Sir William Fergusson with unmitigated contempt denounces these useless appliances in which the old school had so much faith. Referring to a patient sent to him from the country, suffering from the necrosis of a small portion of the clavicle, he says:—

'Now in this case the practitioner in charge had latterly trusted entirely to the supposed efficacy of a plaster of a waxy and resinous composition. So thick was it laid on (spread upon leather, and made to cover the clavicle, part of the arm, and scapula) that some considerable time was required, with a free use of turpentine, to clear all away, so that the part may be properly examined. It was then directly perceived that the only mischief remaining was a small bit of dead bone, which was almost as easily removed as lifting it from the table. The villanous plaster was discarded, water dressing was applied, and in a fortnight only a scar remained.'

This was a very significant example of the value of the plaster to hide, not so much the wound of the patient, as the ignorance of the medical attendant.

Whilst the triumphs of surgery during the last half century have been thus far undeniable, and human life, as far as the methods of performing operations are concerned, has been largely saved, and the old terrors of the knife have been absolutely annihilated, there has sprung up, we regret to say, a disease purely of man's creation, which has swept away the greater portion of the fruits of hospital surgeons' scientific advances; and were it not that we have it in our power absolutely to eliminate this new cause of mortality, we should indeed despair as to the value of our progress. The cause of the mortality we refer to is foul hospital air, the cause of more than half the deaths (to take a low average) that take place in our large metropolitan hospitals after the great operations. The investigations, instituted at the instance of Mr. Simon, the medical officer of the Privy Council, by Mr. Holmes and Dr. Bristowe, with reference to the hospitals of the United Kingdom, have brought out this deplorable fact with a distinctness, in our opinion, which is indisputable; and the independent inquiry made by the late Sir James Simpson only strengthens us in this opinion, and leaves no appeal from the conclusion that must be drawn from them, that, according to the degree in

which we aggregate surgical patients under one roof, rises the mortality of those who submit to operations in them.

These inquiries, indeed, only confirm what we have for a long time known as to the fatal consequences of confining large bodies of men in a small space, even when in a state of health. Indian barracks have for a hundred years been telling us the same tale. The law has been forced to step in, and regulate the amount of air to each individual in emigrant ships, opening outwardly to the four winds of heaven; yet we go on, year by year, adding wing after wing to our old hospitals, and building gigantic new ones for the reception of sick and wounded, totally regardless of the mortality that inevitably follows the crowding even of healthy people. In surgical wards of large hospitals overcrowded with beds, we have not only the same condensation of foul air, but the tenfold more deadly addition of poisonous effluvia given off by disease, and especially by hospital fevers, such as pyæmia, erysipelas, &c., which hangs about the walls, is wafted by currents of air from ward to ward, and is carried from patient to patient by the surgeons, students, and nurses in attendance, from those who have suffered amputations and have the fever so often following them, to those about to submit to operations which expose large wounds, and are consequently liable, in an extreme degree, to be infected by blood-poisoning. The morbific matter which hangs on the walls of hospitals can be removed by no known means of ventilation, and it has been found necessary at times to destroy them. When detached by accident the floating particles may alight where they are least expected. They may sometimes be perceived by the smell at a distance of 500 feet along the corridor of a great hospital. Of course atoms that can be smelt can be inhaled. With these facts in view, we can give full credence to the following table, which shows at a glance the increasing rate of mortality, occurring according to the size of the hospital, after the major operations in the metropolitan and provincial hospitals.

Size of Hospitals.	Death Rate.
1st Series.—In large metropolitan and British hospitals, chiefly containing from 300 to 500 beds or upwards, out of 2,089 limb amputations	855 died, or 1 in 12·4.
2nd Series.—In provincial hospitals, containing from 201 to 300 beds, out of 803 limb amputations	228 died, or 1 in 3·35.
3rd Series.—In provincial hospitals, containing from 101 to 200 beds, out of 1,370 limb amputations	301 died, or 1 in 4·4.

4th Series.—In provincial hospitals, containing from 26 to 100 beds, out of 761 limb amputations	134 died, or 1 in 5·6.
5th Series.—In provincial hospitals, containing 25 beds or under, out of 143 limb amputations	20 died, or 1 in 7·1.
6th Series.—In British private country practice, with the patients operated on in single isolated rooms, out of 2,098 limb amputations	226 died, or 1 in 9·2.

We know that these statistics, collected by Sir James Simpson, have been disputed; but, whilst we have no reason to doubt their accuracy, there is no necessity to swear by them. The table collected by Mr. Holmes and Dr. Bristowe gave a lower death-rate; but the decline in the mortality descends equally with the number of beds; hence the fact of the deadly effect of crowding surgical wards is clearly proved by the upholders and the denouncers of large hospitals. We have a corroboration of the assertion that mortality greatly increases according to the degree of crowding in Mr. Spencer Wells' statistics with reference to cases of ovariotomy. Here the mortality per cent. descends from 76·92, in five large hospitals, to 27·09 in the small Samaritan Hospital, to the insignificant figure of eleven per cent. in private practice, otherwise in cases totally isolated in their own homes from all the danger of surgical wards.

With reference to cases of ovariotomy, Mr. Wells remarks in his valuable work that—

'The place where the operation is performed ought to be healthy, and, as time is generally at our command, there can be no excuse for putting or leaving the patient in an unhealthy house or district. If she lives in a healthy part of the country and can be treated there, it would be positive cruelty to bring her to an unhealthy part of town, or to expose her to the influences of a large general hospital. Even in the same town, or in the same district of large cities, better results have been obtained in private houses and in small hospitals, where the patient occupies a room alone, than in large general hospitals, where she must share a ward with other patients, and may be subject to the influences of dissecting students. In the fourth series of one hundred cases the mortality in private practice was only 14 per cent., while in hospital it was 31 per cent.'

It may be urged—indeed, we know it is—that hospitals are maintained not only for the relief of suffering and the cure of disease, but as institutions for training future surgeons and physicians; that the larger the hospital the greater the number of operations, the more extensive the experience, and there-

fore the better teaching power, and the more convenient both to the teachers and pupils. This is a very plausible answer; but we question if it is well to urge it. We deny that patients' lives should be sacrificed to the best possible arrangements for the schools. We feel certain that benefactors who pour in their thousands for the enlargement of these establishments would hold their hands if they knew that their beneficence would be expended in rearing magnificent establishments perfect in every respect, but with this unfortunate drawback to their perfection, that the larger they grew the more numerous would be the deaths within their walls!

Of one thing we are convinced: the hygienic condition of these great hospitals must either be wholly revolutionised, or the performance of dangerous operations within their walls must sooner or later be abolished. With the exception of accidents, which require immediate attention (and even these would be treated much more safely in their own homes), we see no reason why all the large hospitals should not have cottages attached to them, either in their immediate neighbourhood or within easy distance in the country by railway. St. George's Hospital has, indeed, such an establishment at Wimbledon, where all cases of ovariotomy are treated. Possibly this is only letting in the thin end of the wedge. We trust it may be so, and that the great West End hospital may have the honour of taking the lead in an inevitable reform; otherwise we cannot see why this particular operation should be made an exception to others equally dangerous.

The spread of cottage hospitals throughout the country, no doubt, will do much to modify the present unsatisfactory state of things. At present the cases that have the least chance of recovery from an operation in our foul metropolitan hospitals are agricultural labourers, now so liable to injury by reason of the increase of steam machinery in husbandry. Sending these poor fellows, after injury, to London, or some of the great provincial hospitals, for the 'best advice,' is tantamount to signing their death-warrant; whereas they would stand a chance of making a good recovery, if treated in their own homes or in the cottage hospitals.

The most marked and singular change which has taken place in the practice of medicine is the utter abolition of the use of the lancet. Fifty years ago phlebotomy was universally practised in the majority of diseases, and the bleeding-shop was one of the institutions of the country, and was visited in the spring and fall of the year by the people even in good health 'to be 'blooded.' There seemed to be a popular idea abroad among

the people that they could have too much of a good thing, and that they required a periodical hand at the pump to keep them from foundering. Medical men seemed to have inherited this popular delusion—at all events, their practice was founded upon no scientific data. Now that indiscriminate bleeding has utterly passed away in England we can only wonder at the astounding drain of blood that was empirically taken from the people, and speculate upon the mortality it occasioned when resorted to on improper occasions, as indeed is still the case in some other parts of Europe, especially in Italy and in Spain. In Italy a host of illustrious persons, including Cavour and several members of the Royal Family, have fallen victims, even recently, to the use of the lancet.

Some of the records the surgeons of the last generation have left behind them only make us shudder at the blindness with which, in defiance of its evil results, the use of the lancet was persisted in. Dr. Markham, in his 'Change of Type in Dis-'ease,' referring to this infatuation, gives the following examples of the practice:—

'I remember (says Dr. Stokes) when I was a student of the old Meath Hospital, there was hardly a morning that some twenty or thirty infatuated creatures were not phlebotomised largely. The floor was running with blood; it was difficult to cross the floor of the prescribing-hall for fear of slipping. Patients were seen wallowing in their own blood like leeches after a salt emetic.'

'Dr. Rush tells us ninety ounces were often at one sitting taken from his friend Dr. Dewes, and of course with advantage. Dr. Dewes, again, on his part, took eighty ounces from a delicate woman in puerperal convulsions; and from another young woman, under similar circumstances, 120 ounces, within five or six hours, and twenty ounces more on the next day. The patient lost her sight for a fortnight, and did not recover her health for six months; "*but do not*" (says Dr. Clutterbuck, who tells the tale to his students) "*harshly conclude that* "*this loss of blood caused the blindness; a much more natural cause is to* "*be found in the affection of the brain which caused the convulsions!*"'

We could go on for pages giving examples of the blood-letting mania which infected the old practitioners, and of the persistency with which they ascribed the ill effects to other than the cause they themselves were supplying. We are compelled to say that nothing in the practice of physic is so humiliating to the reasoning physician of the present day as these dreadful examples of the unwise use of the lancet. The reason given for the almost sudden abolition of this instrument is as unreasonable as the practice. It was asserted that the atmospherical conditions at the time of the first advent of cholera, in 1830, produced such an asthenic type among the popula-

tion—in other words, such a state of debility, that bleeding could not be borne! As we have not again rushed into the old practice, we must conclude that this sudden advent of debility is persistent! To such miserable conclusions haphazard after-thoughts sometimes bring us. Not only is the lancet banished from England, but from Germany and France we hear from Dr. Stromeyer that it has disappeared. That a debilitating influence should have simultaneously overspread Europe is so absurd, that we can only smile when we hear it put forth as the cause of a change in treatment, which, indeed, was due to the good sense of the public.

Like all sudden reforms, however, it went a little too far. There are diseases in which bleeding is undoubtedly efficacious; but although some physicians, like Dr. B. W. Richardson and Dr. Stromeyer, more independent than their contemporaries, insist upon the advisability of resorting to the lancet on certain occasions, there seems to be no probability of the profession reviving the practice generally which seems to them dead.

Among the medical discoveries of the last thirty years, the affection known as Bright's Disease may be considered as the first. This is a form of kidney disease which generally proves fatal, and the method of diagnosis is one of the triumphs of pathological chemistry, which shows itself in a very dramatic form. A very small portion of the urine placed in a test tube, by the application of a drop of nitric acid, or the mere application of heat from a spirit lamp, affords sufficient proof, in nine cases out of ten, to seal the fate of the patient. The presence of albumen is by either of these tests immediately made evident, and the constant drain of this essential element of the blood is mortal. A little coagulation of the contents of the test tube, and the physician knows that the days of the patient are numbered. The microscope, with its searching eye, again finds out death at a glance, often where it was quite unsuspected. Certain unmistakeable appearances in the lens show that cancer is present in the tumour the surgeon has removed with his knife.

The greater accuracy of our diagnosis, consequent upon new instruments, which search into every cavity of the body, is day by day giving us clearer views of disease, without which our remedies are often vain, sometimes indeed prejudicial. Dropsies of the chest were often confounded together; the same may be said of those of the abdomen. The former are now known to be but the sequela of heart disease, whilst the

nature of the latter can easily be discovered by the stethoscope and simple percussion.

A new instrument has only just been discovered—the diaphonoscope—by which the internal organs are made visible through the walls of the abdomen by means of very powerful lights, which render the body to a certain degree transparent, and the outlines of the abdominal viscera are thereby mapped out to the eye. It is impossible to say at present of what value this new instrument may be as a diagnostic agent. When the ophthalmoscope first came before the profession it was rejected by a leading ophthalmic surgeon as a mere 'useless toy,' whereas it is now recognised as of the utmost value. By its aid we can discover the condition of the cerebral circulation, and the condition of the optic nerve. Not only in diseases of the eye its value is great, but it has become a necessity for the physician in brain diseases. Epilepsy, and that terrible malady general paralysis, and even Bright's Disease, can now be diagnosed by looking into the eye with this instrument at the optic nerve, and the beautiful reticulations of the arteries which are seen on the optic disc. The 'useless toy' answers many questions as to what is going on in the brain, which before we could only darkly guess at.

Possibly the greatest advance that has been made in the last century is with respect to the physiology of the nervous system. To two men are due the unravelling of the action of the nervous centres—a discovery, according to Stromeyer, as great as that of the circulation of the blood. Sir C. Bell, by careful dissection of the roots of the nerves, discovered that those of motion and sensation were quite distinct; and this discovery gave rise to the still greater advance made by Dr. Marshall Hall, and the unravelling of his scheme of the reflex action of the spinal cord, by means of which he showed us how all the functions of the animal economy are performed independently of the will. Before the time of these great physiologists we were quite in the dark as to the beautiful machinery by which the functions of life were carried on, perfectly unconsciously to ourselves. We knew not why, when the light fell upon the eye the pupil contracted, and when a still greater illumination fell the eyelids closed to shut it out altogether; why the fauces grasped anything placed within its reach; or why even in sleep the hand immediately moves away any object that may be irritating the skin. The reflex action of the nervous system at once furnished a clue to many obscure pains that had been treated locally, but which might have resulted from the altogether unsuspected irritation of some internal

organ. To British science alone the world has to be grateful for the unravelling of the working of the nervous system, which to our fathers was only a tangled web, of which only the thread here and there had been caught and traced. To the two physiologists we have mentioned alone the glory belongs; and we question if even the great discoveries of Harvey and Jenner surpass the value of the clue they gave to the manner in which the nerves act upon the body.

The tools with which the medical man works have also been marvellously improved even within these ten years. We are not now alluding to the instruments by which he finds out disease, but the medicines with which he cures them. This is a matter in which the patient is directly interested. We can all remember the nauseous drugs with which we were dosed, say some thirty years ago. The woody fibres we were forced to swallow, the gritty substances we could not swallow, the powders which never could be washed out of the mouth! Not only were they dreadful in quality, but the quantity was appalling. Both the physician and the general practitioner must share the blame as regards the excess with which they were supplied. A prescription of a physician of the old school was a dispensary in itself. The countless ingredients, the action of which under the effect of the gastric secretions were often of a conflicting character, without doubt produced symptoms that puzzled him as much as the patient. The tendency in the present day is in the other direction. A wiser instinct has taught simplicity; indeed there is a growing reliance upon what we may term natural medicine, instead of mere medicaments. Change of air, water, and scene, the influence of the mind upon the body, now enter largely into the repertory of the physician. He is beginning to see that many curative agents are required to set his patients up in health again, inasmuch as many have been the cause of casting him down from it; and he practically admits that these agents require to act through a longer space of time. Hence extended holidays and prolonged travel, which increases the health even of the most robust.

The general practitioner, dealing with what we may term the middle class strata of the population, has been moved to a reform by another motive, which is quite as potent as the scientific one. The habit of charging his time has taken the place of the old abominable practice of simply sending in his bill for medicines supplied. It is true this great reform applies more to towns than to the country, where the medical man is obliged to act as chemist as well as doctor; but even when

he is obliged to dispense his own medicaments, the habit is growing of charging rather for his skill than for the number of bottles he crowds upon his unhappy patients. We think there can be little doubt that the practice of homœopathy has had something to do with this change. When a certain enthusiastic class of the population took up this new doctrine, and it was seen that by perfect abstention from physic (for the infinitesimal doses given practically amounted to this), the patients, in the majority of cases, where some simple derangement of the system existed, got well; the lesson taught was twofold—in such cases the curative value of drugs was of secondary importance, and the power of the mind over the body was the primary cause of cure. Faith in the physician—what a power it is! and he who can command it may throw much of his physic to the dogs. Nevertheless faith stops short of actual bodily derangement; it will not stop an ague-fit, or cut short a fever; it will not set the lung of the consumptive patient to rights, nor give motion to the paralysed arm. In such cases where destruction of vital parts has ensued, the mere mockery and snare of the homœopathic theory is at once apparent. And here the specific value of certain drugs discovered during the last half-century steps in to restore the balance to the orthodox practitioner. Among these may be found first and foremost cod-liver oil, that has stayed the hand of the destroyer in many a patient that would otherwise have succumbed to pulmonary disease; iodine, gallic acid, and hydrocyanic acid have proved of great value; and last, but not least, we credit the medical profession with the introduction of electricity as a most potent agent in rousing the vital powers of the system. Day by day its potency in reviving the failing nervous system is becoming more apparent. Faradization, or the passing of the constant current, is the best stimulant known in rousing the paralysed limb, and in cases where the heart's action has stopped, the current has once more set the machine of life going again. By the hydrate of chloral, on the other hand, overaction of the nervous system is met and checked, and all the evils of opium—sickness, constipation, and headache—are avoided. But in addition to these actual additions to the agents by which the physician fights disease, we must allude to the much more effective and scientific method in which he applies them. The modern discovery of the alkaloids, or the active medicinal principles of our vegetable materia medica, is very important. Instead of coarse bark that used to choke us when we were attacked with ague or weakness, science now presents us with the elegant quinine.

Instead of the nauseating dose of jalap an infinitesimal portion of jalapine is far more effectual, and morphia with a drop seals up our senses, where the larger dose of opium defeated its object by refusing to remain upon the stomach. Even the mode of action of this drug has been greatly improved of late years. In cases of neuralgic pains and spasmodic agonies subcutaneous injection of the drug now acts at once effectually upon the local affection, without our having to go the round-about way to give a cure through the system generally. Sir James Simpson has, we think, very shrewdly suggested, that the principle of rapidly affecting the whole system, on the other hand, by means of the wide-extended blood surface of the lungs, may not be far off.

'If it is ever (he says), for instance, a matter of importance, in some inflammatory or other ailments, to affect the system rapidly and fully with mercury, why may not the chemist discover some gaseous and respirable form of mercurial combination, the inhalation of which should salivate in as many hours as days are now required for the induction of that effect?'

His own discovery of chloroform has indeed shown us the potency of the lung form of administration, and why other medicaments may not be in the same way employed we do not see. As Watt said of the application of an old invention to perform some new office, it would only be employing 'a knife 'to cut cheese that had previously cut butter.'

We cannot conclude this paper better than by alluding to the great advance made during the period we have marked out to ourselves in the treatment of Lunacy. In the last century Bedlam used to be one of the public sights to which holiday-keepers, on the payment of two-pence, were attracted, to watch the piteous objects caged and confined within their filthy dens. They went in much the same spirit as they visited the lions in the Tower, and we question whether the human creatures were not considered the more dangerous of the two. The treatment of the lunatics in Bedlam at that time was rather a favourable specimen of what was considered to be the best method of curing the mentally afflicted. It makes us shudder to read the accounts of this place in the beginning of the century. When Mr. Westerton and Mr. Calvert visited its wards in 1808, they found ten patients in the female gallery, each fastened by one leg or arm to the wall, with a chain so arranged that they were able to stand up at a bench; they were dressed each in a filthy blanket, thrown poncho-like over their otherwise naked bodies. This was, however, only an ordinary arrangement. When any

patient was looked upon as dangerous, special arrangements were made that were still more outrageous. Poor Morris, for instance, was treated more like a wild and furious beast than a human being. Esquirol was even horrified at the spectacle, and we have no reason to believe that the treatment of lunatics in France was one bit better than in England before the time of Pinel. The following is the description of the method in which they secured this helpless individual :—

'A stout iron ring was riveted round his neck, from which a short chain passed to a ring, made to slide upwards and downwards on an upright massive iron bar, more than six feet high, inserted in the wall. Round his body a strong iron bar, about two inches wide, was riveted. On each side of the bar was a circular projection, which being fastened to, and enclosing each of his arms, pinioned them close to his body. Thus fixed, like a crow on a wall, this poor creature was enforced to wear out his existence of more than twenty years!'

These horrors have all been swept away by greater intelligence, greater kindness to the patient, and a more just appreciation of the physical causes of mental disease, as we had occasion to show more fully in the review of the life of Dr. Conolly published in this Journal in April 1870, to which we refer our readers. The same improvements are still going on, more especially from the removal of lunatics from the larger asylums to smaller abodes where they have the benefit of a more cheerful mode of life and better air.

'I have (says Dr. Bucknell) recommended the erection of an inexpensive building, detached from but within the grounds of the present asylum, in preference to an extension of the asylum itself. My reasons for this recommendation are, that such a building will afford a useful and important change for patients for whom a change from the wards is desirable. The system of placing patients in detached buildings, resembling in their construction and arrangements an ordinary English house, has been found to afford beneficial results in the so-called cottages which this institution at present possesses. *These cottages are much preferred to the wards by the patients themselves, and permission to reside in them is coveted.* I am also convinced that such auxiliary buildings can be erected at a much less expense than would be incurred by the enlargement and alteration of the asylum itself. I propose that in the new building the patients shall cook and wash for themselves.'

If those who devise these vast establishments would only study human nature and the English character, they would not be surprised at these cottages being preferred to the tyranny of the big houses. Those who are harmless and hopelessly insane need not even the protection of the asylum walls. They are now very judiciously drafted back to their own unions, where, in the comparative freedom of the 'house,'

they pass the last years of their lives happily, and at a diminished cost to the rates. Here, again, we can see a return to an old state of things, but with better safeguards to the good treatment of the patients than our forefathers insisted upon. There is a moral infection in asylum air, which depresses and injures the patient, as much as the fever infection injures the inmates of the surgical wards of the great hospitals. Isolation in both cases is the best treatment. Healthy minds surrounding the one, are as much required as pure air for the recovery of the other.

In the colony of Gheel, in Belgium, the harmless lunatics are placed in cottages, and live the life of the people—a people trained by hereditary habit to treat them properly. Here they labour in the fields, live with their hosts, play with the children, and partake of the joys and the sorrows of the household. In this village, or combination of villages, the purely medical treatment is under the control of médical inspectors. There is perfect freedom, and we question if the runaways are as numerous as from any of our large asylums. Our Commissioners are with faltering steps making advances towards this primitive state of things, which puts as few impediments as possible in the way of the recovery of the patient, and which gives the lunatic mind the surroundings and support of healthy minds—the true psychological medicine when judiciously applied.

We see with great pleasure that the Scottish Commissioners recognise the advantage of giving more freedom to the pauper patients suffering from chronic mania. When possible, they are transferred from asylums and workhouses, and sent to reside with the labouring classes in the country villages. Kennoway, in Fife, may be said to be growing into a Scottish Gheel, as the village is becoming peopled with the incurable insane. So far from the freedom of the new life acting to their disadvantage, it has proved quite the contrary. Patients who were noisy in the asylums from which they were removed, have actually become quiet in the homes of the cottagers, and two patients, who were considered hopelessly insane, have recovered after experiencing the mentally bracing effect of a cottager's life. We trust the example will not be lost upon the English Commissioners.

But the improved treatment of the insane has been helped on in this country by a better knowledge of the disease itself. Mind being now considered an emanation of the body taking place through the nervous system, and its derangements merely the results of nervous disease, the speciality is merged

within the broad scope of medicine, and the intelligence of the whole profession is being gradually brought to bear upon it. As a necessary consequence an enormous increase of experience is the result, and the unity of bodily and mental disease and their effects one upon the other demonstrated. Dr. Maudsley, in one of his thoughtful Gulstonian lectures, has written an admirable chapter on the special psychological expression of different diseases, and has shown that 'the inter-'nal organs are plainly not the agents of their special functions 'only; but, by reason of the intimate consent in sympathy of 'function, they are essentially constituents of our mental life.' The heart, the lungs, the liver, and the reproductive organs, when diseased, have their voice, if we may so speak, in the varying emotions which they give rise to. The wonderful exaltation of hope which takes place in the consumptive patient we are all familiar with. The fear and oppression which accompanies heart disease, and the depression and envious feelings which master us when subject to derangement of the liver, have long been patent to the poet as well as to the physician. To a still larger extent sex influences character, and it is in the power of the surgeon to wholly change the tone of mind of either man or woman. With proofs like these of the solidarity of mind and matter, we need not fear that the study of psychological medicine will in future be hampered by the subtleties and words of the metaphysician, but that it will become amenable to scientific inquiry as a purely physical disease.

But whatever may be our hopes for the future, the present and the past alike show how much mankind owes to medicine and surgery. We cannot conclude without asking what has medicine received in return from the State? In France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Spain, honours and rewards from the nation await the men who are useful to their country. In England it is certainly most unjust that while national honours are heaped upon those who have distinguished themselves by military courage or political talent, no public recognition beyond a baronetcy is given to men who have been pre-eminently benefactors to humanity. A tardy and insufficient tribute has, it is true, been paid to the discoverer of vaccination; but there live at this moment men in the profession of medicine who have done as much to deserve public gratitude as did Dr. Jenner. There are great men who have robbed operative surgery of half its horrors by abolishing its pain, and there are those who have manfully overcome every opposition which prejudice threw in their way, and have trium-

phantly rescued one disease from the black list marked incurable. We believe these men are themselves sufficiently repaid by the inward consciousness of having been permanently useful to their fellow-men, and of having added to the sum of human knowledge. But for the sake of others, and especially for the sake of those still hesitating as to the profession which they will embrace, it is extremely desirable that some tangible evidence should be given that the nation appreciates the sacrifices daily and hourly made by those who devote their energies and their talents to the promotion of its physical well-being.

ART. VIII.—*Aristotle.* By GEORGE GROTE, F.R.S., &c. Edited by ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen, and J. CROOM ROBERTSON, M.A., Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic in University College, London. In two volumes. 1872.

THE great historian of Greece having finished his narrative of the rise and fall of the Athenian Republic, and having traced the vicissitudes of the Hellenic states down to the point where a free Hellas ceased to exist, immediately set out to conquer a new world. Turning, in the year 1856, from political history to the widely-different field of philosophy, he promised the world to follow out in a separate work that great movement of Greek speculative thought which extended over the greater part of the fourth century before Christ. In nine years of labour he completed his account of Plato and the immediate followers of Socrates. And then, when he was more than seventy years old, he set himself with undiminished ardour to the gigantic task of giving an exhaustive account of the philosophy of Aristotle.

Grote could conceive of nothing on a small scale. Looking back as we do now, we can see that it would have been more fortunate had he contented himself with an attempt to deal with a limited province of the Aristotelian philosophy. It must be a matter of regret to us that Grote did not propose to himself, first at all events, that part of the task of an Aristotelian expositor for which he had pre-eminent qualifications, namely, the setting forth and illustration of Aristotle's political and ethical systems, and of his views on rhetoric and poetry. There can be no doubt that Grote would have been able to throw a flood of light on these, perhaps the most permanently interesting parts of the thought of Aristotle. He who had

lived for so many years in the Hellenic life of the past; who had felt so long and deep an interest in all the constitutional questions of Greece, not as mere antiquarian questions of a dead past, but as having a living and perpetual significance for the present day; who had identified himself with one side or the other in the debates of the Athenian Agora; who had made to himself a personal question of the reputation of the Sophists and espoused the defence of their character; who had always manifested the strongest interest in all moral problems and theories, and who in treating of Socrates had preferred to regard him almost exclusively from the ethical side, according to his picture in Xenophon as a practical philosopher; he to whom Greek art was dear, and for whom the Greek drama, in all its connexion with the national life and development, was full of meaning—would beyond doubt have been able to have given us a work in connexion with the political, moral, and æsthetical treatises of Aristotle, which would have been a boon to the world, and at the same time a fitting and natural supplement to the History of Greece. The loss of this we must deplore, but at the same time all honour must be given to the vastness of conception which has occasioned this loss, and to the courage and indefatigable energy with which, in the evening of life, Grote essayed a *tour de force* of such magnitude as almost to be an impossibility. Great writers are seldom the best judges of their own powers, and in all probability Grote was not conscious to himself of a peculiar capacity for elucidating the 'Politics' and 'Ethics' of Aristotle. He had undertaken to write an account of the golden period of philosophy in Greece, and it may never have suggested itself to him to attempt anything smaller than a systematic review of the whole. With a noble rashness he threw himself in his seventy-first year upon the task of mastering and analysing the entire works of Aristotle, which in the Oxford edition of the original Greek fill eleven octavo volumes, and on the various questions connected with which more books have been written than on the whole political history of Greece taken together. The six years of life now remaining to Grote were all too few for the accomplishment of his task. What he was able to achieve the two large volumes now before us show. The work is a mere torso, and yet is a monument of splendid industry,* which may

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* It is reported of an eminent Scotch political economist that, having once expressed a wish that some one would leave him a fortune, and being asked, 'And what would you do then?' he answered, 'Why, 'give up making these dommed laborious compilations, to be sure!'

well serve as an example and stimulus to the youth of this country.

Grote's fragment on Aristotle has been very well edited by his friends and literary executors, Professors Bain and Croom Robertson. Without additions of their own they have given these posthumous papers to the world in clear and readable form; they have carefully verified the numerous references, and have added a useful index of the matters treated of. From what is thus presented it is not quite possible to say what would have been the exact form of the work had it reached completion. Much that these volumes contain might have ultimately served only as materials to be worked up by the author into another shape. The finished parts consist of a Life of Aristotle; a chapter on the Aristotelian Canon; a complete analysis and account of the 'Organon' or logic of Aristotle; and an essay (Chapter XI.) on the metaphysical point of view of Aristotle as contrasted with that of former philosophers. This chapter appears to have been intended as part of an introduction to the 'Physics' and 'Metaphysics' of Aristotle, but the author's MS. breaks off with the promise to continue the same subject in a succeeding chapter. Even up to this point Grote's work is not complete, for we are told that his numbering of the chapters indicates a *lacuna* of two chapters, which would have come in before his account of the 'Organon.' These would probably have been a continuation of his essay on the Aristotelian Canon, and would have contained Grote's views as to the genuineness of the works which are commonly ascribed to Aristotle, drawn from an internal examination of the writings themselves. After Chapter XI., the editors very properly eke out this beginning by adding a reprint from Professor Bain's work on 'The Senses and the 'Intellect,' and his 'Manual of Mental and Moral Science,' of the valuable papers which Grote had contributed to those works, on the Psychology of Aristotle, on the Doctrine of Universals, and on Aristotle's Doctrine of First Principles. They also add the careful paraphrase which Grote had made (whether intended merely for his own use, or to be a substantive part of his projected great work) of six books of the 'Metaphysics' and two of the treatise 'On the Heaven,' and

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This (probably ironical) conception of a *summum bonum* was the very antipodes of the ideas of Grote, who, with ample wealth at his disposal, worked throughout a long life as if his bread had depended on it, and with whom the appetite for labour seems to have grown with what it fed upon, so that it happened to him to have reserved, as if for a *bonne bouche*, his most 'laborious compilation' of all to the last.

two short but highly interesting papers on 'Epikurus'* and on the Stoics.

Grote's first chapter contains the best biography of Aristotle that has yet been written. The information which had been gleaned from antiquity by former writers on this subject is, of course, here reproduced, but Grote makes a not inconsiderable addition to this by a more clear and detailed explanation, than had yet been given, of Aristotle's position at Athens. In writing this Grote was on familiar ground, and he traces with a sure and easy hand the circumstances in which 'the 'Stagirite,' as a supposed 'Macedonising' philosopher, was placed. On other questions, where sufficient *data* were wanting, Grote refrains from conjecture, and is content, where nothing is to be said, to say nothing. He does not attempt here to contribute anything on the question of the order in which the extant works of Aristotle were composed, nor does he say how far any progress may be traced, by the evidence of these works, in their author's mind. This subtle and difficult inquiry might possibly have fallen within the province of one of Grote's projected, but unwritten chapters; here he deals with Aristotle's life entirely from external sources. There is another question to which he adverts, and on which he might, if so disposed, have called Aristotle himself in evidence,—and that is the question, how far Aristotle exhibited un-Greek characteristics. This point was mooted in a letter written in 1795 by Wilhelm von Humboldt to F. A. Wolf. The letter, alluded to, but not quoted by Grote, is an interesting one. Humboldt writes:—

'The *De Poeticâ* of Aristotle is a highly remarkable production, and, looking at the ideas it contains, the question has much exercised my reflection, how far a Greek of the period could have written this work. It is really a curious mixture of different individualities united, and this one work was enough to convince me that it would be an important inquiry to try to draw out the characteristic peculiarities of Aristotle, and to show how such a character could arise in Greece, and

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* Grote always delighted in writing 'Epikurus,' 'Sokrates,' 'Sikyon,' and the like. This was perhaps necessary thirty years ago, as a protest in favour of the hard sound of the Latin *c* as representing the Greek κ. But it is no longer so, now that the leading scholars of this country have recognised the uniformly hard sound of *c* in all Latin words. Perhaps the rule should be that when we transliterate a Greek word directly into English, retaining the Greek termination, we should use *k* as the proper representative of κ, as, for instance, in the word 'Kosmos.' If we take a Greek word through the Latin and with a Latinised termination, we should retain the Latin *c*, as, for instance, 'Epicurus.'

how at the particular time it was necessitated to arise, and how it influenced Greece. You may wonder, and perhaps rightly, that I find the Stagirite almost un-Greek. But so it is. Ever since I have been acquainted with him, two things have struck me: *first*, his peculiar individuality; his purely philosophical character seems to me not Greek, it appears to me on the one hand to be deeper than the Greek character and more directed to essential naked truth; on the other hand, to be less beautiful, and to show less fancy, feeling, and spiritual freedom of treatment (to which indeed his rigid systematising is occasionally opposed). *Secondly*, on certain occasions he is so thoroughly Greek and Athenian, he clings so closely to Greek customs and taste, that I for one am astonished. I find proofs for both these assertions in the *De Poeticâ*, or, rather, I believe that I find them there.'

Grote, though referring to these suggestive observations, does not follow them into the question whether the writings of Aristotle betray an un-Greek spirit. He merely asserts the claims of Aristotle to be considered in point of family and descent thoroughly Hellenic. The question, however, still remains whether a Greek family settled for generations, as that of Aristotle had been, in Thrace on the Macedonian frontier, might not acquire certain un-Greek characteristics and modes of thought, and whether, as a fact, such do not reflect themselves in some of the writings of Aristotle.

The life of Aristotle was not wholly uneventful, and even in the meagre traces that have come down to us it is not uninteresting. His father Nicomachus was a citizen of Stageira, and a distinguished physician of the heroic race of the Asclepiads. It is recorded that in this family manual training in dissection was imparted traditionally from father to son, from the earliest years. This training may very probably have had an important influence on the mind of Aristotle by giving it a bias towards physiological research. Of the character of his youth the ancients had two different stories: one that he was wild and extravagant, entered military service, then returned to his father's profession, again threw it up and took to rhetoric and philosophy, and finally at the age of thirty migrated to Athens, and there entered himself in the school of Plato. The other account ignores a period of early vacillations, and represents him as having come to Athens and enlisted as the pupil of Plato when only seventeen years old. Grote thinks that the evidence for the two different accounts is about balanced, and that all we can be certain about is that Aristotle became resident at Athens in or before the year 362 B.C., where he studied in the school of Plato till Plato's death in 347. We may infer from the works of Aristotle himself how deeply imbued he was during this period with the teaching of his master,

whose creative and suggestive ideas in the provinces of psychology, dialectic, metaphysics, politics, and morals, he seized on and afterwards worked out, stripping them of their poetical dress, into systematised dogmatic form, and made them fit for the use of the ordinary world. But while preparing to act the part of a codifier and interpreter of Plato, Aristotle came gradually to assert his own independent individuality, and to organise in many ways a revolt against the Platonic philosophy, especially against one of its characteristic features—the doctrine of transcendental ideas. Another sign of the independence of Aristotle was, his persevering study, during this period of his life, of the art of rhetoric, for which Plato in his extant writings always professes a considerable amount of contempt. Aristotle not only held to the study of rhetoric, as necessary and desirable for a free citizen, and worked out the principles and precepts of the art which he afterwards embodied in his own treatise on the subject now remaining, but he also had the self-confidence to open a school of rhetoric in rivalry to that of the veteran Isocrates, the pupil of Gorgias—a man of the highest worth and consideration, and whose lectures were attended by a numerous succession of pupils, each paying him a fee of 1000 drachmæ (equal to about 1000 francs or 40*l.*), many of whom became afterwards distinguished. In the meanwhile Aristotle was probably not writing any of the works which we now possess under his name. Following the example of his master Plato, he made all his first attempts at philosophical writing in the form of dialogues. Of these nothing but the names and a few fragments quoted, and thus preserved to us, by the ancients, remain. But the catalogues of Aristotle's writings which have come down to us from antiquity show what a rich crop of these productions was sent forth by him during the period of his first residence at Athens. These were his early essays and experiments in philosophy, and if we possessed them we should doubtless see that they exhibited not only a tentative of style, but also the gradual formation of that Aristotelian philosophy, which we only know now as a ready-made and completed product. Aristotle appears afterwards to have entirely abandoned the dialogic form and style as unsuited to his genius and the objects which he had in view.

On the death of Plato (347 B.C.) Aristotle quitted Athens; he went with his fellow-pupil Xenocrates to Atarneus, a town in Asia Minor, to the Court of Hermeias, the despot of the place. This Hermeias was a remarkable man; he was a eunuch and had been slave to Eubulus the former tyrant. He had, as is not uncommon in the East, sprung from slave to be vizier and

thence to be ruler himself. He had come to Athens and heard the lectures of Plato, and had made the friendship of Aristotle, whom with Xenocrates he now received hospitably, and entertained them for three years, during which time Aristotle married Pythias, the tyrant's niece. The government of Hermeias cannot have been other than just and beneficent, else Aristotle would not have entertained so high an opinion of his virtue and greatness, as he has recorded in a hymn or pæan in praise of his friend,* in which he classes him with Hercules, the Dioscuri, and other heroes of noble endurance. But it was an instance of the catholic-mindedness of Aristotle and his freedom from Greek prejudice, that he was able to recognise high merit in one who combined the obnoxious attributes of the eunuch, the slave, and the despot. The Athenians were angry at the terms used in the hymn, and at a comparison which they thought degrading to their own national heroes, and they ultimately brought this up against Aristotle and made it the subject of a criminal charge against him. He and Xenocrates were forced to fly from Atarneus by the death of their patron, who was treacherously seized and put to death by the Persians. Xenocrates returned to Athens, and Aristotle lived at Mitylene for two or three years with his wife, till he was invited over by Philip of Macedon to become the tutor of Alexander, then a boy of the age of thirteen. As to what Aristotle may have taught to the great Alexander, Grote confesses (History of Greece, vol. xii. p. 3) that nothing is known; which is a pity, as it would have been interesting to learn what so eminent a theorist in education considered the proper course of training for a royal pupil, and to trace where possible the effect of this training in the subsequent actions and opinions of Alexander. But for all this no *data* have come down to us, and we can only discern that Aristotle enjoyed the thorough confidence of

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* Philosophical sympathies doubtless formed the basis of the friendship between Aristotle and Hermeias. Aristotle was very likely thinking of this friendship, and at the same time generously exalting in his own mind the virtues of the departed Hermeias, when he wrote the often misunderstood passage (*Ethica Nicomachea*, VIII. vi. 6), *ὑπερέχοντι οὐ γίνεται [ὁ σπουδαῖος] φίλος, ἂν μὴ καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ ὑπερέχηται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἰσάζει ἀνάλογον ὑπερεχόμενος. οὐ πάνυ δ' εἰώθασι τοιοῦτοι γίνεσθαι.* 'The good man does not become a friend to his superior in 'rank, unless he be surpassed by that superior in virtue also. Else, 'he does not find himself in that position of equitable balance which 'is produced by superiority of position being enjoyed in proportion to 'personal merit. Such persons, however (as potentates who surpass 'the good in virtue) are not produced every day.'

the Court of Macedon. He owed his appointment probably to his own already great reputation, but perhaps partly also to his family connexion with the Court, his father having been the confidential physician of Amyntas. He held it till the assassination of Philip in 336 B.C., when Alexander became King of Macedonia, and was immediately absorbed in plans for the conquest of the East.

In the year 335 B.C., after a twelve years' absence, Aristotle returned to take up his abode in Athens, which he felt to be after all the head-quarters of philosophy. He returned with all the prestige of the favour of Alexander, who ordered a statue of him to be put up in Athens, and who furnished him with ample funds for the prosecution of physical and zoological experiments and researches. Athenæus computes the total sum given him in that way at 800 talents (nearly 200,000*l.*), but this is, probably, mere hearsay. Pliny mentions that 'thousands of men' in Alexander's army were put at the orders of Aristotle for the purposes of scientific inquiry and collection. Aristotle was clearly in a position that many physical philosophers and natural historians of the present day might envy. But he had a task before him which was then even more important for mankind than the collecting of new facts about the elephant and the rhinoceros, and all the tribes of flying and swimming things—namely, the clearing up and settling of the forms of universal thought and language. His many-sided activity now applied itself to all regions of the knowable with equal zeal; he followed out simultaneously science and philosophy; he laboured, with an impartiality perhaps never exhibited by any other man, at the matter and the form of knowledge, at the abstract and the concrete, at inductive acquirement of facts and laws, and at the introspective analysis of the general human consciousness. With too daring a grasp he essayed to seize and map out the whole universe, but, on the other hand, no particular fact was too minute for his conscientious diligence, and before all things he set himself to discover and make plain the conditions of our knowledge, and the laws of thought and reasoning upon every subject. For the latter task the materials were by this time all prepared in his mind. We have seen how, during his earlier residence at Athens, partly by imbibing the Platonic system and partly by rebelling against it, he had gradually gained for himself his own point of view, and how in a series of numerous dialogues he had practised the exposition of doctrine. During the subsequent twelve years, while an honoured guest at the Court of Atarneus, while residing in quiet retreat at Mitylene, and in the intervals of his labours as

the tutor of Alexander, all his first results in philosophy must have been consolidated in his ever-systematising mind. He probably had never ceased writing, though what particular works are to be attributed to this twelve years' period we have no means of knowing. But he returned to Athens with a system virtually completed, which he was now prepared to impart and propagate by means of oral teaching, while at the same time he aimed at fixing it for the use of the world in appropriate dogmatic treatises.

It would have been quite out of place that Aristotle, with so avowed a divergence from the views of Plato, should on the death of his master have succeeded to the headship of the school. And yet his consciousness of his own powers may have made it irritating to him to see the Platonic school bequeathed to the lead of Spensippus, Plato's nephew, a man in no way to be compared to himself. This feeling had been, in all probability, the cause of Aristotle's leaving Athens with Xenocrates. When he now returned he found Spensippus dead and Xenocrates installed as scholarch of the Platonic school of philosophy, which was held in the gardens of Academe on the west of the city of Athens. He immediately opened a rival school on the eastern side, in the gymnasium attached to the temple of the Lyceian Apollo. Much of his instruction is said to have been given while walking in the adjoining garden, whence the name of Peripatetics came to be given to his students and to the Aristotelian sect in general. He was not a citizen of Athens, but only a metic or foreign resident, so he took no part in public affairs. The next thirteen years, a period coeval with the astonishing career of Alexander, were entirely devoted by him to the teaching of his school and the composition of his works. From the enthusiastic passages in which he speaks of the joys of the philosopher, we may conceive how highly the privileges of this period, so calm and yet so intensely active, were appreciated by him. His labours in the school produced indeed but little fruit, for no genius at all competent to succeed him and carry on his work sprang up among his scholars; but his writings composed at this time have influenced the world ever since, and the forms of thought which they promulgated have, through the discussions of the Schoolmen and Theologians of the middle ages, been so widely spread and have sunk so deeply, that they have become, though most men know it not, part of the ordinary language of civilised Europe.

This happy time, during which Aristotle was realising, so to speak, his intellectual wealth for the benefit of the world, was rudely broken in upon by the announcement, in the summer

of the year 323 B.C., of the sudden and premature death of Alexander by fever at Babylon. This news produced a sensation throughout the states of Greece analogous to what would have been felt throughout Europe had Napoleon been suddenly cut off, say in the year 1810. Grote explains how profoundly the position of Aristotle was affected by this event. Though not meddling with politics, he had been identified in popular estimation with the Macedonian party. He had come to Athens as the acknowledged favourite and *protégé* of Alexander, and that too at the moment when Alexander, by sacking the city of Thebes, and by compelling Athens with the threat of a similar fate to exile some of her anti-Macedonian statesmen, had made himself the object of sullen dread and covert dislike to the majority of the Athenian citizens. Some portion of this feeling doubtless reflected itself upon Aristotle, who however was preserved from any exhibition of it during the life of his patron, the affairs of the city being administered for that time by Macedonising citizens, with Phocion and Demades at their head. In the year before his death (324 B.C.) Alexander, whose character, as Grote tells us, had been corrupted by unalloyed success and by Asiatic influences, inflicted an unprecedented insult upon the Greek cities, by an arbitrary rescript, which he sent to be read publicly by a herald at the Olympic games, ordering them to recall all citizens who had been banished by judicial sentence, and intimating that his general, Antipater, had instructions to march against any city which should hesitate to obey this order. The officer charged with communicating this offensive rescript, so galling to the Grecian self-respect and love of autonomy, turned out to be none other than Nicanor, the cherished friend or ward, and ultimately the son-in-law, of Aristotle. Thus the philosopher was, through no fault of his own, indirectly implicated in the popular mind with the tyrannical conduct of Alexander. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that when, on the sudden news of Alexander's death, the anti-Macedonian party in Athens regained power, the spirit of reaction included Aristotle also in its attacks, and that his enemies sought an occasion for doing him a mischief. An indictment charging him with impiety was accordingly filed against him by Eurymedon, the chief priest of the Eleusinian Demeter. The matter of the accusation was chiefly found in the pæan which Aristotle had written in honour of Hermeias; but it would seem that passages of his works were also referred to as containing doctrines inconsistent with the national religion. Aristotle, availing himself of the law which gave to any accused person the option

of quitting the city before the day of trial, left Athens and retired to Chalcis in Eubœa, which was then being held by a Macedonian garrison. He went, as he said, 'in order that the 'Athenians might not have another opportunity of sinning 'against philosophy, as they had already done once in the 'person of Socrates.' He had left his school and library at Athens in charge of Theophrastus, and he was looking forward to a speedy return to them, as Antipater in the Lamian war soon put down all opposition to the Macedonian arms throughout Greece; but he was seized with illness, and died at Chalcis in the year 322 B.C., being probably rather more than sixty-one years of age. His will has been preserved by Diogenes Laertius, and the provisions in it indicate a kind, just, and generous disposition. Indeed there is no act recorded with any certainty of Aristotle which would lead us to think otherwise than well of him. But there were many accusations against him in antiquity, and many works were written, some by contemporaries, others by subsequent Platonists, containing various charges against him, such as ingratitude to Plato, servility to the Macedonians, luxury and love of display, and so on. Themistius (quoted by Grote) mentions a whole host of his attackers (*στρατὸν ὅλον τῶν ἐπιθεμένων Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ Σταγειρίτῃ*), whose works, he said, survived, 'keeping alive the 'spirit of enmity and jealousy against him.' Grote shows that there were three classes of persons from whom the ranks of Aristotle's detractors would be naturally recruited—1st, the numerous friends of the orator Isocrates, with whom Aristotle had in earlier life put himself into competition; 2nd, the Platonists, who resented Aristotle's divergence from their master and his polemic against certain points of the Platonic system; 3rd, the anti-Macedonian party, who indiscriminately visited on Aristotle the political acts of Alexander. The existence of these different sources of partisan feeling against Aristotle is sufficient to account for the bitterness of the attacks made against one so eminent, and at the same time to lead us to doubt their fairness. Aristotle was probably never popular in Athens. He very likely exhibited some of those proud characteristics which he attributes in his 'Ethics' to the 'great-souled' man (*μεγαλόψυχος*) 'who claims great things 'for himself, because he is worthy of them,' 'who cannot bear 'to associate with any one except a friend,' &c. Aristotle was capable of devoted and generous friendship, as he showed in the case of Hermeias; and his family affections were strong, as his will exhibits, but he may easily have been cold and reserved towards general society in Athens. In regard to

Isocrates, he certainly appears to have exhibited a want of consideration in pressing forwards to compete with so respectable a senior. Aristotle doubtless saw, even as a young man, with tenfold more penetration than Isocrates, the scientific *rationale* of the art of rhetoric, but it may be doubted whether he equalled him in personal manner and the *os rotundum* which goes such a long way even with tolerably cultivated audiences. Probably there were few who could discern Aristotle's essential superiority in the philosophy of rhetoric, and by many he would be rated as a mere pretentious upstart in this field. As to his polemic against the Ideas of Plato, we are not in a position to pronounce fully upon the manner in which this was conducted, for the main attack was contained in those dialogues of Aristotle which are now lost; and the passages on this question which occur in his extant works have all the appearance of being a mere *résumé* of former and more lengthy arguments. But even in these an apologetic tone is noticeable, as in the passage (*Eth. Nic.*, I. vi.) from which the famous saying '*Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas*,' has been taken. And Proclus, quoted by Philoponus (ii. 2) speaks of Aristotle as 'proclaiming loudly in his dialogues that he was unable to 'sympathise with the doctrine of Ideas, even though his op-'position to it should be attributed to a factious spirit.'* There may, very likely, have been a youthful vehemence in these dialogic criticisms. But time, the equaliser, has now fully sanctioned the right of Aristotle to differ from Plato, and all the talk about 'ingratitude' seems now mere sentimentality. The only question for us is whether Aristotle's arguments against the doctrine of Ideas, or any other part of Plato's system (so far as he had a system), are sound or otherwise, and whether the views which Aristotle would substitute for those of Plato are or are not preferable. As to the charges brought against Aristotle of delicate living and display, we can only treat them as we should any other petty personal gossip retailed about a great man.

Grote, in his second chapter, dwells at length on the interesting story of the fate of the library and MSS. of Aristotle. At his death these came into the possession of Theophrastus, who continued for thirty-five years chief of the Peripatetic schools at Athens. When Theophrastus died, the whole joint collection containing the original works of both philosophers, and all the books of others they had respectively

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* Καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις σαφέστατα κεκραγὼς μὴ δύνασθαι τῷ δόγματι τούτῳ συμπαθεῖν, κἂν τις αὐτὸν οἴηται διὰ φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγειν.

bought (as, for instance, the library of Speusippus, for which Aristotle was said to have given three talents, or 720*l.*) went by bequest to Neleus, a philosophical friend and pupil of Theophrastus, who carried them off to his own home at Scepsis, a town in the Troas. A generation after this occurrence, the kings of Pergamos began collecting books for their royal library, and the heirs of Neleus, in order to save the precious collection which was in their possession, but of which they themselves could make no use, from being seized and carried off to Pergamos, concealed it in a cellar, where it remained, a prey to worms and damp, for nearly one hundred and fifty years. At the end of that time, the Attalid dynasty at Pergamos was extinct, the last of these kings, Attalus, having died in 133 B.C., bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans. The then possessors of the Aristotelian and Theophrastean libraries having no longer anything to fear from royal requisitions, brought out the MSS. from their hiding place, and sold them for a large sum to Apellicon of Teos, a wealthy man, resident at Athens, and attached to the Peripatetic sect. The precious rolls were now transferred, about the year 100 B.C., to Athens, after having been lost to the world for 187 years. They were found to be in very bad condition, and Apellicon caused copies of them to be taken, himself filling up on conjecture the gaps which now existed in the worm-eaten text. His conjectures however were infelicitous, as he was more of a bibliophilist than a philosopher. Soon after his death, Athens was taken by Sylla (86 B C.), and the library of Apellicon was seized by him and brought to Rome. It was there preserved under the custody of a librarian, and various literary Greeks resident at Rome gained access to it. Tyrannion, the learned friend of Cicero, got permission to arrange the MSS.; and Andronicus of Rhodes, applying himself with earnestness to the task of obtaining a correct text and furnishing a complete edition of the philosophical works of Aristotle, arranged the different treatises and scattered fragments under their proper heads, and getting numerous transcripts made, gave publicity to a generally-received text of Aristotle.

The above story comes from Strabo, who gives it in his geographical work as a local fact in connexion with the town of Scepsis; he however only mentions Tyrannion as having taken the MSS. in hand. Plutarch repeats the tale in his life of Sylla, and adds the fact about the recension of Andronicus. And Porphyry, in his life of Plotinus, in a valuable passage quoted by Grote, gives the still more important information that Andronicus 'divided the works of Aristotle and Theo-

'phrastus into treatises, bringing together under common heads 'the speculations that properly belonged to the respective 'subjects.'* Strabo was the pupil of Tyrannion and the friend of Andronicus, and therefore the narrative of the library brought by Sylla to Rome, and of the mass of Aristotelian writings thus collectively brought to the notice of the Western world, and of the fresh interest in the Aristotelian philosophy which was thus awakened, rests on the authority of a contemporary writer, who had the best possible means of information, and in its main features must surely be accepted as accurate. But Strabo, and Plutarch after him, add some remarks which are rather of the nature of opinion than history, and we still hesitate to receive these unreservedly, though Grote is very anxious that we should do so. Both writers tell us that the decline of the Peripatetic school at Athens was caused by their losing, after the death of Theophrastus, all the works of Aristotle except a few, chiefly popular, treatises; that the earlier Peripatetics had thus no materials for systematic philosophy, and were reduced to rhetorical essay-making; and that the later Peripatetics, when the books came to light, were necessitated to frame conjectural interpretations of them, owing to the damaged condition of the text and the mass of errors introduced into it by the unskilfulness of Apellicon and the carelessness of the booksellers' copyists. Plutarch adds the express statement that it was for no want of personal zeal or ability, but entirely from the loss of the original writings, that the school had declined.

To us it would rather seem that in this statement cause and effect are transposed. It looks rather as if the apathy of the Peripatetics had caused the great works of Aristotle to be forgotten. We must remember that for thirty-five years after the death of Aristotle all his works are acknowledged to have been in possession of the school, and we know that during this time Theophrastus, Eudemus, Phanias, and others of his pupils were engaged partly in editing some of them, as for instance the 'Metaphysics,' and partly in making these works the basis of fresh treatises of their own. In this considerable period, added to the thirteen years of Aristotle's own oral teaching, surely if there had been any vitality in the school it would have so grasped the leading and organic ideas of the

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* Ὁ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου εἰς πραγματείας διεῖλε τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταὐτὸν συναγαγών.—πραγματεία was a body of scientific or philosophical truth, as, for instance, πραγματεία φυσική, or π. πολιτική.

Aristotelian system as to render it impossible that they should fall into oblivion. The school had a continuous life, Andronicus himself reckoning as the eleventh scholarch from Aristotle, and it ought to have had a continuous tradition. Can we fancy them, even after the loss of their school-library, forgetting the syllogism, and the categories, and the principles of logical division, and the four causes, and the distinction of the potential from the actual—and relapsing into mere smooth moral platitudes, so as to be contrasted, as they were, by Cicero with the logical severity of the Stoics—unless they had dwindled down and degenerated through the utter want of personal ability among themselves, so as really to have no pretence to being Aristotelians except in name? Again, outside the school there seems to have been a considerable acquaintance with the doctrines of Aristotle. The logic of the Stoics, as drawn out by Chrysippus, contained a development of the principles of the 'Organon.' Grote himself mentions the Categories of the Stoics, of course suggested by and framed in reference to those of Aristotle. The Stoical ethics contained much that was Aristotelian, and Cicero went so far as to say that Zeno was no innovator, but only a reproducer of the Peripatetic doctrines. It is admitted that Aristotle's chief works were published either in his own lifetime or immediately afterwards, and copies must have been obtainable at Athens, for we know that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought a collection of them for the library at Alexandria. This being so, how could the earlier Peripatetics without a monstrous apathy have suffered themselves to be left without a copy of any of the more important works? Or how could the later ones, if there had been no want of ability among them, when the long-lost MSS. came to light again, have utterly failed in restoring, and even in adequately understanding the text, while Andronicus, as soon as he got hold of them, was able to make that lucid recension of them, which in all probability is what we at present possess? About the corruption of the text, too, as described by Strabo, a difficulty arises, for internal examination of the works of Aristotle does not tend to show constant gaps filled up by the conjectures of an editor. This is the case, indeed, with the 'Characters' of Theophrastus, and sometimes with the 'Ethics of Eudemus,' which doubtless formed part of the collection brought by Sylla to Rome, but not with the great bulk of the works of Aristotle. If, therefore, the condition of Apellicon's MSS. was such as Strabo describes it, Andronicus must have been able to procure other copies of the Aristotelian writings, by

help of which to reconstruct the text. Strabo's apology, therefore, for the decline of the Peripatetic school on the ground that they were suddenly rendered helpless by the loss of their library, seems to us not to be borne out by reason. The more probable fact appears to be that for several generations this sect received very poor and unworthy adherents, and that in the meantime all the philosophic ability at Athens was throwing itself into the Stoic or Epicurean schools.

This, however, is a question of a comparatively unimportant deduction from the history of Aristotle's library. The really interesting conclusion to be obtained from the story, though no one previous to Grote had brought this out so forcibly as he has done, is, that 'our Aristotle' dates from the recension made by Andronicus Rhodius out of the materials which he found in the library of Apellicon. 'Our Aristotle' is something evidently different from, and which cannot be made to square with, the works of Aristotle as recorded in the catalogue of them given by Diogenes Laertius. This catalogue, in all probability, gives the titles of the books existing under the name of Aristotle in the Alexandrian Library. Grote thinks that it was made by Callimachus, the chief librarian at Alexandria, or by his pupil Hermippus, between the years 240–210 B.C. It found its way into some biography of Aristotle, and was thence mechanically copied by Diogenes in ignorance or disregard of the edition of Andronicus. The catalogue enumerates one hundred and forty-six distinct titles of works, divided into about four hundred 'books' or sections. The Aristotle with which we are acquainted consists of about forty works, and these are not only fewer in number than, but also apparently different in kind from, the works in the catalogue. *We* only know Aristotle as the author of treatises (*πραγματείας*) on the great branches of philosophy—logic, physics, metaphysics, politics, ethics, natural history, &c. These are massed together in continuous systems, just as we are told by Porphyry they came forth from the editorial hand of Andronicus. But the Aristotle of the catalogue appears as the author of a great number of smaller works discussing special questions, rather than as the composer of great philosophical systems. Again, a large proportion of the works in the catalogue are evidently quite different in form from the writings which we are accustomed to attribute to Aristotle. For instance such names as 'Nerinthus;' 'Gryllus, or on 'Rhetoric;' 'Sophist;' 'Menexenus;' 'Symposium;' 'the 'Lover;' 'Alexander, or on Colonies;' &c., remind us at once of the dialogues of Plato, and we see that here are

enumerated some of those lost philosophic essays in popular and dialogic form which Aristotle composed during the period of his first residence at Athens. The remarkable thing is that Cicero, who knew nothing of Aristotle as we know him, was well acquainted with these dialogues; he speaks (as do also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Quintilian, and other writers of the century subsequent to Cicero) with enthusiasm of their style, of 'the golden flow of their language,' and of their incredible richness and sweetness,'—attributes which every one must acknowledge to be utterly inapplicable to the works of Aristotle that have come down to us. Cicero observes that in the Aristotelian dialogues the chief part was always assigned by the philosopher to himself, and here we see a *trait* of the character of Aristotle, who was too earnest, too matter of fact and too dogmatic, to adopt the free dramatic treatment which is so charming, but in some respects so unsatisfactory, in the dialogues of Plato. Aristotle's dialogues were probably never tentative, or maieutic, or merely exponent of what could be said in favour of a particular view. They were vehicles for the exposition of the systematic results arrived at by the writer himself, at the time of his writing, or his arguments in contravention of the views of others. They were perhaps not wholly unlike Bishop Berkeley's dialogues between Hylas and Philonous. They were doubtless far inferior not only in dramatic grace, but also in beauty of style, to the Platonic dialogues, but yet they were admired by the ancients, and Cicero had apparently read none of the works of Aristotle except these, though he knew by report of the existence of the other and more abstruse class of writings.

Here, then, we have this sequence of events: an utterly effete Peripatetic school in Athens losing their grasp of all that was valuable in the philosophy of Aristotle; a somewhat frivolous philosophical public satisfying itself with his lighter and more popular productions, to the neglect of what was more important; and a resuscitation of his philosophy properly so called, more than two and a half centuries after his death, owing to his MSS. coming collectively into the hands of some very able men, who had probably received a many-sided cultivation in the Stoic, Epicurean, and Academic systems of the day. From this point, as we have said, *our* edition of Aristotle dates. And now the tables are completely turned, for, whereas the ancients up to this time knew only his dialogues, and his systematic treatises were for them as if they had never been written, we on the other hand know nothing but the systematic treatises, and for us every trace

of the dialogues, except a few stray quotations and references, has vanished from the earth. The latter part of this history requires explanation. Why, it may be asked, were the treatises preserved, and the dialogues lost? The fact seems a direct refutation of that favourite notion of Bacon's, that 'Time, 'like a river, bringing down to us things which are lighter 'and more inflated, lets what is more weighty and solid sink.' Bernays attributes the loss of the dialogues to the humour of the middle ages in prizing all that was dogmatic and authoritative, above all that wore a less certain and peremptory form. But on the other hand it may be said that the middle ages at the same time, while dooming the dialogues of Aristotle to destruction preserved those of Plato, which were fully more undogmatic and unconclusive. So that the Hegelian notion seems in this matter to recommend itself—that the spirit of the world is on the whole a wise and just spirit, and conserves the best. But we would also submit the conjecture that the edition of Andronicus had a great deal to do with the preservation of all the works that were included within it, and with the loss of all those that were not so included. Perhaps copies of the entire recension of Andronicus, stamped with his authority, were placed not only in the libraries of the Peripatetic schools, but also in great public libraries and in the private collections of rich men. A cohesive permanence would thus be given to this edition as a whole, it would come to be identified with Aristotle, while the outlying and scattered copies of his dialogues and other smaller works would be left exposed to diverse and uncertain fate, without sufficient prestige and guarantee to keep them in existence.

Supposing, however, that we go to the fullest extent in accepting the proposition, that the collection which we possess of the works of Aristotle answers to the redaction of Andronicus, and that it has been transmitted to us materially unchanged, still many questions about this redaction remain to be answered. In the first place, Grote, though he is generally so great a stickler for the authority of the ancients as to the genuineness of classical writings, admits that the edition of Andronicus may very likely contain works not really Aristotle's. Two centuries and a half had elapsed since the death of Aristotle, and no tradition had been preserved as to what works had been composed by him, beyond those that found their way into the Alexandrian library. The MSS. of Apellicon contained a number of writings by Theophrastus and Eudemus, and doubtless other early Peripatetics, and a mass of fragmentary or unfinished compositions. Out of all these Andronicus

and his fellow-labourers had to make their selection. Thus a certain element of conjectural criticism must be taken into account as mixing itself with the very fountain-head of our edition of Aristotle. And there is another source of uncertainty, for we do not know how far Andronicus, in preparing a body of Aristotelian philosophy for the world, aimed at restricting himself to what he considered had been actually written by Aristotle himself. If we accept the statement of Porphyry that Andronicus divided the remains of Aristotle into systematic treatises, there is the question, how far and from what sources he made up those treatises that were incomplete into their present tolerably complete form? In making up a treatise like the 'Metaphysics,' how far would he refuse to insert in it papers which, while they seemed to him thoroughly Aristotelian in thought, were yet not from Aristotle's own pen, but were the notes of a scholar from some lecture in the gardens of the Lyceum? Again, what did Andronicus mean to imply by including in his edition three treatises on Morals? Did he thereby signify his opinion, that these three treatises—the 'Ethics of Nicomachus,' the 'Ethics of Eudemus,' and the 'Great Ethics'—were all genuinely and equally the composition of Aristotle? Or did he only mean that the one genuine treatise (that which bears the name of Nicomachus) was incomplete, and that the other two treatises might be usefully published together with it, as eking it out? The same sort of question might be asked about the 'Rhetoric addressed to 'Alexander,' the 'Post-predicaments,' and other parts of 'our Aristotle.' The statement of Porphyry points to a very considerable amount of editorial interference with the original MSS. It prepares us for joinings, more or less skilful, of writings that had existed separate and unconnected; for references to one work by another, subsequently introduced; for many devices to secure an appearance of unity amongst the *disjecta membra* of a great philosopher. All this leaves scope for internal criticism, and seems to invite an endeavour to eliminate to some extent the editorial additions of even an editor like Andronicus, and even at this time of day to penetrate to the true nucleus of Aristotle, if he has been, as we may well suspect, surrounded by an extraneous Peripatetic nebula. In this sort of criticism Grote had but little faith, and he thinks that the very fact of Aristotle having written dialogues in so completely different a style from the treatises with which we are acquainted, ought to be a warning to any one not to trust to his acquired 'Aristotelisches Gefühl' in pronouncing against the genuineness of any so-called work of

Aristotle. And yet Grote would have had to face the question, and he seems to have been preparing himself to face it, of the Aristotelian Canon as judged by internal criticism and comparison of the works with each other. If this task were undertaken with the learning, moderation, and good sense which Dr. Spengel, of Munich, has brought to bear on some parts of it, we are convinced that a fruitful result might even yet be expected in this field of inquiry.

In eight passages of the works called Aristotle's there is a mention of, and, generally speaking, a reference to, 'exoteric 'discourses' (ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι). Ever since the revival of letters this phrase has attracted a wonderful amount of notice, and a whole literature of works has been composed in support of the different meanings which have been attributed to it. Even within the last twenty years the controversy has been actively prosecuted on the Continent. Every historian of Greek philosophy has found himself necessitated to take up the question, to espouse some view upon it, and to give his reasons. And the monographs which have quite recently continued to deal with it are numerous, and might be fairly supposed to have exhausted all the resources of learning and criticism towards its final elucidation and settlement. The great names of Brandis, Zeller, Weisse, Trendelenburg, Ueberweg, Spengel, and Bernays, besides a host of minor authorities, might be each appealed to as defending one or other out of two or three different shades of explanation in answer to the question, What did Aristotle mean by 'exoteric discourses'? The moment might now seem come for summing up the evidence and giving a final judgment. The plan of Grote's work rendered it well suited for performing the function of an arbitrator in such a matter, and accordingly, as part of his dissertation on the Canon of Aristotle, Grote essays to give a sort of last word on this hitherto endless discussion. Under all that has been so voluminously argued on the meaning of the above-mentioned eight passages, there has never been any really important question at issue; the whole case lies in a nutshell. Cicero, probably from information given him by his friend Tyrannion, stated (*De Finibus*, v. 5. 12) that 'on the *summum bonum* the 'Peripatetics had two classes of books, one in popular style, 'which they called "exoteric," the other written in a more 'exact manner, which they left behind them in their commen-'taries' (or note-books), and that this difference in the style of treatment gave rise to an appearance of inconsistency of view, which, however, was not real. So far as Aristotle is concerned, this statement evidently merely distinguishes the

dialogues, which we know to have been written in popular form, from the systematic treatises afterwards edited by Andronicus; but the writers of the later empire, who were accustomed to the idea of mystical and hierophantic teachings, as professed by the neo-Pythagorean and neo-Platonic sects, got hold of this word 'exoteric,' and out of it created the fable that Aristotle had a double doctrine, the one 'esoteric,' secret, and confined to an intimate circle of initiated scholars, the other 'exoteric,' containing only superficial truth with which the profane vulgar might be put off and satisfied. In accordance with this idea, Aulus Gellius (xx. 4) gives the apocryphal anecdote, that Alexander, hearing that the secret discourses had been published, wrote from the East to complain of what had been done, since he 'would now have no superiority over the 'common herd;' and that Aristotle replied that 'the treatises, 'though published, were not published, for nobody would 'understand them.' After the Renaissance, however, all this nonsense about a double doctrine in Aristotle was speedily dissipated; and, the simple, plain-sailing character of his philosophy being recognised, the only question that remained was, whether on the few occasions when he mentions 'exoteric 'discourses' he means to refer to his own more popular writings, or to something else. And this is the question that has been so much debated since the beginning of the sixteenth century. About the meaning of the word 'exoteric' itself there is no divergence of opinion. 'Exoteric' is not to be taken as opposed to 'esoteric' or secret, but the *ἐξωτερικὸς λόγος* is the external, non-philosophical, non-scientific treatment of a subject, opposed to the *οἰκεῖος λόγος*, or internal, appropriate, scientific treatment of it. This being the case, whenever Aristotle says, 'Enough is said on such or such a point, 'even in the exoteric discourses,' the only doubt is whether he means to refer to those works of his own in which he had treated of philosophical questions after a not strictly scientific method, or to the ordinary debates and discussions on such subjects, rife enough in Athenian society, but of course unscientifically conducted. The latter is the view of Madvig, Zeller, and Spengel; but Bernays, on the other hand, argues that the points which Aristotle refers to as having been debated and settled in exoteric discourses were too abstruse and subtle to have been handled 'in the *salons* and coffee-'houses (or what corresponded thereto) of Athens.' In a very elaborate and charming monograph on 'the Dialogues of Aris-'totle' he essays to prove that whenever Aristotle mentions 'the exoteric discourses' he is alluding to some passage in

those lost works. The interest of the argument, however, consists in the light which Bernays succeeds in throwing on the dialogues themselves, by a partial reconstruction of some of them out of the very scantiest fragments. He is peculiarly happy in his conjecture that a considerable passage out of the dialogue labelled 'Nerinthus,' in the catalogue of Diogenes, has been woven into the first chapter of the fifth book of the 'Politics,' where Aristotle says, 'Considering then that enough 'is said on "the best life" even in the exoteric discourses, I 'will now make use of that.' After a long extract from the chapter, Bernays points out the 'milder atmosphere that per-'vades it' in comparison with the scientific severity of Aristotle's ordinary style; and it certainly looks more like a scrap out of some moral dialogue. Bernays convinces one with regard to this passage, but he goes too far in trying to lay it down as a law that the 'exoteric discourses' always mean the dialogues of Aristotle, or in doubting that the educated circles of Athens indulged in discussion upon considerably abstruse subjects. The whole of the 'Topics' of Aristotle, not to mention the dialogues of Plato (which are obviously meant to have a dramatic truth) are against him on this point. And the fact is that even where Aristotle had in his mind his own popular writings, and even inserts a sentence or two from them, it is not certain that he actually quotes them or directly refers to them. His own dialogues belonged to the *general class* of 'the exoteric discourses,' and the use of the present tense (as above, *λέγεσθαι*) in connexion with them, often shows that a general reference rather than a quotation is intended.... In one place, which Spengel points out as crucial (*Physics*, iv. 10), Aristotle does not refer to, but brings forward and uses, actual specimens of the 'exoteric discourses,' saying, 'it will be per-'haps as well to raise the difficulties as to the nature of Time 'by means of these.' Then follows a string of dialectical reasons for doubting whether Time exists, and a string of dialectical difficulties as to its attributes. Grote fastens on this passage; and as it had also been observed by Bernays that the characteristic of the *ἐξωτερικὸς λόγος* must be dialectical, as opposed to philosophical or scientific, treatment of any question, he identifies 'exoteric' with dialectical, and thus sums up the matter: 'Properly speaking, the term "exoteric" does not 'designate, or even imply, any positive doctrine at all. It 'denotes a many-sided controversial debate, in which numerous 'points are canvassed and few settled; the express purpose 'being to bring into full daylight the perplexing aspects of 'each. There are indeed a few exceptional cases in which

'"exoteric discourse" will of itself have thrown up a tolerably 'trustworthy result: these few Aristotle occasionally singles 'out and appeals to.' This, so far as it goes, is true; but Grote omits to mention that Aristotle in some cases, when appealing to controversial debate, may very likely have in his mind the controversial debate of his own dialogues. Grote would have done well, after obtaining his own general point of view on the question, to go through the eight vexed passages in detail, when he might probably have come to the conclusion, with the help of Bernays, that Aristotle when he mentions the 'exoteric discourses' is sometimes thinking of his own writings, and sometimes only of the popular and dialectical arguments of men in general.

Passing now from merely preliminary and external questions with regard to Aristotle, and coming to his philosophy, we find that almost the only thing that Grote was able to achieve as an expositor thereof, was an elaborate analysis and account of the six logical treatises, commonly known by the collective name of the 'Organon,' or 'instrument of thought' (a word of uncertain origin, perhaps invented by the Stoics), and which invariably stand at the commencement of our edition of Aristotle. These treatises, or at all events the first four of them—for the 'Topics' and the 'Sophistical Refutations' were neglected by the middle ages—have been far more studied by the world than all the other works of Aristotle, and owing to this circumstance a one-sided, partial, and erroneous view has been taken of Aristotle, as if he were wholly or chiefly a deductive logician, and as if the 'Organon' were the central and essential part of his whole system, instead of its mere prelude and commencement. As these treatises are taken up with the doctrine of the syllogism, an undue predominance was for ages given to the syllogism by those who thought that they were studying and following Aristotle, and hence came the so-called re-action against Aristotle promoted by Ramus and Bacon, in which the narrowness and extravagancies of the schoolmen were treated as if they were the legitimate offspring of genuine Aristotelian philosophy. Nothing could be more unjust to Aristotle himself, who if he could come back to earth and learn the history of his doctrines, might well complain that he had been misread, misunderstood, and misrepresented by enemies and friends alike. Those who have only general impressions on the subject, and who will go through Grote's account of the 'Organon,' may be surprised to find even from this, the birth-place of the syllogism, how sensible Aristotle was, and how much he had in common with a man of science of the present day.

The logical treatises are, to say the least, among the most dry and repulsive of all Aristotle's works. And the literature connected with them is dry and repulsive also, consisting primarily of Greek scholia, and mediæval commentaries—'ashes 'to ashes and dust to dust' we might almost call them, when we turn to them from the glow and blossom of contemporaneous life. And yet these treatises must be studied and expounded for the world. We require to know them, or to know the results of a knowledge of them, for the sake of the history of thought, for the explanation of our mode of thinking, and of the very formulæ of our theological creeds; we require them, because we cannot do without logic, and these are the fountain-head of logic, and an educated man always desires to go back to the fountain-head; we require them as a key to Aristotle's other writings, which are full of philosophic interest. But, as Aristotle himself says (*Pol.* VIII. v. 12), *ὀλιγάκις ἐν τῷ τέλει συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι*, 'it is but seldom that we feel in actual frui-'tion of that which is worth living for,' the greater proportion of life is a mere means to some end; and so too the accurate and conscientious study of the 'Organon' is not what one would choose for its own sake, but it is a preparation for and a means to fruitful results of thought. To grapple with the 'Organon' and its subsidiary literature, is an undertaking that might well seem to require a 'chalcenteric' or German constitution, or at all events the force and freshness of youth. When we find Grote, above the age of seventy, girding up his loins to storm this citadel, we cannot fail to admire his gallantry and his dogged resolution. The excessively abstract and formal nature of most of the stuff of which the 'Organon' is composed is almost too much even for Grote's force of mind, and he hardly succeeds in vivifying these part of Aristotle in the way in which he doubtless might have succeeded in vivifying other parts which would have been more congenial to him. But there is one characteristic of his which frequently comes out here, and which gives a certain amount of special interest to these pages, and that is his tendency, if we might so express it, to play for particular points. Whenever Grote comes across indications of any doctrine for which he has a sympathy, or which is opposed to other doctrines and views in philosophy which he dislikes, he brings that doctrine into prominence, and makes a point out of it. This tendency may, it is true, and we think sometimes does, lead him to overstate the indications of a doctrine which he favours, and to ignore or forget indications in a different direction. But overstatements are to be excused in an unfinished work, as they might afterwards have been modified, and

Grote's method of bringing out particular views, at all events, produces a definite impression on the mind and leaves one something to think about.

What Grote is chiefly taken with in the 'Categories,' which is the first of the six logical treatises, is that Aristotle here appears to lay down the doctrine that the unit of knowledge, that which we must start from in order to know anything else, the substratum of all our beliefs and assertions, is—the concrete individual. Grote approves of this, because it is in opposition to the Platonic and other kindred doctrines—that what we know is never the individual, but always the universal element among the objects presented to our thought. Again, this doctrine in the 'Categories,' that the concrete individual is the real and proper object of knowledge, is in favour of the modern experiential schools, and seems to mark Aristotle as an unknown friend of those schools, and therefore Grote likes it. But he carefully tells us (p. 112) that he is chiefly seeking 'to understand what was in the mind of Aristotle when he framed' his treatise. He confesses that 'Categories' is probably an early work, and that other and later works are not quite consistent with it. For instance, in the 'Categories' we are told that 'the first essence' (*πρώτη οὐσία*) is the individual, and that the class, genus or species, is a 'second essence,' that is, that it is only in a secondary sense that it has existence at all. In the 'Metaphysics' we are told that the 'first essences' are universals, genera or species. Grote says on this point that the term 'first essence' has a different meaning in the two works, which is connected with various difficulties and seeming discrepancies in the Aristotelian theory of cognition, to which he will advert in a future chapter. This promise, however, was unfortunately not fulfilled. An adequate examination of the discrepancies between Aristotle's different statements in reference to the theory of cognition is exactly what we desiderate. On the one hand his bias towards physical research and experiment and the collection of facts, led him in the direction of nominalism and the assertion that the individual is alone real, on the other hand his speculative and metaphysical genius, not to mention the influence of Plato which he never thoroughly shook off, certainly tended towards realism or a belief in the reality of universals, and to this latter belief he frequently gives expression. A reconciliation of the passages bearing one way or the other, or a representation of the predominant and apparently last view of Aristotle on this question, if he ever had a last view and ever ceased wavering, would form an interesting chapter in philosophy. But Grote was not spared to write it,

and we doubt indeed whether it was quite within his range, and whether he had sufficient sympathy with the speculative side in Aristotle's mind to have competently fulfilled the task.

The 'Categories' is a very curious little book. It has produced a great influence in the world, having set philosophers ever since at constructing ultimate classifications of existences. Thus this work has perhaps done more than any other towards promoting deep analysis of thought and consciousness, for all existences only come to us through thought and consciousness. But the little treatise in itself might almost be said to have stumbled upon greatness, for it makes no pretensions to leading the way towards any grand examination of the universe or of the human mind; it only professes to analyse the main words in an ordinary sentence. As Socrates got philosophy out of the most common things of daily life, so this treatise only requires as its materials some assertion about any particular man—for instance, Callias. On analysing the assertion, we find, first, the subject of the assertion, Callias, a concrete individual man, whose name can never be made a predicate, or asserted of anybody or anything. This gives us the category of Substance, though it is a category or predicament in a different sense from the other nine categories, which are all predicates, requiring substance of which to be predicated. What is it then that we assert of Callias? It is either how large he is, say six feet high, which gives us the second category, Quantity; or of what sort he is, as learned, which gives us, thirdly, Quality; or in what relation he is to other things, as better or worse, which gives, fourthly, Relation; or where he is, as at home, which gives, fifthly, Place; or when he existed, or did any particular thing, as yesterday, which gives, sixthly, Time; or in what posture he is, as standing, which gives, seventhly, Posture; or how habited, as in armour, which gives, eighthly, Habit; or what doing, as cutting, which gives, ninthly, Action; or what enduring, as being cut, which gives, tenthly, Passion. Such being the famous ten categories of Aristotle, the treatise which contains them does not herald them to the world by any preface or introduction, which might explain more particularly the view with which they were enumerated, why they were ten in number, whether they were a logical classification only, or applicable also as metaphysical heads under which everything might be arranged. These and other questions were left to be solved by the ingenuity of commentators, who tell us among other things that Aristotle had very likely a satisfaction in the sacred and complete number ten; though afterwards in mentioning categories he

did not adhere to this number, but dropped out some of his original list; that the categories have a connexion with the parts of speech in grammar, and answer to nouns, adjectives in the positive and comparative degrees, adverbs, and verbs active, passive, neuter, and middle; that the classification was at first logical, but was soon found to have a metaphysical application, and so on. But connected with all this we may recognise something accidental, as if Aristotle, in falling upon the analysis of the sentence, had struck on a fortunate vein of inquiry, which led to all sorts of important results for the clearing up of thought, not only for logic, but also for science and philosophy. There was something immature and haphazard in the first statement of the doctrine, and it seems not impossible that this treatise on the 'Categories' belongs to the period of Aristotle's absence from Athens, during which he was preparing himself for his own second and thoroughly systematic manner of writing. Of course the scheme of classification here given is full of imperfections; even the ancients observed that it was both redundant and defective, and this has been repeated with still more severity by modern writers, as, for instance, by Mr. John Stuart Mill. But if we want categories nowadays, we should probably go for them to Kant, or to some other pioneer of modern thought, who at the same time combined in himself all the lights of the past. Aristotle's treatise is chiefly interesting to us in its historical aspect, and in this respect even its imperfections are interesting. It is curious to us to see how Aristotle takes an assertion about some individual man as containing in itself all the possibilities of cognition, and how he considered the items of dress and posture sufficiently important to stand as separate classes of possible assertion about any given subject. Did he introduce these in order to make up his list of categories to the Pythagorean number *ten*, or why? At all events, it is a notable instance of the way in which Aristotle's philosophical terms have become absorbed into modern language, that whenever a French gentleman calls for his coat (*habit*), and an English lady for her riding 'habit,' they should be using the name of Aristotle's eighth category (ἔχειν) handed down by the schoolmen in the Latin form 'habitus.' The word 'category' itself, for a class or head, has become part of our everyday speech, and when we speak of being 'in an awkward predicament,' we are merely using the Latinised form of the same term.*

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* A few other instances of the same kind may be mentioned. 'Maxim' is the Latinised form for the major premiss in a syllogism.

The second of the logical treatises, called 'On Interpreta-'tion,' is on the proposition and its various characteristics. Among these is the attribute of 'truth,' which, properly speaking, belongs only to propositions (that is, assertions or denials), and cannot be ascribed, except metaphorically or in a different sense to anything else. The treatise is full of remarks valuable in themselves, and which when first made must have seemed a perfect revelation, but which are now trite enough in the world. Grote, however, extracts some interest from a question which Aristotle raises as to the alternative truth of pairs of contradictories. Aristotle says that of contradictory propositions about the past or present, one must be definitely true the other definitely false, as, for instance, in the pairs 'it rained here yesterday,' and 'it did 'not rain here yesterday;' 'it is raining here now,' and 'it is 'not raining here now;' there can be no doubt that one proposition in each pair must be definitely true and the other definitely false. But in pairs of contradictories about particular facts in the future it is different; with regard to these it is not the case that one is definitely true and the other false. If one man says 'there will be a sea-fight to-morrow,' and another man says 'there will not,' neither of these propositions can be called either true or false. Grote says:—

'This remarkable logical distinction is founded on Aristotle's ontological or physical doctrine respecting the sequence and conjunction of events. He held (as we shall see more fully in the Physica and other treatises) that sequences throughout the Kosmos were to a certain extent regular, to a certain extent irregular. The exterior sphere of the Kosmos (the *Aplanēs*), with the countless number of the fixed stars fastened into it, was a type of regularity and uniformity; eternal and

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'Principle' from principium, the translation of Aristotle's ἀρχή, is the same; and when a man is said to 'act on principle,' it means that he acts in accordance with some universal moral proposition stored up in his mind. 'Motive' is the translation of Aristotle's ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, or efficient cause; the term has got corrupted in use, as it is now employed to denote what Aristotle would have called the 'final cause.' Our ordinary use of the word 'habit' is from the translation of Aristotle's ἕξις, or moral state, used by him in his 'Ethics' differently from his use of the cognate verb in the 'Categories.' 'Energy' is a thoroughly Aristotelian word, though it also has been corrupted in use, and now chiefly denotes that force or power which Aristotle would have considered as resulting in ἐνέργεια or perfect development. A merely 'formal' distinction, and a 'material' difference, are Aristotelian terms somewhat inverted. 'Matter' from the Latin 'materies,' meaning timber, is a translation of Aristotle's ὕλη. These instances, taken at hap-hazard, might be multiplied indefinitely.

ever-moving in the same circular orbit, by necessity of its own nature, and without any potentiality of doing otherwise. But the earth and the elemental bodies, organised and unorganised, below the lunar sphere and in the interior of the Kosmos, were of inferior perfection and very different nature. They were indeed in part governed and pervaded by the movement and influence of the celestial substance within which they were comprehended, and from which they borrowed their Form or constituent essence; but they held this Form complicated with matter—*i.e.*, the principle of potentiality, change, irregularity, generation, and destruction, &c. There are thus in these sublunary bodies both constant tendencies and variable tendencies. The *constant* Aristotle calls "Nature," which always aspires to good, or to perpetual renovation of Forms as perfect as may be, though impeded in this work by adverse influences, and therefore never producing anything but individuals comparatively defective and sure to perish. The *variable* he calls "spontaneity" and "chance," forming an independent agency inseparably accompanying Nature, always modifying, distorting, and frustrating the full purposes of Nature. Moreover, the different natural agencies often interfere with each other, while the irregular tendency interferes with them all. So far as Nature acts, in each of her distinct agencies, the phenomena before us are regular and predictable; all that is uniform, and all that (without being quite uniform) recurs usually or frequently, is her work. But, besides and along with Nature, there is the agency of Chance and Spontaneity, which is essentially irregular and unpredictable. Under this agency there are possibilities both for and against; either of two alternative events may happen. It is with a view to this doctrine about the variable Kosmical agencies or potentialities that Aristotle lays down the logical doctrine now before us, distinguishing propositions affirming particular facts past or present, from propositions affirming particular facts future.'

In this striking passage Grote has brought together, from different parts of Aristotle's works, views on matters which are never treated of collectively or in one place by Aristotle himself. The regularity of the motions of bodies in the sidereal sphere; the absence of contrary potentialities in their nature; the inferiority of the bodies in the interlunar sphere; the cause of this, namely, their being implicated with matter; the results of matter in producing change and irregularity; the existence of regular tendencies called 'Nature;' the thwarting of 'Nature' by adverse influences; and in consequence the certain perishability of all the individuals produced by Nature; the existence of variable tendencies called 'chance' or 'spontaneity' always distorting or interfering with the full purposes of 'Nature;'—all these notions are to be found in, or are to some extent deducible from, passages of Aristotle, though some parts of the scheme here given seem to us to require modification. The whole passage is the nearest approach to an account of Aristotle's system of the universe to be found

in the pages of Grote, and it is interesting for that reason. Grote's mind had evidently dwelt much on this conception of the Kosmos, and he more than once afterwards refers to it. But the curious thing is that it is here introduced out of place in explanation of the logical doctrine about future propositions. Aristotle does not say a word, in support of this doctrine, about the sidereal or the interlunar sphere, nor does he even mention the word 'Nature.' He does not appear to require to base his doctrine on any ontological or physical grounds. He merely argues that if a proposition about the happening of a future event can now be called 'true,' then that future event must happen; and it would follow that the whole train of future events might, by making assertions about them, be reduced to necessary sequences, and this would do away with all uncertainty in the world. But 'we 'see,' says Aristotle, 'that future events are determined by 'our deliberating what to do, and by our following particular 'lines of action; and we see also that in things not always 'actually in existence there is a potentiality for them either 'to exist or not, either to come to pass, or not to come 'to pass.' Thus the primary consideration which Aristotle brings forward in support of the contingency of future events is the free-will of man; man deliberates and acts one way or another, and by his action the event is determined. Elsewhere (as, for instance, *Eth. Nic.* III. iii. 7), Aristotle enumerates the causes of events as being 'Nature, Necessity, 'Chance, and again Reason, and the agency of Man.' But Grote has left out of his synoptical scheme of the universe according to Aristotle, this important element of the human reason and will. He speaks as if Aristotle brought the action of the human will (as, for instance, in determining a sea-fight) under the head of chance, but we see that Aristotle kept these two lines of causation distinct; and especially he did so in treating of the present logical question. Grote goes on to find fault with Aristotle's doctrine of 'the essentially 'irregular,' which, however, is not founded on by Aristotle in the present argument, and he adds his opinion that the distinction between propositions about future and those about past events is a subjective and not an objective one, that it depends on our having knowledge and power of verification in the one case and not in the other. After all, however, Aristotle was, in those early times of confused thought, only endeavouring to find an explanation of what is meant by a proposition being 'true.' If truth in a proposition meant accordance with fact, then propositions could only be true

where there was fact for them to be in accordance with. There could be neither truth nor falsehood about an event which had not yet happened, and which was under no absolute necessity to happen. From certain kinds of matter truth and falsehood were equally excluded, and the matter of propositions is an objective and not a subjective affair.

The 'Prior and Posterior Analytics' contain the doctrine of the syllogism and a setting forth of the logic of science, so far as it had been arrived at by Aristotle. Aristotle was naturally very proud of his discovery of the syllogism. It was a great thing to be the first to say that 'men reason through uni-'versals;' and for twenty-two centuries the world acquiesced in this announcement, and thought it beyond doubt, though of late years it has come to be questioned. Aristotle, however, was very proud of his discovery and of all the deductions from it which he made in constructing the theory of the syllogism. There are only two passages in all his extant writings in which he speaks of himself: one is that in which he apologises for differing from Plato, 'because truth must 'be prefered to one's friend;' the other is the passage (*Sophistical Refutations*, xxxiii. 18) where he claims the syllogism as his own. 'In regard to the process of syllogising,' he says, 'I found positively nothing said before me; I had 'to work it out for myself by long and laborious research.' The 'Analytics' contain the results of this research, but Grote very well points out that the principles and rules of syllogistic inference were overlaid in the middle ages with technicalities, and were suffered to exclusively absorb the attention of thinkers, and that 'through such prolonged 'monopoly—*which Aristotle, among the most encyclopedical of* '*all writers, never thought of claiming for them*—they have 'become so discredited, that it is difficult to call back attention 'to them as they stood in the Aristotelian age.' One great service Grote performs in endeavouring to set forth these principles in their original and unalloyed form, is the way in which he vindicates the good sense of Aristotle. This he does by bringing into prominence the very decisive passages in which Aristotle declares experience to be the only source from which the foundations of science can be obtained. 'This is the 'case,' says Aristotle, 'in Astronomy; which is based on the 'observation of astronomical phenomena, and it is the case 'with every branch of science or art. When the facts in each 'branch are brought together, it will be the province of the 'logician to set out the demonstrations in a manner clear and 'fit for use.' (*Prior Analyt.* I. xxx.) To point out such

passages as these must have been a labour of love for Grote, who had a great reverence for Aristotle, but at the same ti is evidently a warm adherent of Mr. J. S. Mill's logical and philosophical system. And he writes, accordingly, as if trying to reconcile his two friends to each other, and to show that there was after all no essential difference between their views. But he has gone too far in this attempt; he has tried occasionally to eliminate from Aristotle by a forced explanation doctrines which are incompatible with those of Mr. Mill. For instance he takes Aristotle's constant distinction between 'things more known *by nature*' (*γνωριμώτερα φύσει*), and 'things more known *to us*' (*γνωριμώτερα ἡμῖν*), and reduces it to the level of experiential philosophy by the following explanation :—

'By the cognitive *nature* of man, Aristotle means the full equipment, of and for cognition, which our mature age exhibits; *notiora naturâ* are the acquisitions, points of view, and processes familiar in greater or less perfection to such mature individuals and societies. *Notiora nobis* are the facts and processes with which all of us begin, and which belong to the intellect in its highest as well as its lowest stage; though, in the higher stages, they are employed, directed, and modified by an acquired intellectual capital, and by the permanent machinery of universal significant terms in which that capital is invested.'

We have no hesitation in saying that nothing of all this was in the mind of Aristotle when he spoke of 'things more 'known by nature' and 'more known to us.' In the first place, Aristotle by the term 'nature' did not here mean 'the 'cognitive nature of man,' as we may see by recollecting that he had another form of the expression, 'more known by 'nature,' *videlicet* 'more known absolutely;' and, again, the phrase 'to us' means in Aristotle 'relatively.' Thus the contrast between 'known by nature' and 'known to us' is the contrast between absolute and relative truth. And when Aristotle speaks of the 'absolutely known' he does not refer to the knowledge of a mature * man or society, but he contrasts

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* It is true that Aristotle considered that men beginning with relative knowledge, particular facts, sensations, and the like, rise to the apprehension of the abstract, and the 'absolutely known,' and that soundness of intellect is necessary for its apprehension. Thus much is stated, for instance, in the 'Topics,' VI. iv. 1–10 (on the translation of which Grote corrects Hamilton). But this is very different from identifying the 'things known absolutely' or 'by nature' with the 'acquisitions, points of view, and processes of mature individuals or 'societies.' Aristotle conceived the 'absolutely known things' as re-

the universal with the particular, the abstract with the concrete; he is speaking from his realistic side, with a leaning towards the Platonic point of view, and not without a resemblance, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Hegelian doctrine of the existence of the Idea independent of individual minds. But the traces of this side in Aristotle's philosophy are apparently ignored in what we have of the work of Grote.

All through his account of the 'Analytics,' sometimes in explanation, sometimes in correction of Aristotle, Grote maintains a skirmishing warfare in behalf of Mr. Mill's view of the reasoning process. He never seems to lose an opportunity of enforcing the belief that all which is really valuable in the syllogism, is the induction which has given rise to the major premiss, and the reversion which, under the remainder of the syllogism itself, we mentally make to the steps of that induction. 'We learn nothing,' he says, 'by or through the 'evidence of the syllogism, except a part of what we have 'already professed ourselves to know by asserting the major 'premiss.' This may be so, and yet it may be the case that the great majority of human reasonings are syllogistic, and that they consist in making explicit that which was implicit in knowledge before possessed. What we venture to object to in Grote's treatment of this subject, is his apparent attempt to eliminate all that is deductive even from the syllogism itself. To give an instance of this sort of attempt: he mentions with disapproval Aristotle's proof of the simple conversion of Universal Negatives, which is: 'If A cannot 'be predicated of any B, neither can B be predicated of any 'A. For if it could be predicated of any of the class A '(say C), then the proposition that A cannot be predicated of 'any B would not be true, since C is one among the B's.' Grote says that this is no proof at all, and only becomes valid by the addition of a further assumption which Aristotle has not distinctly enunciated, viz.: that if some A (e.g. C) is B, then some B must also be A. In other words, Grote says that Aristotle cannot prove the convertibility of the universal negative without assuming what he has not yet proved, namely, the convertibility of the particular affirmative. He adds his own view, which is, that no other proof of the rule can be given—

'except by exemplifying the formula, no A is B, in separate proposi-

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maining the same whether individuals attained to their apprehension or not. And he certainly never mentioned 'societies' in connexion with the subject.

tions already known to the learner as true or false, and by challenging him to produce any one case, in which when it is true to say no A is B, it is not equally true to say no B is A; the universality of the maxim being liable to be overthrown by any one contradictory instance. If this proof does not convince him, no better can be produced. In a short time, doubtless, he will acquiesce in the general formula at first hearing, and he may even come to regard it as self-evident.'

This is a striking instance of Grote's opinion that men's faith in the syllogism and in its subordinate maxims depends, not on any law of their minds, not on any compulsory force in the form of the syllogism itself, but on their constantly trying the validity of the rules by the test of what they know otherwise to be true, and thus, says Grote, they will gradually come to acquiesce in the formulæ, and even perhaps to regard them as self-evident. In answer to this, we would submit that there is a sense of necessity attached to a formula like that of the conversion of the Universal Negative, which is not and could not be gradually arrived at through the induction of instances. It may be that an instance is required to bring home the formula to the mind of the learner, but one instance clenches the matter for ever, and the learner does not require 'a short 'time' or a long time to acquiesce in the formula when once instanced. When it has once been stated 'No A is B, there-'fore no B is A, as, for instance, No man is immortal, therefore 'no immortal being is a man,' the similar convertibility of all similar propositions is at once accepted without doubt. It is just like the demonstrations of Euclid, in which one single instance settles a truth as universal. When Euclid shows that the lines A B and C D cannot have a common segment, it is sufficiently established, without examining other cases, that no two straight lines can have a common segment. This proceeds from the reasoning *in pari materiâ*—that all possible instances of space and quantity are under a common law. And may we not say that it is the same law that governs the syllogism, and which our minds are necessitated to recognise? Formally speaking, the syllogism is the expression of laws relative to the mutual coincidence or mutual exclusion of classes, which may be viewed as quantities or spaces. Thus the Universal Negative may be represented as a proposition declaring that the class, or space, A, is completely exclusive of the class, or space, B; or that no portion of the space A is coincident with any portion of the space B. From this it follows by the quantitative laws of our minds that we cannot conceive any portion of the space B coinciding with any portion of the space A. How we got those quantitative laws of thinking, whether intuitively, or

from repeated observation, is another question, but that we have them is certain, and it is through their binding force that we accept the formulæ of the syllogism, and not from fresh associations obtained by comparing those formulæ with actual experience, and by gradually finding that they always hold true.

Though we differ occasionally from Grote's views of particular logical questions, we would yet speak with high respect of his account of the 'Organon' as a whole. It is a real gain to the student of Greek philosophy to have now at his command so great an assistance as this towards getting over a difficult but unavoidable stage in the journey. And one special merit in Grote's achievement is, that, for the first time in English, it gives us the 'Organon' set forth and explained as a whole, tracing the application of the syllogism in demonstrative science and in dialectic. Grote's remarks on the logic of induction, so far as entered upon by Aristotle, are interesting, though we confess to being not convinced that he has succeeded in adequately grasping Aristotle's conception of Nous as the faculty of universals. On the other hand, he has in his paper on First Principles (printed in Appendix II. vol. ii.) succeeded in showing that Sir William Hamilton considerably garbled or mistranslated passages of Aristotle, which he endeavoured to press into the support of an intuitional and authoritative common sense among mankind. But the most lively, and, at the same time, most valuable part of Grote's work, consists in the picture which he gives of Athenian dialectic, as an intellectual game or fencing-match, constantly practised; to lay down rules for which, to regulate it, and establish it as a highly salubrious and necessary intellectual art, was the object of the 'Topics' and the 'Sophistical Refu-'tations' of Aristotle. These treatises form a *pendant* to the dialogues of Plato, they are the methodised outcome of a society which was possessed by an insatiate appetite for discussion and controversy, whether with a view to truth or to mere victory over an opponent. Such a society gave scope to a class, which gradually arose, of professional and paid disputants, or professors and teachers of the art of controversy. This professional class, under the name of 'Sophists,' got a bad name in antiquity, and Aristotle, speaking in accordance with what Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates had said before him, treats them very disparagingly as mere charlatans, and describes their art as a thoroughly dishonest one with gain as its object, and mere fallacy as its only instrument. What we call 'logical 'fallacy' Aristotle classifies and exposes under the name of

'Sophistical Refutations'—that is, the tricks of argument by which Sophists had been known to refute, or to attempt to refute, dialectical opponents. Grote, as is well known, when writing in his 'History of Greece' on the characteristics of the age of Socrates, had seen reason to protest to some extent against this verdict of antiquity, and he brought forward many pleas in favour of the respectability of the Sophists as a class; these were carried further in his subsequent work on Plato; and now, in commenting on Aristotle, he by no means alters his view. The other side of the question is given in Professor Jowett's 'Dialogues of Plato Translated,' especially in the introduction to the dialogue entitled 'Sophist.' We have no wish here to enter upon the controversy, but we must admit that Grote is successful in pointing out the doubtful demarcation often to be observed in Aristotle between what he blames as 'Sophistic,' and what he encourages as 'Dialectic.' It was, however, we think, an unconscious partisanship in Grote which led him in his eleventh chapter of this work (as before in his work on Plato) to undertake the defence of the famous 'Homo 'Mensura' doctrine of Protagoras, the first great Sophist, against the particular attack made on it by Aristotle. Aristotle, in laying down the maxim of contradiction—that the same proposition cannot be at once true and false—as the basis for all philosophy, mentioned three doctrines as incompatible with this principle: first, the doctrine of Heraclitus, that, all things being in a state of flux, everything is and at the same time is not; second, that of Anaxagoras, that everything is mixed in everything; third, that of Democritus, that the full and the void, in other words, being and not being, exist alike and together in every part. He added that the doctrine of Protagoras that 'all which appears is true,' or that 'man is the 'measure of all things,' comes under the same head, as being a denial of the maxim of contradiction, because the same proposition, being believed by one man and disbelieved by another, will be at the same time true and false; and surely if truth be 'what each man troweth,' fixed principles will be rendered difficult, it will be possible to play fast and loose with each assertion. Grote admits that we do not know at all certainly what the doctrine of Protagoras really was, but he thinks that it implied nothing more than an assertion of the universal relativity of truth and knowledge, the assertion that an object could only exist in relation to an individual subject. This assertion would not only be in itself harmless, but it would be an important announcement in philosophy. But the whole question is, how was the tenet of Protagoras applied by himself

and his followers? The remarks of Aristotle on the subject lead to the inference that it was applied in a sceptical spirit, as it very well might be. If so, it amounted to a denial of the maxim of contradiction from the subjective side, just as the doctrines of the Heracliteans did on the objective side. *They* said you cannot assert anything that is more true than false, on account of the nature of things; the followers of Protagoras may very likely have said, and, according to Aristotle did say, 'You cannot assert anything as true, because it is only true to 'you, and every individual must be for himself the measure of 'truth.' This throws a haze of doubt over the first principles of knowledge, and tends to strike philosophy with paralysis. Aristotle said that it turned the pursuit after truth 'into a 'wild goose chase,'* and engendered despair in the minds of its votaries. The universal relativity of knowledge might well be held, provided that a loyal use of it were made; but Aristotle implies, and there seems no reason to doubt him, that in that age of disputation, a disloyal use was made of the doctrine. Hegel says that Aristotle acknowledged that 'man is the 'measure of all things,' on the proviso that this must be understood to mean the universal man and not the individual. In other words, the universal consciousness, manifesting itself either in general consensus or in the beliefs of the greatest and most cultivated minds, must be made the referee.

We turn now for a moment to Grote's account of Aristotle's treatise 'On the Soul,' which excited some interest among students of philosophy when it first appeared as an appendix to the third edition of Professor Bain's work on 'The Senses 'and the Intellect' in 1868. The treatise itself is a very curious one, and well worthy of study in the present day, in reference to the speculations of Mr. Darwin and his school. After all, the 'Darwinian theory' is but a speculation, though it claims to bring forward a certain chain of facts (acknowledged not to be complete) in its own support. It cannot then be otherwise than interesting to compare with this nineteenth-century hypothesis on the genesis of the human soul, the hypothesis on the same subject of so great a naturalist and philosopher, of the fourth century before Christ, as Aristotle. A striking difference between the two views meets us, however, at the outset, for Aristotle appears to leave no place for historical development in the animated kingdom. He admits, indeed, that the human race has at different times and in different places grown out of barbarism into civilisation, and by

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* Τὸ γὰρ τὰ πετόμενα διώκειν τὸ ζητεῖν ἂν εἴη τὴν ἀληθείνα.

the progressive cultivation of art, science, and philosophy had repeatedly attained perfection. Whenever this had taken place, he thinks that deluges or other convulsions of nature must have swept away the entire race, all but a few individuals left on the mountain tops, or otherwise preserved for the repopulation of the earth, left, however, as under such circumstances would necessarily have been the case, destitute of all the apparatus of the arts, and having to begin again *de novo* the development of civilisation. With this strange conception of a cyclical rise and fall in the civil history of mankind, Aristotle combined the view that Nature as a whole is eternal, and must for ever have been in all essential particulars just as it is now.* Thus he would equally have discarded the idea of a creation of the world and of the development of species. He united, indeed, the whole of organised nature into one chain by the common term 'soul,' which he attributed to every plant and animal no less than to man. He thought that in 'soul' there was an ascending scale, the functions of the lower soul being always inherent in and subservient to those of the higher. The 'soul' of the plant had merely the functions of nutrition and growth; in the animal the nutritive soul existed, but was additionally endowed with functions of motion, sensation, and desire, and with some gleams of even a higher intelligence; in man, the animal soul was differentiated by the introduction into it 'from without' of a divine element, called 'Nous,' which by its presence and intermixture made the most decisive changes, and raised man into an intellectual and moral being, capable of being a law to himself, and capable also of participating here on earth in that joy which the Divine Being feels everlastingly.

Such was the view of the creatures on this earth which commended itself to Aristotle. It is opposed to the Darwinian philosophy (which closely corresponds with that of Epicurus), not only in its belief in the fixedness of nature, but also in

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* It is remarkable that this view of Aristotle—which was based on the argument that the actual must always have existed prior to the potential, the flower always have existed prior to the seed, &c.—has been revived, or one similar to it enunciated, in the present day. Sir William Thomson, in his remarkable address to the British Association at Edinburgh, in August 1871, said: 'I confess to being deeply 'impressed by the evidence put before us by Professor Huxley, and 'I am ready to adopt, as an article of scientific faith, true through all 'space and through all time, that *life proceeds from life, and from* '*nothing but life.*' His conclusion is 'that life originated on this earth 'through moss-grown fragments from the ruins of another world.'

another very essential point, namely, that Aristotle thought the human reason to be something different in kind from the instinct of brutes and quite incapable of being developed out of lower perceptive functions. A detailed examination of Aristotle's psychology on this point, and a comparison of it with modern views, would have been very interesting; but Grote in his summary does not attempt it, he only aims at simple exposition. In fulfilling this task he strikes us by the great definiteness which he gives to Aristotle's theory by bringing in from other treatises and giving prominence to Aristotle's conception (not referred to by himself in his treatise 'On the Soul') of the Celestial Body, or outer sphere of the Kosmos, as the seat of all divinity, and the source of the vitalising principle in all souls, and especially of the divine principle of Nous in man. In drawing this out he is perhaps more definite than Aristotle himself ever is, but we think that the inferences are on the whole legitimate, though many points in the theory still require elucidation. With regard, however, to the important question of the immortality of the soul, Grote makes deductions from Aristotle, and then seems to fasten them upon Aristotle as if Aristotle himself had drawn them. Thus he says (vol. ii. p. 233), 'We see here the full extent of Aristotle's difference 'from the Platonic doctrine, in respect to the immortality of 'the soul. He had defined the soul as the first actualisation of 'a body having potentiality of life with a determinate organism. 'This of course implied, and he expressly declares it, that soul 'and body in each individual case were one and indivisible, so 'that the soul of Sokrates perished of necessity with the body 'of Sokrates.' Grote to the word 'Sokrates' here appends a foot-note referring the reader, without however quoting the words, as is his usual custom in important references, to 'Aristot. De Animâ, II. i. p. 413 a. 3.' He thus leaves those who do not verify the reference to suppose that Aristotle himself had drawn the above deduction about the soul and body of Socrates, whereas the inference is entirely Grote's, and what Aristotle really says in the passage referred to is something with almost an opposite bearing. The words are, 'We cannot 'doubt, then, that the soul is not separable from the body, or 'that certain parts of it are not, if it be made up of parts, for 'in regard to some of its parts it is the actuality of nothing 'else than the corresponding part of the body. Nothing, how-'ever, prevents that certain parts of it may be separable, as they 'are not the actualities of any bodily substance. And again, 'it is uncertain whether the soul be not the actuality of the 'body in the same way as the sailor is the actuality of his

'boat.'* Aristotle had been showing that the senses, while they are psychical functions, are also the functions of the bodily organs; in regard to these, then, the soul is inseparable from the body, that is, the soul *considered as a whole*, with all the perceptive powers which it exhibits in this life, cannot have an independent existence. But Aristotle proceeds to say that there is nothing to prevent certain parts of the soul, which are not the functions of our material organisation, from existing independently of the body. By this he of course means the Nous, which he elsewhere tells us is 'introduced from without, 'not being the result of organic conditions.' He goes on here to make the remarkable addition that 'after all it is uncertain 'whether the soul be not related to the body as the sailor to 'his boat.' It is very singular that Grote should have taken no notice of this striking sentence; it is introduced in supplement to, and possible modication of, former metaphors under which Aristotle had figured the relation of soul to body. He had said soul is to body as the sight to the eye, as the flower to the seed, as the impression of the seal to the wax on which it is stamped. He now throws out the final suggestion, 'after all, I know not whether it be not as the sailor to his 'boat.' He does not follow out this metaphor, or pronounce either for or against its appropriateness. Were it ratified it would be nothing less than an unqualified assertion of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, for the sailor, when his voyage is completed, steps ashore out of his boat. But Aristotle by leaving this conception as a possible one, shows at all events that he did not definitely and dogmatically assert, in the way in which Grote represents him to have asserted, that the soul perishes with the body.

Aristotle says nothing at all about the soul of Socrates, nor would he have been likely to make so blunt and ungracious an assertion as that which Grote attributes to him, in the face of Plato's 'Phædo' and the sublime anticipations of a future life there put into the mouth of Socrates. In his 'Ethics' (*Eth. Nic.* I. xi. 1) he declines even to affirm that the dead cannot be affected and made more or less happy by the fortunes of their descendants and friends upon earth, because 'this would seem a 'heartless doctrine and opposed to general belief' (*λίαν ἄφιλον φαίνεται καὶ ταῖς δόξαις ἐναντίον*). Such a concession to popular feeling as this may prove nothing in itself as to Aristotle's belief about the soul after death, but it proves at all events the ten-

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* Ἔτι δὲ ἄδηλον εἰ οὕτως ἐντελέχεια τοῦ σώματος ἡ ψυχὴ ὥσπερ πλωτὴρ πλοίου.

derness with which he treats so important a question. In his earlier life, B.C. 354, when he was about thirty years of age, Aristotle had written a dialogue, now unfortunately lost, on the immortality of the soul. It was entitled 'Eudemus,' and was on the occasion of the death of his friend and fellow-student of that name—a refugee from the island of Cyprus, and not to be confounded with his scholar and posthumous editor, Eudemus of Rhodes. The Cyprian Eudemus, being grievously sick in the town of Pheræ, saw a vision which imparted to him three prophecies: first that he would recover from his sickness; second that Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ would shortly die; third that in five years he would be restored to his home. The two first prophecies received immediate fulfilment; and when the appointed five years were nearly concluded, Eudemus and his friends looked out for some chance which should restore him to Cyprus, in accomplishment of the third prediction. At this period Eudemus fell in battle at Syracuse, and thus in another sense he was 'restored to his 'home.' Such a circumstance would form an excellent *motif* to a discourse on the state of the soul after death, though of course it would be out of the question that it should be used by a friend of the deceased as an occasion for impugning the doctrine of immortality. The fragments which remain of Aristotle's dialogue 'Eudemus' (see Bernays, pp. 21, 143) prove that his object partly was to show that it was possible to hold that doctrine without accepting the theory of Ideas, with which Plato had connected it. His conclusion appears to have been that the Nous of man is immortal, and there is no appearance of his ever having abandoned that view. In the 'Meta-'physics' (XI. iii. 6) he says, 'About the ultimate permanence 'of some things there can be no difficulty, as for instance, 'suppose we say the soul—not all the soul, but the Nous, for 'perhaps it is impossible that all the soul should be permanent.' Other passages might be quoted to the same effect, and the only question is what he means to imply by the permanence of the Nous. In *Eth. Nic.* X. vii. 9 and elsewhere, he tells us that the Nous is 'each man's proper self,' and the permanence of the Nous, if taken in the same sense without qualification, can mean nothing else than the permanence of individuality. And indeed unless something like this were meant, it would seem strange for Aristotle to have said that the soul, or a portion of it, is ultimately permanent.

There is only one passage that can be said to make against this view, and that is the famous place in the treatise 'On the 'Soul' (III. v. 2–3), in which Aristotle distinguishes between

the Active and the Passive Nous. And it is from this that Grote draws his, as we think, too definite conclusion. After describing the Passive (or receptive) Nous as 'becoming all 'things' by receiving their forms, and the Active Nous as giving existence to all things in the same way that light calls colour into being, Aristotle adds that the Active Nous transcends the body, being capable of separation from it; that it is an everlasting existence, incapable of being mingled with matter or affected by it; that it is prior and subsequent to the individual mind. He concludes,* 'But when separated it is of its own 'nature alone, and it is that only which is immortal and 'eternal. We have no recollections, because it is incapable of 'being affected, while the Passive Nous on the other hand is 'perishable, and has no thoughts without the assistance of this.' A good deal turns here on the meaning of the phrase, 'we have 'no recollections,' but in all probability this is merely a reference to the Platonic doctrine of *Anamnesis*—that the soul having seen divine things in a former state of existence, is reminded of them in this life. Aristotle argues that the part of our soul which existed prior to our birth was the Active Nous, which from being incapable of receiving impressions could not bring with it any associations. The words 'when 'separated' may therefore be meant to refer to the condition of the Active Nous before birth in this world. It might be argued that if the Passive Nous is perishable, the Active Nous, which (according to Aristotle) survives the body, will be left again without associations, and that all the individuality which in this world was gathered round it, will vanish away from it. But Aristotle himself never makes this deduction. He merely leaves it said that part of the soul is immortal, and we cannot tell, since the dialogue 'Eudemus' is lost, in what sense we are to understand the immortality of the Nous, whether in the sense of a Buddhist Nirvana, or of the ultimate persistence in another life of human individuality.

We have said enough on different points to indicate that we do not consider Grote's fragment to furnish, even so far as it goes, a trustworthy and satisfactory, in all respects, exposition of Aristotle. Every allowance must be made for a work not only confessedly unfinished, but also composed under peculiar circumstances, having been begun in advanced age, and having been written under pressure almost 'against time.' The sub-

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* *Χωρισθεὶς δ' ἐστὶ μόνον τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀΐδιον. Οὐ μνημονεύομεν δέ, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαθές, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτός, καὶ ἄνευ τούτου οὐθὲν νοεῖ.*

ject too was one that stands by itself, and requires almost the devotion of a life, while to the venerable Grote it was comparatively new ground. To use Aristotle's favourite language, this work cannot be viewed as an 'actuality,' it has hardly emerged from the regions of the 'potential.' But its tendencies are, in its present state, somewhat one-sided, and Grote would have required to enlarge his view of Aristotle in order to fairly expound him. During many ages Aristotle had been too exclusively regarded as an *à priori* and deductive philosopher, and the tendency of this book is to run into the extremely opposite direction, and to represent Aristotle as almost purely inductive. This to many minds would seem to be an enhancement of Aristotle's merit by the removal of what such minds would consider a weak side in him. But however that may be, Aristotle cannot legitimately be so represented, as he was not merely inductive and experiential, like Locke or Mr. Mill, but he was also full of speculations which are more akin to those of Kant and Hegel. We do not doubt that Grote has performed a useful work in calling attention to the large portion of Aristotle's thought which consisted in a reference to observation of facts, and in a common sense view removed from transcendentalism. But this work requires to be completed, especially by such a chapter as Grote himself had projected on the Aristotelian theory of cognition, and the seeming discrepancies which it involves. We want to have clearly set forth what Aristotle meant by a thing 'existing,' and by our 'perceiving' or 'knowing' anything. We want to understand his position in comparison with Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Schelling, or other great thinkers of modern times, in regard to this, the primary question of philosophy. Grote's posthumous volumes may not impossibly give a stimulus to this sort of inquiry in England. Oxford, which makes so large, and we may say fruitful, a use of Aristotle for the purposes of education, might fairly be looked to for more results in the shape of scholarly and philosophic exposition of this great ancient thinker, than she has hitherto given to the world. Grote's example should certainly recommend itself to a University which owes so much to the study of Aristotle. Dr. Arnold, when he elected to send his sons to Oxford in order that they might not miss reading the 'Ethics' and 'Politics,' was acknowledging the great educational advantages which he felt himself to have derived from having been indoctrinated in these treatises. And the same benefit has been derived from the same source, though perhaps not so gratefully acknowledged, by some of our greatest statesmen of the present day. The

strong manly thought of Aristotle, his great knowledge of human nature, his analytic penetration, exhaustive classification, and clear methods of disentangling a question and dealing with what is essential in it—render the works of Aristotle, especially some among them, an admirable instrument of cultivation, and a sort of preparation for almost all positions in life. The full benefits of this study cannot perhaps be reaped except by Greek scholars. And yet some of the greatest minds of modern Europe, as for instance Dante, have been moulded upon the study of Aristotle in the Latin version. And if in Latin, we may say why not in English, as the English language is fully more capable than Latin of conveying all that is finest and most subtle in Greek? But the instrument for conveying Aristotle in English has yet to be forged. How to set about translating him involves many difficult questions at the outset. How are we to deal with his peculiar phraseology, with terms like *ἐντελέχεια*, *τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι*, and so on? Are we to resort to perpetual circumlocution and paraphrase whenever these terms occur, or are we to fix on some, probably quite un-English, representatives of them, to be used mechanically, the reader being left to supply the associations required? In either mode of proceeding there are difficulties, and even if these were got over, there are others equally great to be encountered in any attempt to translate Aristotle faithfully into literary and readable English. In the meantime, there remains to do for all the other treatises of Aristotle what Grote has so courageously essayed to do for the 'Organon,' namely, to give an account of their contents. Such an account should primarily give us, as near as may be, the unadulterated thoughts of Aristotle, in relation to his own mind and the systems of his predecessors. Secondarily, it should compare such thoughts, where philosophical, with the philosophy of modern times, and where scientific, with modern science. The study of an ancient philosopher may be regarded as a study of history, or as a study of method, and from either point of view it is of great value; but in relation to the questions treated, it is a study of truth, and from this point of view it is desirable that philosophy should always be 'brought up to date.'

ART. IX.—1. *L'Art des Armées navales; ou, Traité des Évolutions navales.* Par le P. PAUL HOSTE, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Professeur des Mathématiques dans le Séminaire royal de Toulon. Fol. Lyon: 1697.

2. *Tactique navale.* Par le Vicomte DE MOROGUES. 4to. 1763.

3. *Rudimentos de Tactica naval.* Por Don JOSEF DE MAZAREDO SALAZAR. 4to. Madrid: 1786.

4. *Naval Tactics.* By M. DE MOROGUES. Translated by a Sea-officer. 4to. London: 1787.

5. *An Essay on Naval Tactics, Systematical and Historical.* By JOHN CLERK, Esq., of Eldin. 4to. Edinburgh: 1804.

6. *Corso elementare di Tattica navale.* Di AUDIBERT RAMATUELLE. 4to. Napoli: 1813.

7. *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Tactique navale.* Par CH. ER. LULLIER. 8vo. Paris: 1867.

8. *Nouvelles Bases de Tactique navale.* Par l'Amiral GRÉGOIRE BOUTAKOV. Traduites du Russe par H. de la PLANCHE, Lieutenant de vaisseau. 8vo. Paris.

9. *Steam Rams: their Primary Elements and Proper Functions.* By DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Asknish. 12mo. 1870.

10. *The Attack and Defence of Fleets.* By Capt. P. H. COLOMB, R.N., Journal of the Royal United Service Institution. 1872.

11. *A Treatise on Naval Warfare with Steam.* By General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS. 8vo. London: 1858.

LIKE several of the mechanical arts, so the art of naval tactics would seem to have passed through the various stages of elaboration, oblivion, and revival. Perhaps, indeed, it would be more correct to say that it is only entering upon the third and last of these. There appears to be a pretty unanimous agreement on the part of all those who have of late made naval tactics a subject of study, that the art has, in its revived form, scarcely advanced beyond the merest rudimentary conditions of existence. It is impossible not to be struck by the strange singularity of such a fact, if fact it be. In an age in which the greatest scientific skill and mechanical ingenuity have been unreservedly exerted in perfecting the warlike efficiency of the military marine, the one art needed to

develope to its fullest extent that truly wonderful efficiency has been strangely neglected and overlooked. The great tactical revolution caused by the introduction of steam-propulsion has been either quietly ignored, or its extreme significance has been left to be pointed out by a small company of prophets who have not as yet succeeded in gaining more than a partial hearing for the statement of their views.

The scientific study of tactics has never been a favourite occupation of seamen. In the British navy especially it has been not so much neglected as despised. In that service no tactical maxim has ever been held in so much honour as the simple phrase which asked only for 'a fair field and no 'favour.' 'Plenty of sea-room and a willing enemy' was a formula which adequately expressed the aspirations of a body of men strong in the confidence of their superior seamanship and of their undoubted valour and endurance. Yet—even amongst them—tactical knowledge was the one path which led to supreme eminence. Rodney and Nelson are instances of men who availed themselves of startling tactical innovations to perform deeds which have carried them to a position of almost unapproachable superiority as naval commanders. Nor are they the only ones, nor is our own the only service in which such men have been found. It will not be difficult to show that the existence of men whose careers resemble theirs has been confined to no single country and to no single age.

In naval warfare it has been the same as in land-warfare—the whole history of the art has been divided into great tactical epochs or periods ushered in, more or less directly, by some great tactical discovery. Such discoveries have been not only of new arrangements and manœuvres, but of improved weapons, of improved defensive armour, or of some improved motive power. When the Tyrrhenian Pisæus added the sharp beak to the prow of the ancient galley, he introduced a reform of greater tactical import than the oft-quoted invention of iron ramrods by the Old Dessauer, or of the needle-gun by Herr Dreyse. As the Pyrrhic phalanx succumbed to the more open array and lighter weapons of the Roman legion, and the Swiss *hérisson* to the short swords and closer fighting of Gonsalvo's infantry, so the old line-of-battle was pierced and broken by the new tactics which Paul Hoste the Jesuit and Clerk of Eldin taught, and which Rodney and Nelson so gloriously put into practice. We believe it will be interesting and not without advantage to trace the history of naval tactics from an early period to the present day; to show how frequently the greatest valour and, in many respects, the most

consummate skill, failed to achieve any real success from want of true tactical knowledge; how much of the glory of the British navy, before the time of Rodney, rested upon the insecure foundation of indecisive actions and barren victories; and how strangely near the most ancient tactics of which we have any knowledge approached to those which, it seems not improbable, steam propulsion will in the future compel seamen to adopt.

The scantiness of the literature of the subject may be taken as no slight proof of the small attention which, as a rule throughout its history, it has attracted. That history is a long one, too. For the record of some of the most striking manœuvres and formations known to naval warfare, manœuvres and formations adopted in obedience to an almost pedantically exact system of tactics, and by no means unworthy of being studied even now, we must search the pages of the Father of History. Without going back to that shadowy time

> 'When Argo saw her kindred trees
> Descend from Pelion to the main,'

we may still, at very remote periods, find instances of the adoption of various tactical systems which, it is no exaggeration to declare, are of far more use and value to the naval officer of our own time in his search after right methods than most of those which obtained only a generation or two back. Still the writers who, down to the present day, have devoted themselves to the illustration of the art, are astoundingly few in number. A somewhat assiduous search, we are persuaded, would result in bringing to light the works of not more than a couple of dozen authors at the most—a list which, compared with the copious literature of land-warfare, is short indeed. Yet the publication of the books which such a list would include ranges over a period of nigh two hundred years.

Considering the facilities that naval warfare offers for the elaboration of tactics upon paper, and the clearly-established historical fact that such elaborations have been made to bear important fruit, it is indeed surprising that we have not been favoured with more of them. 'The face of the ocean,' as Clerk of Eldin says, 'considered as a field for immediate engagement, having neither rivers, ravines, banks, woods, nor mountains, to stop progress, or interrupt the sight; should not every occurrence, every transaction, for these reasons, and in such circumstances, be more easily conceived, understood, and explained than even in military operations on land?' 'Combats at sea,' says Paul Hoste, 'are not like those on land; an army on land, when inferior to its enemy, entrenches itself,

'occupies strong positions, and supplies by means of forests, 'rivers, and defiles, what it wants in strength; but of a fleet 'we must judge as we should of an army on a perfectly open 'and level plain.' In following the operations of a fleet, therefore, there is not the same strain upon the attention that is necessary in trying to understand the fluctuations of a land-battle or campaign. Also, in devising any system of evolutions or tactical manœuvres for use in sea-fights, we are not compelled to face many elements of disturbance, which in the case of land-battles we should be unable to omit from our calculations.

We have spoken of the various tactical periods into which the history of warfare by sea has been divided. We propose to indicate them successively as we go on. The earliest is that during which the ships which took part in naval engagements were invariably propelled by oars when in action. The smooth waters and regular seasons of the tideless Mediterranean must soon have led the leaders of ancient fleets to adopt a somewhat formal evolutionary system, with which their customary training as land-soldiers would inevitably have familiarised them, and which the mechanical propulsion of their vessels would render easy and simple in execution. An essential feature of this system was the violent onset of ship against ship; the height of tactical skill in the commander of each particular vessel being to bring his prow with crushing effect against the flank of a hostile galley. Formations accordingly were devised and adopted which should enable the several ship-commanders to execute, or avoid, this important manœuvre. It appears that the usual order of battle of an ancient fleet was crescent-shaped, the bows of all pointing towards the enemy. The ancient admirals were too skilful to adhere blindly on all occasions to a formation which so admirably satisfied most tactical requirements. On some memorable occasions, and with results that amply justified the steps taken, they departed from the customary practice. At the battle of Artemisium, fought nearly five hundred years before the Christian era, a battle less important in its military than its political results, the scene of which the Theban poet celebrated as the place 'where the sons of Athens laid the shining ground-'work of freedom,' the Greeks adopted a very remarkable order of battle. Their fleet was very inferior in number of ships to that of the Persians, which was large enough to literally surround them. To have fought in the common formation would have been destruction. The Grecian leaders therefore formed their fleet in a different order. The huge

Persian armada had gradually assumed the shape of a complete circle, within which was enclosed their less numerous foes. The latter 'drew their line into a smaller circle with 'their prows facing the surrounding enemy, and then at the 'signal darted forward like rays to pierce and break the wall 'of ships that encompassed them.'* This proceeding was successful in preventing the Persians from gaining, what they believed would prove, an easy victory: and so vigorous was the first attack that thirty of their ships were sunk.

So persuaded were the Grecian admirals of the efficacy of ramming as a mode of attack, that they not unfrequently manœuvred deliberately to obtain a position from which the assault of their ships might be made with increased effect. They strove as it were to gain the *weather-gage*. In their attempts they were greatly aided by the excellent seamanship of many who served under them, and by their knowledge of the coasts near which they fought. At the great battle of Salamis, which was begun by the Athenian Ameinias ramming a Persian vessel, Themistocles deliberately delayed the battle till a breeze, which at a certain time regularly blew up the channel, had sprung up, and blowing fair and strong increased the energy of every ship's onslaught. The same tactics were followed by Phormio when, fifty years later, with only twenty galleys he attacked and conquered the Peloponnesian fleet of forty-seven. But even then a new period had begun, and a great action had already been fought on different principles. When the Greeks took to fighting amongst themselves the fierce spirit engendered by the social war could not brook the delay necessary for manœuvring to gain a windward position. Both sides were eager to rush forward and grapple with the enemy. Thus the engagement at Sybota between the Corinthians and Corcyræans resembled rather a battle on shore than a sea-fight. After the first onset the ships grappled and remained wedged together, and from their decks the crews contended with the weapons, and after the manner, of soldiers. The great naval manœuvre of the Greeks, the *diecplus*,† by which the enemy's line was suddenly pierced and the oars of his galleys swept away, was no longer, or but seldom, practised. Indeed, so completely does it seem to have fallen into disuse, that when the Athenians, twenty years after Sybota, met the Corinthians off the town of Erineus, the galleys of the former were not even constructed so as to deliver, or with-

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* Thirlwall, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. ii. p. 280.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 98.

stand, blows with the prow. The Corinthians, on the other hand—and even in our day it is not unimportant to mark this—had strengthened the prows of their galleys, so that when the hostile vessels met, those of the Athenians were stove in by the shock.

Throughout the remaining naval wars of antiquity the use of the sharp-beaked prow as a weapon became more and more exceptional. The superior seamanship of the Carthaginian sailors seems to have induced them occasionally to revive the old ramming manœuvres. The practice, however, was apparently rare, and the historian Livy deems worthy of special mention one galley which in a sea-fight off the Sicilian coast had her side shattered by a Carthaginian prow. The Romans, with far less nautical skill than their opponents, despaired of ever successfully adopting such tactics. They were fortunate in possessing an officer of sufficiently original genius to introduce an important innovation. Duilius, who was the first to be honoured by a naval triumph, hit upon an expedient which allowed him to avail himself of the unskilled valour of the Roman crews. He invented a machine for grappling a hostile vessel, that whilst two ships were locked in a firm embrace, his men might fight their enemies as they would on shore. Thenceforth the ancient sea-fights, as a rule, assumed the form of a series of manœuvres to 'lay the enemy on board,' and fight it out hand-to-hand.

In spite, however, of this modification of the ancient tactics, the attack with the prow was, throughout the long history of the galley as a war-ship, occasionally adopted. No class of vessel has for so long a period remained the unquestioned type of the perfect ship of war. Between the destruction of the Ionian fleet off Ladé and the battle of Lepanto, the last great action fought exclusively by galleys, there was an interval of more than two thousand years. The invention of gunpowder even, and the introduction of artillery on board ship, had but a slow effect in altering the form of vessel devoted to the purpose of fighting: and galleys formed part, and no inconsiderable part, of many powerful navies even to the eighteenth century.

We have said that the attack with the prow was never altogether laid aside. In the thirteenth century, when the Pisan fleet under the Venetian Morosini met, for a second time at the island of Meloria, the numerous galleys of the Genoese, the leaders of the latter revived a manœuvre recommended by many an ancient precedent. A portion of the Genoese fleet so steered as to get to windward. 'Thirty

'Genoese galleys,' says Sismondi, 'driven impetuously by the 'wind, struck the Pisan fleet in flank; seven of their vessels 'were instantly sunk, twenty-eight were taken,'—a prodigious loss which ruined the maritime power of Pisa. But in spite of rare and fitful revivals the newer tactics of grappling and boarding were almost invariably followed in the naval wars between the Genoese and Venetians, and between the Christians generally and the Turks. It was in the close fight with keen weapons that the true believer felt the greatest rapture; and neither his sentiments nor his skill were such as to lead him to perform intricate and elaborate manœuvres. The preliminary formation of fleets of galleys both for attack and defence continued to be in the main what it long had been. Even after guns were mounted on-board, the order of battle still was crescent-shaped. The guns of a galley, usually two or three in number, were mounted on her forecastle; and, like the most effective iron-clads of to-day, a great portion of her power consisted in her faculty of delivering a destructive bow fire. Thus, when drawn up in line of battle, a force of galleys still pointed, as a fleet of modern ships will in all probability also point, their bows towards the enemy. The formation at Lepanto differed only from the time-honoured crescent in being a line with its extremities thrown forward.

But the beak had ceased to be regarded as a weapon, and the use of artillery afloat rendered it before long a rare appendage to a war-galley. Its form and representative was retained, and in some Mediterranean craft may even yet be seen, but it was only as an ornament or as a convenient protuberance to support some portion of the rigging or equipment of the vessel.

Whilst such tactics were in vogue in the Mediterranean, a system not dissimilar was being followed, though with a different class of ships, elsewhere. English seamen had been accustomed, whilst confronting the dangers of their tempestuous seas, to depend rather upon the sail than the oar. The galley therefore never obtained any special favour in this country; besides, too, the men who manned our early fleets were warlike and free, and could have but ill supplied the place of the wretched slaves who toiled laboriously and ingloriously at the oar.* The great fleet in which Edward III. and many noble earls and gallant knights fought against the French at Sluys,

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* The galleys which Richard Cœur de Lion led to the Holy Land were probably largely engaged or hired within the Mediterranean. We are told that his great ships had a crew of only *fourteen* sailors.

stood off, we read, on the starboard tack and manœuvred to gain, not the wind, but the advantage of having the sun at its back. When the ships turned upon the pursuing French, the English grappled with their antagonists, and 'hatchets, lances, 'swords, and every available weapon, found full employment.' So, too, in the fight between Pembroke and the Spaniard Ruy Diaz de Roxas near Rochelle, though cannon almost for the first time in sea-fights was then used, the same mode of attack prevailed; and Pembroke was made prisoner after his ship had been laid aboard by four vessels of the enemy. The unsettled weather of the English Channel sometimes gave startling proof of the unsuitability of the war-galley for a campaign in these latitudes. The stout Castilian, Pedro Niño,* who led three galleys to our coasts, on which he did much damage, on sighting some English ships, said to a companion, 'There are the 'English; the sea is calm; let us have at them.' The attack at first proved nearly successful; but, a fresh breeze springing up, the galleys were compelled to make off.

The great impulse given to maritime enterprise in the sixteenth century led to the introduction of two almost contemporaneous inventions—the rig, which was the immediate precursor of that of our own times, and the broadside armament. Henceforward naval actions were made more and more to depend upon real seamanship and distant firing. This marked the beginning of an entirely new tactical period. The prim formations of the ancient fleets were no longer observed. Formal tactics were almost entirely discarded, and general actions resolved themselves frequently into a series of Homeric combats between single ships. A contemporary account declares the Spanish Armada, when first attacked by Howard's vessels, to have been 'formed in order of battle.' It is probable that the only order maintained was a simple order of sailing. The only tactics followed by the English captains who fought with that great force were those of audacity. Howard's phrase, 'busselynge [bustling] with them,' exactly expresses the real style of the fighting in the Channel. By some, the merit of introducing a very peculiar tactical

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* In the days of this hidalgo, Mr. Vernon Harcourt's opinions upon the possibility of invasion seem to have been largely held by our ancestors; the old Castilian chronicler, Gamez, a companion of Pedro Niño, says of the English, 'son cercados de mar, por lo que no han 'miedo de ninguna otra nacion.' (*De Vargas y Ponce, Vida de Don Pedro Niño*, Madrid, 1807, p. 48 *note.*) The achievements of this worthy have been more fully related in the 'Victorial,' which was reviewed in this Journal, No. 266 (October 1869).

manœuvre, the use of fire-ships, has been ascribed to Queen Elizabeth. They were used at Calais against the ships of the Armada undoubtedly at her suggestion; but Pedro Niño had many years before converted a small vessel or boat into a fire-ship, in his contest with the English which is recounted above. The Englishman Cross, at the Azores, in 1592, was one of the earliest to avail himself of a manœuvre, frequently resorted to in later times, viz. that of raking an enemy's ship. As he 'hauled up' under the stern of a carrack he poured in a broadside.

Many years were yet to elapse before the occupation of the naval officer was to be elevated into a distinct profession, or the navy to be recognised as a distinct branch of the public service. The young gallants of the Court who flocked to Howard's squadron brought to their chief's assistance a plentiful stock of courage, but little experience or skill. The organisation of his force was necessarily very rude and imperfect. He seems to have appointed his own vice-admirals. The selections he made were those of brave and experienced men. He roughly divided his ships into four squadrons or divisions, being guided in the distribution probably by local considerations, ships hailing from the same port in general being stationed near one another. Signalling was then scarcely invented, and orders had to be transmitted by the cumbrous and inconvenient method of sending them by messengers in boats.

The early part of the seventeenth century witnessed the dawn of another tactical period. Amongst English seamen it was felt not only that the old system was extinct, but that it was fitting that it should be formally declared to have passed away. The favourite, Buckingham, had been appointed by James I., Lord High Admiral, in 1619. To that appointment we owe the origin of the Board of Admiralty. 'To cover 'the incapacity of his favourite the King nominated a council 'of men of rank, of great naval experience, without whose 'advice no affairs of importance were to be undertaken.'* In the minute Instructions then issued for the government of the navy, we find the following passage, which is of some tactical significance:—

'Experience teacheth how sea-fights in these days come seldom to boarding, or to great execution of bows, arrows, small shot and the sword, but are chiefly performed by the great artillery breaking down masts, yards, tearing, raking, and bilging the ships, wherein the great advantage of His Majesty's navy must carefully be maintained by

* Thring, 'Criminal Law of the Navy,' p. 15.

appointing such a proportion of ordnance to each ship as the vessel will bear.'

But it was not till near the close of the century that the new tactics were to be, as it were, formulated and reduced to precision. The art of naval construction had advanced with rapid strides, and the period of the Restoration saw our fleet in possession of a class of ships which bore, in shape and armament, no slight resemblance to the line-of-battle ships which not a dozen years ago composed our squadrons. Still, in our earlier wars with the Dutch, definite formations and simultaneous or regular manœuvres were almost, if not quite, unknown. Indeed, some admirals, with Quixotic gallantry, seemed to regard availing themselves of ordinary tactical opportunities as taking an unfair advantage of their enemy. As late as 1692, Admiral Russell, at the beginning of the series of combats known as the battle of La Hogue, positively forbore to fire on the French ships as they advanced, and ordered that the signal to engage should not be made till his opponent, Tourville, had taken his own distance. He also ordered, to place both fleets on a numerical equality, his van squadron to tack and stand to the northward. The apocryphal story related by Voltaire of the British officer who, at Fontenoy, in the subsequent century, bade the 'Gentlemen of the French Guard' fire first, is surpassed, rather than paralleled, by the above actual historical occurrence.

Occasionally, some leader on one side or the other did adopt some special formation, or did execute some particular manœuvre. Thus, off Portland, in 1653, the elder Van Tromp formed his order of retreat in the obtuse-angled shape which naval officers who are still young can remember as a prominent feature of one of our own signal-books not long become obsolete. But, on the whole, throughout the period included between the time of the Armada and James, Duke of York's, supreme command of the English navy, there was a general acquiescence in the theory that the sole desideratum of tactics was to 'gain the wind.' A keen observer, and inveterate critic of other men's deeds, Sir William Monson, writing about the close of the sixteenth century, says:—

'The most famous naval battles these late years have afforded were those of Lepanto against the Turks in 1571, of the Spaniards against the French at the Tercera Islands in 1580, and betwixt the Armada of Spain and the English in 1588. In these encounters, wherein the Spaniards had the chiefest part, they imitated the discipline of war by land, in drawing their ships into a form of fight, which in my opinion is not so convenient; though I confess, in a sea-battle that shall con-

sist of galleys in a calm, it is better to observe that order than in ships; for men may as well follow directions by their hands in rowing, as an army by words of the tongue speaking, or their legs moving. But ships which must be carried by winds and sails, and the sea affording no firm or steadfast footing, cannot be commanded to take their ranks like soldiers in a battle by land. The weather at sea is never certain; the winds variable; ships unequal in sailing; and, when they strictly seek to keep their order, commonly they fall foul of one another, and in such cases they are more careful to observe their directions than to offend the enemy, whereby they will be brought into disorder among themselves. . . . The strict ordering of battles by ships was before the invention of the bowline, for then there was no sailing but before the wind, nor no fighting but by boarding; whereas now a ship will sail within six points of thirty-two, and by the advantage of wind, may rout any fleet that is placed in that form of battle.'

During the Dutch wars, instructions were issued to captains of ships by the Admiralty; and in them we find the following passage—'in case of joining battle you are . . . . to match 'yourself as equally as you can; to succour the rest of the 'fleet as cause shall require, not wasting your powder, nor 'shooting afar off, nor till you come side by side.' This is the first authoritative inculcation of the method, which afterwards came so much into favour with British seamen, of engaging 'yard-arm to yard-arm.'

The great battle between the Dutch and English fleets, fought off the Texel in June 1665, marks the beginning of a new era in naval tactics. The new order of battle, in line-ahead, was then, as Paul Hoste tells us, 'for the first time 'exactly preserved.' To James II., when Lord High Admiral, belongs the merit of being the originator of the precise tactics of modern times. It was natural that he and his principal companions-in-arms, many of whom had risen to eminence in the land service before going afloat, should endeavour to approximate the evolutions of a fleet of ships to those of an army. Many of the formations and manœuvres which he introduced remained in use till a very few years ago, and even now all traces of them have not disappeared from the evolutionary system of our navy. In the splendid library of professional works which the zeal and liberality of two generations of naval and military officers have collected at the Royal United Service Institution there is a beautiful privately-printed volume of James' 'Fighting Instructions.' The book is of that seductive form known to collectors as a 'tall copy,' and is one of the most interesting volumes in the comprehensive catalogue of the Institution.

An essential part of all naval evolutionary systems is a good

code of signals; and it is an additional merit of the misguided monarch who laid the foundation of modern tactics that he was also the inventor of the present method of signalling. We have seen that in Howard of Effingham's campaign against the Armada, important orders had to be sent by boats. Some mode of signalling undoubtedly existed from very remote times, since the beacon-fires leaping from point to point carried to Argos the news of the fall of Troy. But it was James II. who first devised anything approaching to a complete code. A great portion of the 'Fighting Instructions' takes the form of a signal-book, but, unlike more recent ones, it abounds with admirable tactical hints and directions.

Clerk of Eldin says that the order of battle attributed to James was not only suggested by the multitudinous fleets which he commanded and the waters in which they fought, but that it was the best adapted to the circumstances of the time. The ships of the fleets of James' days were, according to our notions, extravagantly numerous, and the confined surface of the narrow seas compelled the adoption of some such formation as the line-ahead. In this battle of the Texel of which we have been speaking there were, exclusive of fire-ships, upwards of a hundred vessels on each side; and when the Duke of York formed his line to windward of the Dutch it extended the prodigious length of fifteen miles. Any manœuvring with such a number of ships, in so narrow a space, would have been hazardous, if not impossible; and in this and in many subsequent battles the best form of tactics was so to arrange a fleet as that every gun on a broadside might be made to bear on the enemy. Still it is not to be understood that no manœuvres except forming line were ever at any time attempted. Paul Hoste, a contemporary as well as a highly-qualified authority, declares that in the battles of the Dutch and English, the hostile lines were often cut; but the chiefs on either side do not appear to have appreciated the significance of the manœuvre. In 1673, in one of the numerous battles fought in the English Channel during these wars, the Count d'Estrées, who commanded a division of French ships attached to Prince Rupert's fleet, executed, perhaps with deliberate intention, the bold manœuvre of cutting the enemy's line from to leeward, thus apparently anticipating the great lesson taught by Clerk more than a century later. Still by the naval officers of every nation, ranging a fleet in a line-ahead parallel to that of the enemy continued to be regarded as the proper end and object of all manœuvring. In the battle of Beachy Head in 1690, the English fell with superior force upon the French rear and

nearly overwhelmed it; the English Vice-admiral of the Red, with, to use Paul Hoste's expression, '*une bravoure téméraire*,' running athwart-hawse of the French flag-ship to stop the advance of the division. However, the action thus favourably began ended, perhaps from the lukewarmness of the English chief, indecisively if not ingloriously.

The Channel was not the only scene of naval engagements during the seventeenth century. The success which cost Blake his life at Santa Cruz had been compensated by the disaster of Lagos Bay. The wider sphere of action opened to the admirals and captains of the time led at length to an attentive study of naval tactics. The close of the century may be regarded as the epoch from which the modern art, the foundations of which had been laid by James, dates its rise. In 1697 was published the work of Father Paul Hoste, of the Order of Jesus, which stands first on the list of books prefixed to this article. As he says himself, the subject of his treatise was a matter never before treated of.

The Father was professor of mathematics in the Royal Seminary of Toulon. He tells us, when enumerating his qualifications for composing a treatise on tactics, that he had seen much active service at sea. He had been in attendance on the Count d'Estrées, the Duke of Mortemart, and Tourville in all their campaigns when they commanded fleets; and the great Tourville himself, at whose suggestion he began his work, had given him much assistance and advice in the composition of it. Prefixed to the book is a long epistle dedicatory to the king, filled with those phrases of adulation which formed so great a part of the dedications of a past age, and which seems to have been the language of all others with which the Grand Monarque loved to be approached. Louis XIV., however, did certainly deserve well of the French navy. It was in his reign that it was directed by such a minister as Colbert, and its fleets commanded by such admirals as Tourville and D'Estrées. Nor did the king himself refuse to take the keenest interest in all its concerns, and advance to posts of honour the men who had won distinction whilst serving in its ranks. He originated perhaps that policy of the royal family of France in regard to the service which has caused a feeling of affectionate regret for the days of the *ancien régime* to sink so deeply into the minds of French naval officers.

The first edition of Hoste's book is a handsome folio, containing a second part devoted to considering the principles of the construction of ships. The latter part is in reality a separate work, and has nothing to do with the first, or evolutionary

part, though both are included in the same dedication to the king. It is to be remarked that the author does not claim for his production any greater merit than that it should be considered a treatise on the 'Art of Evolutions.' He explains the art of tactics and enunciates several of its principles, but he is careful not to fall into the error—less guarded against in our own day—of confounding mere drill-movements with the more important art for which they are intended to be the preparation. He claims to have reduced to rules equally easy and exact all the movements which can, or ought to, be performed by fleets of ships. Not only does he explain how collections of ships at sea should be ordered and arranged, but he points out the proper methods of 'seeking the enemy, forcing him to fight, 'beating him and pursuing him.'

Some of his remarks, in spite of the lapse of time since they were written, have not lost their force, and it will be useful to reproduce them here:—

'Those who have some acquaintance with the navy will doubtless believe that the art of naval evolutions is absolutely necessary to it, since this art is nothing else than the manner of regulating all the movements of a fleet. Without this art, a force resembles those of savages, who have no knowledge of war, and who perform, without order or regularity, all that caprice may suggest or chance may offer. Without the art of evolutions, a flag-officer can but imperfectly dispose his fleet so as to contend most advantageously with the enemy, whether it be to pierce or cut his line, double on him, avoid him, oblige him to fight or pursue him; for all these things require that the flag-officer should be the moving spirit of every part of his force, as the mind is of the members of the body.'

Fearing, perhaps, that the well-known aversion of seamen to book-learning might deter many from studying the subject, and in order that they might not be scared by the numerous admirably executed figures and diagrams with which his work abounds, he goes on to say:—

'Naval evolutions are very simple, and suppose no previous acquaintance with geometry. A little application with the practice gained in two or three cruises will be sufficient to render easy to the least able the whole system of evolutions. I believe, too, that officers who know the other parts of their duty as seamen will not find more difficulty in learning naval evolutions than the officers of the land-service find in military exercises, in forming, drawing up, and moving their squadrons and battalions, and in executing all the evolutions which are practised on shore.'

But it is not only to naval officers that he hoped and believed his work would be of use. Naval affairs being generally a mystery to landsmen, whose imperfect understanding

of them often did harm to the service, he trusts that even those who are not seamen may derive some instruction from his book. He points this expression of his aspirations by a suggestive anecdote. Louis XIV., when at Dunkirk, was entertained by a sham-fight between two men-of-war stationed at the port. The captains had been specially selected because of their known ability as seamen and manœuvrers. The captain of the ship to the leeward exhibited his skill in an attempt to gain the weather-gage. Whilst making the different tacks and stretches to windward necessary to complete that nice and difficult manœuvre, the minister in attendance on His Majesty (a man, as Hoste says, '*d'ailleurs fort éclairé*') exclaimed, 'It 'is pretty evident that that officer does not wish to fight;' thus giving an example of official ignorance which, in the case of the British navy too, has often borne bitter fruit.

The tactical treatise of Hoste is divided into six parts or sections, of which several treat almost exclusively of formations and manœuvres, and the others of those expedients to which when contending with an enemy it is necessary to have recourse. Even in the evolutionary part of the book the description of any particular manœuvre or arrangement is usually accompanied by a commentary pointing out its advantages under many circumstances, and illustrating its use by an account of some actual battle in which it had been performed. This, perhaps, is the highest possible form of instruction in tactics. Indeed, a great portion of the value of the whole treatise consists in these illustrations. The author's own phrase is, that it contains 'a few reflections and some examples which are worth far more 'than all the reflections.' The hypothesis on which the treatise is based is that the ships which he is teaching how to manœuvre are armed with guns on the broadside, and consequently that the most advantageous position a ship can assume is that in which she can present her side to the enemy. From this hypothesis spring two necessary consequences, viz., that squadrons in action must be arranged parallel to each other, and that the proper 'order of battle' is a formation in line-ahead.

Three things are laid down as necessary to render an order or formation good;

1st. In it a fleet must be so disposed as to be able to perform readily what is required of it.

2nd. It should not extend, or separate the fleet too much.

3rd. From it the order of battle should be easily formed, 'because, the principal object of fleets being to fight with 'advantage, all orders should be referred to the order of battle.'

The distance between ships when formed in line of battle

was to be one cable (or two hundred yards), a distance which the huge size of our modern vessels has caused to be exactly doubled in the formations of the present day. It is interesting to note that the ship of fifty guns is especially mentioned as being fitted by power of armament to take her place in the line, though before the first half of the subsequent century had closed she was definitely excluded from the list of line-of-battle ships. The vexed question of the comparative merits of the weather and lee-gages is dealt with simply by stating the advantages of each. One of the advantages of the windward position, the author explains, is that from it a detachment can be sent to overlap, or double upon, the enemy's rear; a manœuvre subsequently pointed out by Clerk. The important manœuvre of cutting the enemy's line is described by Hoste, both in the letter-press and the diagrams of his book, but it differs in a highly significant particular, as we shall hereafter explain, from Clerk's celebrated discovery.

To the French naval officers of his time this book of Hoste's must have been of priceless value. The study of the subject once introduced was followed up with zealous attention; and the teaching of Hoste was perfected and extended by several others, chief amongst whom was the Viscount de Morogues. It will be seen in the battles of the greater part of the eighteenth century how the officers of the French navy had profited by these instructions.

The period from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the great victory of Lord Rodney in 1782 is regarded by Clerk as—so far as the British were concerned—a dark age of naval tactics. Judged by the standard of results there can be no question that his estimate is correct. It was a period of long wars and many engagements; but the great general actions were usually indecisive or partial, and even when we had a superiority of force the issue was seldom commensurate with the advantages we enjoyed and the expectations which the country had formed. A critical examination has been applied by Clerk to this condition of affairs, and the conclusion at which he arrived is that which will be shared by every one who cares to investigate the subject. Throughout the naval wars of the period our principal enemy was France. The navy of that country, never deficient in bold and valiant officers, now contained several skilful tacticians. British officers, on the other hand, were still guided by the traditions, and still ruled by the principles of a time since which the condition of all things naval had greatly changed. The narrow waters of the Channel ceased to be the almost exclusive field of naval battles.

The expansion of the empire demanded a more extended scheme of defence; and hostile ships met in action in either hemisphere and in almost every sea. Naval construction had been greatly improved. Heavier ordnance was mounted on the gun-decks. Copper sheathing was applied to ships, and they were thus rendered better sailers and more fitted to keep the sea without requiring examination or repair.

The earliest great battle of the century bears, in many particulars, a striking resemblance to the numerous unsatisfactory conflicts which succeeded it. In 1704 Sir George Rooke, at the head of a powerful combined fleet of English and Dutch ships, fell in with the French fleet off Malaga. The enemy was commanded by the Count of Toulouse, Admiral of France and son of Louis XIV. Rooke was superior in the number of ships he had with him, and—as they were fresh from their recent conquest of Gibraltar—probably in the spirit of his crews. The combined fleet was to windward, being thus in possession of the position which British seamen have so often striven to gain, viz. the weather-gage. Sir George made the signal to bear down upon the enemy formed in line of battle to leeward. The French remained lying-to until the fleet had got within half-gunshot of them, when they edged away and ran to leeward, ready to form and go through the same proceeding over again. The British and Dutch ships opened a distant cannonade upon their enemy; and the action was maintained from the morning when it began till two in the afternoon, when the British ships, already much reduced in stores by their operations at Gibraltar, ceased firing for want of ammunition. The French, who had successively dropped to leeward, and selected a fresh position whenever it seemed advantageous to do so, now made sail in the same direction, and left the combined forces in possession of the useless battle-field of the sea and not a single trophy.

The next great sea-fight did not take place till forty years later. In 1744 Admiral Matthews, in command of a very powerful fleet, met a combined French and Spanish force, under Admirals de Court and Navarro, off Toulon. The wind was light and variable, and some of the British ships had considerable difficulty in keeping their stations as they approached the enemy. The latter, as usual, were to leeward of the British fleet; the rear being composed of the Spanish contingent. Between Matthews, who as commander-in-chief led the centre, and Lestock, his vice-admiral, who led the rear, there had been a bitter feud of long standing. Unfortunately it had been recently much aggravated by the fact that Matthews

had arrived from England to supersede Lestock, and by the overbearing conduct of the former towards his subordinate. The British fleet came up on the weather-quarter of the Franco-Spanish line with the intention of engaging when each ship was abreast of her opposite in the enemy's order of battle. Lestock with the rear division was far astern, and repeated signals were made to him to sail. Whether, as the plea afterwards raised in his defence stated, it was from failure of the wind, or as Matthews and his friends believed, from a disinclination to support his chief, Lestock did not succeed in bringing his ships into action. The enemy's line began gradually to draw ahead, and Matthews fearing it might escape altogether, 'broke' his own line and, in company with two other ships, edged away to engage more closely the Spanish rear. This gallant and—under the circumstances—highly proper proceeding, was in direct contravention of the provisions of the 'Fighting Instructions,' which ordered all ships to keep the line. The captains of the fleet, with the exceptions just noted, dared not bring their ships down, as they feared the penalty which such disobedience of orders would entail. The natural result followed. A splendid opportunity of inflicting severe loss upon the enemy was lost; and he made off, leaving only a single ship in the hands of the British. The consequences of this action were most momentous to the British service. The popular expectation previous to the engagement had run high. When the news of the action arrived in England the public was miserably disappointed. The feeling of disappointment was so general that the Admiralty, to save themselves, had recourse to a policy which, unhappily, has become inveterate since. They determined to sacrifice to the popular outcry the admirals in command. Matthews and Lestock were brought before courts-martial. Lestock, who made a clever defence, was acquitted. But the gallant Matthews, who had dared to make a bold, and not unskilful, innovation on the old tactics, was sentenced to be cashiered. 'The 'sentence of the court-martial which broke Mr. Matthews,' says Clerk, 'ought virtually to be considered as the source of 'all the many naval miscarriages since.' It fixed the old and insufficient tactical system as the proper one to be employed on all occasions, it checked the action of individual ability, and delayed for many years the culmination of that naval renown of which the inhabitants of this country so often and so proudly boast.

But the absolute necessity of a recourse to new methods was still more strikingly exemplified in the action off Minorca

in 1756. This action has attained considerable celebrity from the fate of the unhappy admiral, Byng, who commanded the British fleet on the occasion. Byng's mode of conducting the engagement was so exactly similar to those which had preceded and which followed it, that it may be taken as typical of them all, and may not improperly be here fully described. The British fleet was in its usual position, to windward, and the French line was formed to leeward, awaiting its approach. The object of the British admiral was to run along the line of the enemy until each ship had fetched abreast of her antagonist. This object, as far as the rear division, led by Byng himself, was concerned, was frustrated by an accident to one of the ships, which needlessly delayed her consorts astern. The brunt of the action, therefore, was borne by the British van. Byng was most desirous of 'breaking' his line to run down and support the van division; but he had a vivid recollection of the treatment of the gallant Matthews, and he forbore to follow his example. The French fleet drew ahead unmolested by the British, and succeeded in completing the reduction of Minorca.

We have been thus particular in describing these two actions of Matthews and of the unfortunate Byng, because they illustrate the very imperfect knowledge and application of true tactical principles which prevailed in the British navy throughout the period of which we have been speaking. Few or none had yet perceived that the disadvantages of a leeward position in a general action on the high seas were far less than those of the same position in a narrower strait with an impassable obstacle of land or shoal water still farther on the lee. In most of the battles of the previous century, from the place in which they were fought, the advantages were unmistakeably on the side of the windward position. Hence manœuvring to gain that position was a legitimate tactical proceeding. But it was otherwise in the campaigns of the early Georgian era. It requires no great skill or knowledge to perceive the disadvantages of the kind of attack which our admirals invariably either made, or endeavoured to make. They as a rule brought their line—after long and painful efforts to get to windward—up on the weather quarter of the enemy's fleet, and proceeded to run almost parallel to it until each ship was abreast of her opponent. The disadvantages of such a proceeding are obvious. The van ships of the fleet to windward had to run the gauntlet of every ship in the enemy's line, and, as both were proceeding in the same direction, of course comparatively slowly. The van ships were thus frequently crippled before they could take

up their appointed stations. The remainder of the fleet, in conforming to their movements, was much delayed, and the enemy, having plenty of sea-room to leeward, was able to bear away and await a renewed onset, or retire altogether, just as he pleased. If the attack was made more perpendicularly, the ships in standing down could scarcely bring a gun to bear, whilst they were exposed to the whole broadside of the enemy. If there was a commanding breeze, the lee guns of at least one battery of the ships to windward were rendered useless from the inclination or heel of the vessels, which made it necessary to keep the lee ports closed. The ships to leeward, on the contrary, could use their weather lower-deck guns with effect, and, what—in an age in which the art of aiming cannon was unknown—was most important, with increased elevation and range. The spars and rigging of the attacking fleet were usually much damaged by the fire to which they were thus exposed. Long before they could bring their broadsides to bear on the enemy, he had dropped down almost uninjured to leeward, prepared to meet another attack in the same way. The French seem to have counted upon our fondness for the weather-gage rendering its adoption by us a matter of course; nor were they often deceived. Sometimes they deliberately resigned the weather-gage, and ran to leeward to await our attack, as they did in Arbuthnot's action off the Chesapeake in 1781:—

'During the course of the wars with the Dutch, much improvement was made, particularly in the invention of signals. But the naval instructions then framed, though founded upon experience and observation, and though they might be admirably fitted for fighting in narrow seas, where these battles were fought, yet from later experience it will be found that they have been but ill-qualified for bringing on an action with a fleet of French ships unwilling to stand a shock, having sea-room to range in at pleasure, and desirous to play off manœuvres of defence, long studied with the greatest attention. . . . . Confident in their superior knowledge in naval tactics, and relying on our want of penetration, they have constantly offered us battle to leeward, trusting that our headlong courage would hurry us on to make the customary attack at a disadvantage almost beyond the power of calculation.' (*Clerk.*)

As the century advanced towards its close so the number of indecisive actions multiplied. Indeed, it may almost be said that, except in the actions between Anson and De la Jonquière, Boscawen and De La Clue, Hawke and Conflans, in which our superiority of force was so great as to insure the success of any tactics which might be adopted, almost every general action fought before Rodney's great victory was indecisive.

The indecisive and partial nature of these engagements may be taken to have culminated in 1779. In that year a British fleet of thirty ships under Keppel met a French fleet of almost exactly equal strength under D'Orvilliers. The latter had attained some eminence in his own service as a tactician, and had published a treatise upon naval tactics. Owing to changes of the wind the British fleet fell to leeward, and the two lines passed each other on opposite tacks; but it never occurred to Keppel to take advantage of the favourable position in which chance had placed him, and cut the enemy's line from to leeward. On the contrary, he eventually got round the rear of the French line and to windward of it, the result being another indecisive conflict. The public mind was much affected by this most striking of all the partial engagements of the time. The Admiralty, as usual, brought the admirals, Keppel and Palliser, before courts-martial. Here the public feeling did not go along with them. Keppel was acquitted, and became the hero of the hour. In accordance with the customary form of a British *apotheosis*, his head appeared on the signboards of numerous taverns; and he gave his name to, amongst others, the cheery hostelry on Common Hard so well known to the present generation of naval officers. 'But it is remarkable,' observes Clerk in his treatise, 'that not only in the course of 'these two long trials, but also in the course of the two trials 'formerly mentioned, of Admiral Matthews in 1744, and of 'Admiral Byng in 1756, not one single hint escaped from any 'one concerned, that it was possible anything defective could 'be attributed to the system of the attack itself, or that any 'kind of improvement should be attempted.'

Fortunately there was one man into whose mind the conviction of the unsatisfactory results of the numerous naval actions of the century had sunk deep. That man was John Clerk, of Eldin, who was not only not a seaman but who had never even made a voyage. An early desire to go to sea had been frustrated by the wishes of his family, but he continued to take the greatest interest in naval affairs. He shared the public disappointment at the monotonous regularity of the unsatisfactory conflicts between our fleets and those of our enemies; and he set himself to investigate the cause and to suggest a remedy. The result of his meditations was the publication of, unquestionably, the most important work on naval tactics that has ever appeared. It is only by gaining a thorough acquaintance with our naval history before and after the publication of Clerk's Essay, that one can correctly appreciate the immense impor-

tance of the doctrines which he taught. The first edition, consisting of the first part alone, was published only in 1790, but he clearly establishes the fact that Lord Rodney, two years before his great battle, was completely in possession of his views, and openly acknowledged afterwards how greatly they had influenced his own.

In its complete form his work consists of four parts. The first is devoted to an examination of the attack from to windward; the second of that from to leeward; the third contains a historical sketch of the different tactical periods of naval history; and the fourth is a supplement containing additional particulars of actions previously discussed and accounts of some not noticed before. After a careful examination of the various indecisive battles from that of Matthews off Toulon to that of Keppel off Ushant, Clerk discusses the principles of tactics involved, and enunciates his two great tactical manœuvres. The first of these was *doubling on the enemy's rear*; or to speak more plainly, when attacking from to windward instead of slowly running along the enemy's line, or bearing down full on it, exposed to a heavy cannonade without much chance of an effective reply, the manœuvre he suggested was, to select some ship not very far from the rear of the enemy's, and bring to bear on her and on the ships a-stern of her the whole of your force, with the exception of a detachment sent on to engage the attention of the hostile van. The advantage of this proceeding is plainly indicated by arguments and diagrams. But it is from his second great manœuvre of *cutting the enemy's line* that Clerk's great merit as a discoverer of a new method of tactics is principally derived. This had been known and practised from to windward, and had been described by tacticians before. Still we have been unable to discover any work in which executed from to leeward it has, in even the most indirect way, been recommended.

The advantage of engaging on the opposite tack to the enemy is discussed at length. It is shown, from the greater rapidity with which ships moving in contrary directions would pass each other—how much less a fleet attacking from to leeward would be exposed to the enemy's fire than if it attacked on the same tack and to windward. Further it is proved that cutting off a certain number of the enemy's rear ships is the only certain way of bringing such an attack to a decisive conclusion. These ideas, with the necessary illustrations on paper, had, by a friend of both Clerk and Rodney, been communicated to the latter just before he sailed from England in 1780. On April 17th of that year Rodney had one of several partial engagements

with the French fleet in the West Indies. He seemed to have Clerk's suggestion in his mind, as he says in his despatch, 'at 'forty-five minutes after six in the morning, I gave notice by 'public signal that my intention was to attack the enemy's rear 'with my whole force.' This was 'the first instance in which 'a British admiral had ventured to deviate from the old prac-'tice.' But the ill-effects of the court-martial on Matthews had not yet disappeared. Even Rodney hesitated to indulge in so bold an innovation on the old methods. At 'fifty minutes 'past eleven he signalled to every ship to bear down and steer 'for her opposite in the enemy's line; *agreeable to the 21st 'article of the Additional Fighting Instructions.*'

Two years had yet to elapse before it was the good fortune of Rodney to execute the bold manœuvre, and win the glorious victory, which have immortalised his name. On April 12, 1782, the hostile fleets under Rodney and De Grasse fought the celebrated action off Dominica. They were of nearly equal force, the British perhaps being slightly superior. A partial shift of wind bent the enemy's line into the form of an obtuse angle, leaving a somewhat wide opening near the apex. Through this opening Rodney with the ships of the centre passed. His van division had already, in the original direction, ranged alongside the French rear, which was thus brought between two fires and overwhelmed. Rodney's guns had sounded the knell of the old pedantic and ineffectual system of tactics. Thenceforward our admirals no longer felt themselves bound by obsolete rules to adopt the formal method of the seventeenth century, the time for using which with advantage had so long passed away. Individual ability and perception were no longer checked and blunted by authoritative regulations, and Great Britain was on the direct road to achieve possession of that dominion of the sea which in theory she had long claimed and in practice she had striven to attain.

It is not often possible to determine with accuracy the date of an epoch or fix exactly the beginning of an era; but a striking coincidence enables us to state to a day the beginning of this new period in the history of naval tactics. On the self-same April 12, 1782, that Rodney overcame De Grasse off Dominica, the skilful and gallant De Suffren, the ablest perhaps of all the admirals of France, resorted to the same tactics in one of his numerous combats with Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies. The Frenchman was not successful, chiefly, if not entirely perhaps, because of the misconduct and disaffection of his subordinates; but he showed himself a great tactician, and it is not without reason that French officers

often recall with admiration '*les beaux combats de l'Inde.*'* We are not inclined, as some are, and notably his own countrymen, to rate him higher than Rodney. Rodney showed greater qualities than De Suffren, perhaps, ever had the chance of showing. The latter adopted deliberately, and from the first, a new and immensely important manœuvre: the former made no secret of the estimation in which that manœuvre was held by him, but he only put it into execution suddenly and without warning at the moment, when with the inspiration of genius he perceived that the French line had bent and opened to the passage of his own.

It would be beside our purpose were we to trace the working of this great revolution in tactics in the glorious battles of our wars with revolutionary France. The victories of that brilliant time all belong to the period the beginning of which we have just recounted. They were all eminently illustrative of true tactical principles put into action. The men who won them for their country were to be guided by other rules than could be contained within the meagre pages of their signal-books. The dazzling gallantry of the greatest amongst them all, Nelson, has thrown into the shade his surpassing qualities as a tactician. But he was before all things that. Nelson leading the boats at Santa Cruz, or thrusting the 'Captain' into the thick of the fight at St. Vincent, is to most minds a more vivid conception than Nelson attentively studying tactical systems, devising modes of attack, or listening with wrapt attention as his chaplain read to him from Clerk of Eldin's 'Essay.' 'It 'had been Nelson's practice,' says Southey, 'whenever cir-'cumstances would permit, to have his captains on board and 'explain to them his own ideas of the different and best modes 'of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute on falling 'in with the enemy, whatever their situation might be. There 'is no possible position, it is said, which he did not take into 'calculation.'

The history of naval warfare subsequent to the campaign which closed at Trafalgar has been enlivened by few brilliant episodes, but it has been diversified by more than one great revolution. The most important of all of these has been the

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* The exploits of De Suffren are unfortunately not very familiar to British naval officers. They are well worthy of being studied. The best account of them we know is contained in two singularly able papers in the 'United Service Magazine' for May and June, 1867, perhaps the most remarkable contribution to the literature of historical tactics which has of late years appeared.

introduction of steam-propulsion. Like many other discoveries, it made its way but slowly at first, and we doubt if even yet it has arrived at its full development. For long it was considered certain that it would only be applied to a particular class of war-ships—to those of a type, for instance, which should be most profitably employed as auxiliaries to others of greater size and more powerfully armed. In time, however, it came to be adopted for the largest ships of the line, of which the size was increased to fit them for its adoption. Still maritime Powers were slow in perceiving the great revolution that it had wrought in naval tactics. There were not wanting far-seeing men—Bowles, for example, in Great Britain, Labrousse in France, and Dahlgren in America—who discovered and essayed to point out how vast that revolution was. The constituted authorities in each of these countries still hesitated to forsake the old paths. In France they were perhaps the first to move. An official volume of Tactical Instructions was published by the French Minister of Marine as early as 1857, and every officer of the navy was obliged to be possessed of a copy. This work has been well translated by Captain Phillimore of our own navy, and his translation has, we understand, for some years been supplied by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to all of Her Majesty's ships above a certain size. It is perhaps the sole work dealing with tactical principles which is generally to be found on board our ships of war. Its value has been considerably modified by recent innovations in the art of naval war, but even yet some advantage is likely to be derived from its perusal.

The publication of this book preceded by a year that of Sir Howard Douglas's 'Naval Warfare with Steam,' which may be looked upon as the last great essay upon naval tactics. The practical value of this interesting and important work has, like that of the French 'Tactique,' been much decreased by the rapidity of naval invention. It appeared just as we had emerged from a considerable European contest, when many minds were occupied in devising improvements in the art of war—improvements which have since been adopted, and which have materially affected the importance of previous suggestions. In spite of this, it still continues to be, in many respects, a valuable contribution to the study of naval tactics, and may be regarded as an admirable example of the manner in which an essay on such a subject should be composed. The key-note of the whole essay is contained in a sentence which declares that the formations of fleets of steam-ships 'may be accompanied 'with as much precision as the formations of an army on land.'

This indeed had been pointed out by Bowles in 1846, and by Moorsom in 1854, but by neither with such clearness, and such copiousness of proof and illustration, as Sir Howard Douglas brings to the consideration of his subject. But the great merit as a tactician of the distinguished officer, to whom, more than to any other individual reformer, the navy owes much of its efficiency, is that, in the book which we are considering, he actually promulgated a new tactical formation of his own. His suggestion that the best formation for attack should be that in *oblique échelon*, had, at the time it was made, an unquestionable superiority over all others, and, important as have been subsequent innovations in the naval art, it is still by no means certain that that superiority has entirely declined. We cannot take leave of Sir Howard's book without calling attention to a passage which, in freshness and value, has suffered no decrease in consequence of any subsequent revolution, however great:—

'The movements of steam fleets may, like those of armies, be conducted on tactical principles best adapted to the end of all preliminary manœuvres—the formation for battle in the most simple, speedy, and precise manner.' (P. 87.)

But it was not only in precision of formation and rapidity of movement that steam-propulsion was to effect a great tactical revolution. It was yet to be discovered that a steam-ship itself might be made use of as a stupendously-powerful weapon of offence. The idea that the use of steam-power would enable naval officers to recur to the tactics of antiquity seems to have struck more than one thoughtful mind. So far back as 1844 M. Labrousse of the French navy suggested a plan for strengthening the bows of wooden ships, so that they might be employed, in case of necessity, in running into an opponent. It is very doubtful if such a plan would have proved advantageous; at all events, it was not adopted by the French Government. No great originality would be attributed to the idea by those who remember how at Salamis the flying queen of Caria, to avoid the attack of Ameinias, struck with the prow, and sank, the friendly bark of the Calyndian Damasithymus, and by her bold manœuvre extorted, even amid the anguish of defeat, expressions of approval and admiration from no meaner witness than the Great King. Still, even this adoption of the ancient methods was capable of being treated in a truly original manner.

There is, amongst the list of works which will be found at the head of this article, the title of a little volume called 'Steam Rams: their Primary Elements and Proper Func-

'tions.' This little book, though only published towards the end of the year 1870, contains a not uninteresting history of the introduction of one of the last great innovations into naval warfare; an innovation, too, which has been actually tested in real fight, and with such effect as to carry convincing proof of the stupendous nature of the tactical change it has wrought. The immediate object of the author, Mr. Duncan Campbell of Asknish, in printing his volume, is to establish his right to be considered the person who first conceived the idea of a specially constructed steam-vessel for ramming purposes. The merit of having been the first to advocate the introduction of such an engine of war had been claimed by several naval officers, and especially by a very distinguished admiral of the fleet, Sir George Sartorius. The latter officer had submitted during the Russian war, and again, and in fuller detail, in 1857, plans for the construction of a steam-propelled ram, or, as the French call it, *vaisseau-bélier*. But two years at least before his proposal had been placed before the Board of Admiralty, or in November 1852, Mr. Campbell had forwarded to heir lordships plans and drawings, accompanied by a description of what—we have no hesitation in declaring—was the earliest suggested form of a specially-constructed steam-ram with a subaqueous beak.* It is unnecessary to point out the peculiarities of the type of ship proposed. It is with the tactical importance of the invention that we are more particularly concerned.

It appears to have struck Mr. Campbell that what had happened 'in accident at collisions at sea in the shape of mis-'management or negligence might, under proper designs, be 'converted into a powerful means of attack or defence in time 'of war.' Within that sentence is contained the germ of the most recent system of naval tactics of which we have had any practical illustration. When the 'Merrimac' rammed and sank the United States ship 'Cumberland' at Hampton Roads, convincing proof was given of the stupendous power of such a mode of attack. Naval officers began to consider how this resuscitation of an old method of using the ship herself as a weapon might modify existing principles of tactics. Before any formal steps had been taken in such a direction, a fresh incident occurred to clench, as it were, the argument in favour of this

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* Some few years ago we were ourselves enabled, by the courtesy of a gentleman high in the diplomatic service of the French Empire, to inspect a sketch made by him of the *bélier*, *Taureau*, which closely resembled Mr. Campbell's design of several years previous.

method. For the first time in the history of war, two fleets containing numerous iron-clad vessels met in conflict upon the high seas at Lissa. Neither the formation maintained in either fleet, nor the manœuvres performed by them, are worthy of much consideration, nor are we likely to derive much information from them. The former were loose and ill-kept, and the latter hurried, scrambling, and often apparently purposeless. The manœuvres of a single ship in the Austrian fleet are far more interesting and valuable. In the midst of the confusion of the action, 'Re d' Italia,' an iron-clad, exposed her port side to the prow of the ship in which was hoisted the flag of Tegethof, the Austrian admiral. That officer, whose skill and gallantry had been displayed on a previous occasion when in command of a squadron off Heligoland, at once seized the requirements of his position, and dashed at his exposed enemy. The latter was sunk by the shock, and this event more than anything else contributed to gaining for the Austrians what, in these days of transition, we may be justified in styling 'the 'victory of Lissa.' From that day we may date another complete revolution in tactics.

Hitherto we have been engaged in considering the past of the art of naval tactics. When we come to consider the present and the future of the art, we shall have a shorter, if not an easier, task. As we have just said, the present is a time of transition, and the true method of conducting a general engagement at sea may be taken as still *sub judice*. The art which, since the date of Trafalgar, has—so almost continuously—slumbered, begins to show signs of awakening and revival. Those whose privilege it was to serve in the Mediterranean fleet when commanded by Admiral Sir William Martin will remember the evolutionary experiments which he carried out; and will still have a vivid recollection of the then novel sight of the officers of a British fleet receiving instruction in a tactical system suggested by the general use of steam power. The work attempted by Sir Howard Douglas is in a fair way of being continued. The late Count Bouet-Willaumez of the French navy, and Admiral Gregory Boutakov of the Russian, have, amongst foreign officers, performed good service in devising those bases of tactical movements and formations which take the shape of drill-manœuvres and evolutions. In our own service the attempt to institute a system of evolutionary drill which shall meet the requirements of the probable tactics of the future appears to have been attended with very remarkable success. In the number for April, 1872, of the quarterly journal 'Naval Science' there is a paper describing with great

clearness the present evolutionary system of the British navy. Not only is the account there given highly interesting in itself, but it contains internal evidence to prove that we may attribute to the description a certain special authority.

In noticing the changes in naval construction, we have not dwelt upon the introduction of defensive armour. We have not done so because in our opinion—taking into consideration the concurrent advance in the power of naval artillery—the tactical importance of it is completely overshadowed by that of steam-propulsion by itself. Still the recent adoption of such armour is one of the important elements in the new art of naval war which cannot but be allowed a proper share of attention. It is when we attempt to cast our views into the future; when we try to look at things from the stand-point of the swain in 'Locksley Hall,' who

> 'Heard the heavens filled with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
> From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;'

that the rapid and varied progress of naval invention dazzles, and appears to baffle us, whichever way we turn. Even at this moment a new weapon has but just been generally introduced into the armament of ships, which may materially modify the tactics of the ram. The towing-torpedo proposed by Captain Harvey * of the navy, though possibly imperfect in its present form, promises to exert a powerful effect upon future tactics, whether in that branch of them which refers to general engagements, or in that which refers to actions between single ships. The peculiarity of this contrivance is that, owing to its shape, when towed from a vessel it diverges to some distance from her side, and encloses her, as it were, in an area into which the prow of a hostile ram could hardly intrude with any chance of safety.

Through the darkness of the future we may perhaps discern the faint glimmer of some new principles of tactics. We have for ever bidden farewell to that old system in which one side waited patiently to receive the attack of the other. A constant state of motion will henceforth be indispensable to ships when engaged. Whether the formation for attack in line abreast, in échelon, in detached triangular groups, or in line-ahead, be the one to be generally adopted, is still debated by naval officers—each method has its advocates. But whichever finds most favour, there is little doubt that the attack itself, indeed that the whole combat, will consist of a series of rapid penetrations

* It is described by him in a small volume published by Spon of Charing Cross.

of the enemy's line, not unlike the *diecplus* of the Greeks. Each side will be equally an attacking party. The movements of two hostile fleets in collision will probably bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the dashing charges of heavy cavalry in the earlier wars of this century; and our old cavalry tactics may furnish useful hints to the new school of naval evolutions. The ships on either side will be intently occupied in endeavouring to make use of, and avoid, the ramming attack. Skill in handling ships will be more than ever important; and if the torpedo-system of Captain Harvey be perfected, there seems more than a probability that the gun will reassert its claim to the position from which the ram had appeared to extrude it. Speed and precision of movement will henceforth be the great desiderata in manœuvring fleets.

From the dark background of the long history of naval tactics there stand out, clear and unquestionable, these two facts—that by the aid of diagram and letter-press Paul Hoste taught the French navy how to shun defeat, and Clerk of Eldin taught the British how to win great victories. In all their calculations, in all their suggested manœuvres, they had to take into account one fickle, unstable element which the tactician of the present day may at once eliminate from his, or treat with almost total unconcern. The work of him who would devise the tactics of the future is less arduous than was theirs at least in this, that he need take but little note of the wind, which was the sole propelling force at their disposal. It is somewhat humiliating to reflect that, as yet, in spite of the immense progress made in every other branch of the naval art, the very stones wherewith to raise our tactical structure are, as has been well said, 'still unhewn.' Some malignant fairy appears to have been slighted at the birth-time of that mighty fleet which has won the admiration, and has become the model, of all the navies of the world. It possesses all the elements of perfection, but lacks one gift—the power to use them with effect.

Given, for example, a magnificent fleet such as we saw the other day assembled in Portland Roads; can any one say in what precise order or manner it should be used against an enemy? Yet surely this is a problem which may be worked out on paper. The two most necessary factors—the speed, and the handiness or turning-power, of each ship—are known, or, at least, easily ascertained, quantities. The various formations in which two fleets would meet one another are not likely to be so numerous as to baffle the algebraic law of *permutations*, or, in other words, are not undiscoverable. We

have as yet found out no proper system of tactics, not because the invention of one is impossible, but because we have neglected to follow the roads which lead to it. What Hoste and Clerk have done before, surely it is not too much to hope, may—the facilities being increased—be done again.*

The experience of war, both by land and sea, shows distinctly that elaborations of tactics for advantageous use in both are possible in peace. What has been done for naval war we have already shown. With regard to what has been done for land war, we may recall the fact that the army which conquered at Königgratz had, for the fifty years previous, seen less active service than that of any other Power in Europe. Yet who can take up even a Prussian drill-book and not be struck by the practical tone of its directions?—directions which point to such stern encounters as took place on the rolling plateau of Gravelotte and amid the hopgardens and vineyards of Woerth rather than to the bloodless charges of Wormwood Scrubs or the skirmishes of Cocked-Hat Wood and the Long Valley. Still, this has been the work of peace-time. That body of naval officers who silently and steadily have been long training the seamen of the navy to use their warlike engines with the best effect, have adopted a motto, which bids those who wish for peace prepare for war.† With the sentiment of that motto we heartily concur. We would only carry our preparation one step further, into the hitherto almost uninvaded realm of naval tactics. That done, the horrors of war will probably be farther from us than ever; and we may rely upon the moral effect only of our maritime power to gain for us a right to share in the prophetic eulogium passed on Rinaldo's descendants by the Hermit; and that it may still, though in more peaceful ways, be the part of the British navy

> 'Premer gli alteri, e sollevar gl' imbelli,
> Difender gl' innocenti, e punir gli empi.'
>
> *Gerusal. Lib.*, canto x. st. 76.

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* We are rejoiced to be in a position to state that the possibility of applying the *Kriegsspiel* or *Game of War*, hitherto exclusively devised to assist the study of land war, to that of naval campaigns, has for some time past occupied the serious attention of an officer of the navy, the pressure of whose duties have alone prevented him from already making known the result of his occupation.

† The motto of H.M.S. 'Excellent,' in which the seamen-gunners of the royal navy are trained, is *Si vis pacem, para bellum.*

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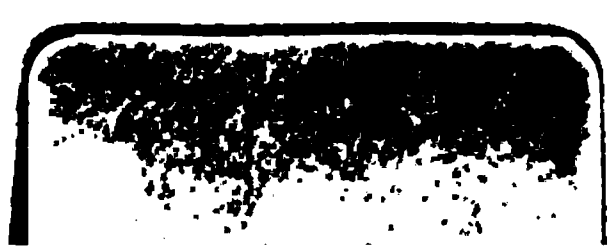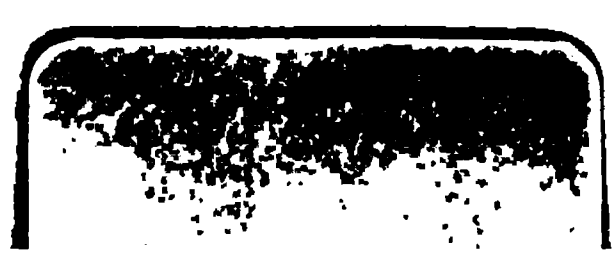
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